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B R I T A N N I C A.

N^o IV.

M E M M O I R S

O F

S I R J O H N H A W K W O O D.

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M E M O I R S

O F

S I R J O H N H A W K W O O D.

HAWKWOOD, Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præsidiumque solo,
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulacri
Virtutum Jovius donet honore tuam.

JULIUS FEROLDUS.

AMONG the various Labours of Literary Men, there have always been certain Fragments whose Size could not secure them a general Exemption from the Wreck of Time, which their intrinsic Merit entitled them to survive; but, having been gathered up by the Curious, or thrown into Miscellaneous Collections by Booksellers, they have been recalled into Existence, and by uniting together have defended themselves from Oblivion. Original Pieces have been called in to their Aid, and formed a Phalanx that might withstand every Attack from the Critic to the Cheesemonger, and contributed to the Ornament as well as Value of Libraries.

With a similar view it is here intended to present the Publick with some valuable Articles of BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY, from printed Books and MSS. One Part of this Collection will consist of Republications of scarce and curious Tracts; another of such MS. Papers as the Editors are already possessed of, or may receive from their Friends.

It is therefore proposed to publish a Number occasionally, not confined to the same Price or Quantity of Sheets, nor always adorned with Cuts; but paged in such a Manner, that the general Articles, or those belonging to the respective Counties, may form a separate Succession, if there should be enough published, to bind in suitable Classes; and each Tract will be completed in a single Number.

Into this Collection all Communications consistent with the Plan will be received with Thanks. And as no Correspondent will be denied the Privilege of controverting the Opinions of another, so none will be denied Admittance without a fair and impartial Reason.

M E M O I R S

O F

S I R J O H N H A W K W O O D.

EVERY age has produced persons, whose eminence, by extending itself beyond their native soil, has occasioned their own country, if not to forget them, to fail in preserving memorials of them. Heroes are too much citizens of the world to have their achievements confined within the limits of a local history; and the theatre of their glory becomes more interested in them than the place of their birth. I might verify this in many instances drawn from antient and foreign memoirs; but our own country presents not a few worthies, of whom her annals have recorded little more than their names, or at most a few circumstances which require enlargement if not authenticity from the annals of other nations.

Among these is Sir JOHN HAWKWOOD, who is indebted for a place among the British worthies to his actions in a foreign service; who has been slightly noticed by his contemporaries at

B

home,

home, and who would not now have been brought into a conspicuous point of view but for the engraved portrait of him presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1775 by Lord Hailes, though for reasons best known to that learned body it has but just now been offered to the public, at the moderate price of eighteen-pence. The following account of the person it represents, read at the Society for want of something better Jan. 25, 1776, is at the service of all lovers of British Biography for two shillings more.

Sir JOHN HAWKWOOD is said by the concurrent testimony of our writers ^a to have been the son of a Tanner of Sible Hedingham, in Essex, where he was born in the reign of Edward II. Mr. Morant says ^b the manor of *Hawkwood* in that parish takes its name from Sir John. But it was holden before him by *Stephen* Hawkwood, probably his father ^c, a circumstance which would lead one to doubt the meanness of his birth as well as his profession. Persons who gave name to manors were generally of more considerable rank: and the manor appears to have been in the family from the time of king John.

Our hero is said to have been put apprentice to a Taylor ^d in London: "but soon, says Fuller, turned his needle into a sword, and his thimble into a shield ^e," being prest into the service of king Edward III. for his French wars, where he be-

^a Stowe's Annals.

^b Hist. of Essex, II. 289, 290.

^c The short life of him ascribed by Hearne to William Valens, calls his father *Gilbert*. Pref. to Leland's It. *II.* p. 5. Hearne says the author was a curious antiquary, and had certainly searched ancient records with more than ordinary diligence, and seems to have been well acquainted with the registers of the Herald's office. But this is rather *gratis dictum*; for we learn nothing new from him.

^d So Villani calls him "*Sartore* Inghilese." It. I. ix. c. 37.

^e Worthies, Essex. He served as an archer in no better place than a common soldier or *bill watch*, and after he became captain had a company of 250 archers. Life by W. V.

haved.

haved himself so valiantly that from a common soldier he was promoted to the rank of captain, and for some further good service had the honor of knighthood conferred on him by that king, though he was accounted the poorest knight in the army^f. His general, the Black Prince, highly esteemed him for his valor and conduct, of which he gave extraordinary proofs at the battle of Poitiers^g.

Upon the conclusion of the peace between the English and French by the treaty of Bretigni 1360^h, Sir John finding his estate too small to support his title and dignity associated himself with certain companies called by Froissartⁱ *Les Tard venus*, by Walsingham^k, *Magna Comitiva*. These were formed of persons of various nations, who having hitherto found employment in the wars between England and France, and having held governments, or built and fortified houses in the latter kingdom which they were now obliged to give up, found themselves reduced to this desperate method of supporting themselves and their soldiers by marauding and pillaging, or by engaging in the service of lesser states which happened to be at war with each other. Villani^l indeed charges Edward III. with secretly authorizing these ravages in France, while outwardly he affected a strict observance of the peace. “Volendo, says he, il re d’Inghilterra mostrare osservazione di pace, secondo l’ordine infinitamente in suo titolo e nome niune guerra fatta nel reame di Francia; ma molti Inghilese ch’erano nel reame seguendo il segreto ordine dato per lui, hora con uno, hora con altro caporale s’accortavano, che li guidasse a guereggiare e scondiare il reame di Francia.” At this time in the summer, continues this historian, an English Taylor named John *della Guglea*^m, who had distinguished himself in the war, began to form a com-

^f Morant ubi sup.^g Ibid.^h Life by W. V.ⁱ B. i. c. 214,

215. p. 233. 237. See also Montfaucon Mon. de la Monarchie Française II. 318. 322.

^k Ypod. Neustr. p. 522.^l L. ix. c. 37.^m That is to say, *John of the needle*.

pany of marauders, and collected a number of English who delighted in mischief, and hoped to live by plunder, surprizing and pillaging first one town and then another. This company increast so much that they became the terror of the whole country. All who had not fortified places to defend them were forced to treat with him, and furnish him with provision and money, for which he promised them his protection. The effect of this was that in a few months he acquired great wealth. Having also received an accession of followers and power, he roved from one country to another till at length he came to the Po. There he made all who came in his way prisoners. The clergy he pillaged, but let the laity go without injury. The court of Rome was greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and made preparations to oppose these banditti. Upon the arrival of certain Englishmen on the banks of the Po, Hawkwood resigned his command to them, and profest submission to the king of England, to whose servants he presented a large share of his ill-gotten wealth ⁿ.

The commanders of the companies beforementioned (for there were more than one) were mostly English, and the first scene of their ravages was the South of France. Here they continued till king John's release. One of them called the *White Band* (Alba

ⁿ In questi tempi della state uno fattore Inghilese, il quale haveva nome Gianni della Guglia [*f. dell' Aguglia*] essendo nella guerra dimostrato prode huomo con gran cuore in fatti d'armi, commincio a fare brigata di faccardi, & assai Inghilesi che se dilettavano di mal fare, e che attendieno a vivere di rapine, e cercando e rubando hora una villa hora un' altra nel paese, crebbe in tanto sua brigata che da tutti i paesani era ridottato forte. E per questo senza i casali non murati, comminciarono tutti a pattaggiarsi con lui, e lui davano panaggio e danari, ed elli li faceva sicuri. E per questo modo montò tanto suo nomea che ciascuno si facea suo accomodato; onde in poche mesi fece gran tesoro. Essendo multiplicato di gente e d'havere, comincio di passare di paese in paese, e si andando venne infino al Pao; e ivi prese laici, e clerici rubò, e laici lascia andare. Onde la corte di Roma ne mostrò gran paura, e pensava a farsi forte per resistere a quella brigata. Costui nell' avvenimento del Pao de signore d' Inghilterra lascio il capitanato e la gente; e ridussi al ubedienza del Re: e da danari ch'avea accolti ne fe buona parte a Reali. E se andavano in que tempi i fatti di Francia." Ib. The title of this chapter in Villani is "Di una compagna creata di Inghilese in Francia."

Comitiva) amounting to 5000 horse and 1500 foot, mostly English and archers^o, advanced through Provence into Lombardy under English leaders, who were sometimes in the pay of different princes, and sometimes carried on these ravages at their own expence, which the rich booty they made, and the ransoms and contributions they extorted, enabled them to do. Froissart says they began their ravages in Champagne and Burgundy, and that they amounted to 16000 fighting men. The principal leaders whom he names were French or Flemish. As they did more mischief to the kingdom than the late wars with the English had done, the king of France sent against them a body of forces under John de Bourbon. This officer having received false intelligence of their number, attacked them, but was defeated near Lyons.

After this these companies divided: part laid the country about Lyons under contribution; and part filing off towards Avignon, made themselves masters of Pont St. Esprit, a town in its neighbourhood, where the inhabitants round about had taken refuge with their best effects. Pope Innocent VI published a croisade against them^p; but his troops having no other pay than pardons and indulgencies deserted, and many of them joined the very companies against whom they had been hired. Upon this the Pope engaged the Marquis of Montferrat, who was then at war with the Viscount of Milan, to draw off the greatest part of them into Lombardy by a large sum of ready money (60,000 florins) and prospect of great pay. This reinforcement of ex-

^o Life by W. V.

^p Villani says they ravaged France till king John's release, after which by order of the two kings they quitted that kingdom, and retired to *Lengrè nel Imperio*, where they assembled to the number of 1000 *barbuti* [Barbets] and being in a pleasant country they thought to quarter at large at Lyons; but the peasants blockt up the passes, and confined them a long time in a narrow compass. Mat. Villani, l. ix. c. 109.

perienced

perienced foldiers enabled the Marquis to gain confiderable advantage over his enemies ^q.

The company of Englifh adventurers who now entered into the fervice of the Marquis of Montferrat 1363, is faid by Muratori ^r to have been commanded by one *Albaret*. Hawkwood does not figure as head of a company till the following year in the Pifan fervice. The Marquis, who had likewise engaged a company of Germans, finding himfelf unable to fupport the numerous *white company* of Englifh, had thought of difbanding the greater part of them. Luckily the deputies of Pifa then with him offered to take them into their pay, and concluded the bargain immediately. Near 3000 horfemen, all brave foldiers, followed the deputies, and only the Germans remained with the Marquis.

The Englifh diftinguifht themfelves in the fervice of Pifa, and acquired fo much booty that they began to defpife and give umbrage to their mafters ^s. Upon the conclufion of the peace between the Marquis of Montferrat and Galeazzo, the few Englifh who remained with the former went and joined their countrymen in Tufcany ^t, and foon after formed into one body under Hawkwood ^u.

This was the firft appearance of Hawkwood in *Italy* ^x. The Pifans, fays Muratori, hired befide others the great troop of

^q Villani, l. x. c. 27. 34.

^r Annali d'Italia, V. xii. p. 207. The firft *company* that appeared in Italy was that of *St. George* 1327, which fet the example to many fucceeding ones diftinguifht in the Florentine hiftorians by the name of *Compagne*. Id. ib. p. 62, 63. 82.

^s Ib. 209, 210.

^t Ib. 211.

^u Ib. 212.

^x Paulus Jovius fays, Hawkwood came firft into Italy with Lionel duke of Clarence, who married the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, brother to Bernabo. The duke fell fick and died at Milan foon after his nuptials, and Bernabo took Hawkwood and the Englifh troops into his pay to employ the Englifh valor and difcipline againft the duke of Mantua with whom he was at war. Hawkwood and his countrymen diftinguifht themfelves fo much that Bernabo gave him his natural daughter to wife. This alliance proved of great advantage to our hero; and the Englifh valor became fo renowned over Italy that he was courted by

English commanded by *Giovanni Aucud*, in English *Kauchovod*^y, and by the Tuscans called *Aguto*: a man who afterwards gained great renown in Italy. The Florentines by their advantageous offers occasioned great numbers of Germans and English to desert from the Pisans, and under the command of John Malatesta, a distinguished officer, they took the field July 29, 1364, and encamped within 6 miles of Pisa. Hawkwood offered to meet them with all the forces under his command. The battle was long and sharp; but at length the Pisans and English were routed with the loss of about 1000 killed, and double that number taken prisoners. This defeat and the increasing desertion of the English to the Florentines obliged the Pisans to apply for money to Bernabo Visconti. They chose for their ambassador on this occasion Giovanni di Agnello, a popular and artful man, who took advantage of the distresses of his country, and the influence of Hawkwood, to get himself elected Doge of Pisa for a year. A peace advantageous to the Florentines was at length concluded^z.

Such is the account collected by Muratori from contemporary writers. According to Buoninsegni^a, the Pisans after their defeat at Barga, hired the English, and discharged all other troops, and appointed commander of them *Vanni* or *Giovanni Aguto*, an Englishman, a great warrior, called in English *Falcone di Bosco*. The end of this and the beginning of the next year were taken up in various operations of the Pisan army.

According to Poggio^b, Hawkwood's first exploit was the taking of Vall' Ombrosa, and overrunning the territory of Prato, in

several princes as well as free states. Hawkwood's life by W. V. says he was in the service of Bernabo before this.

Rossi says the duke of Milan hired Hawkwood with a great company of English archers in his war against Gonzaga of Mantua. *Ritratted Elogi di capitani illustri*. Roma 1647, p. 60.

^y Seems a misprint for *Hawkwood*.

^z Muratori *Annali* ubi sup. p. 212, 213. Ed. Milan, & aut. ibi cit.

^a *Istoria Fiorent.* Fir. 1581, 4^{to} B. iii. p. 519.

^b *Hist. Flor.* Ed. Venet. 1715, fol. lib. i. p. 29.

which

which he lost 300 horse. A treaty between the two states failing of success, Barnabo Visconti joined the Pisans, and their troops renewed their ravages. Sir John, whose reputation was now very great, was sent by Visconti to aid the Pisans^c; but a party of 30 German soldiers having defeated 100 English, they retired^d. This temporary repulse did not however prevent their afterwards advancing within four miles of Florence, and attacking the outworks of the Bolognese gate. Then crossing the Arno they ravaged the country, but could not surprise any town. In this expedition they lost 600 men. In the mean time the Florentines assembled their troops, and sat down before Pisa; but the Pisan army returning, obliged them to retire to Volterra. Having drawn off some of the Germans and English by bribery^e, they entered the territory of Siena with an army of 16000 men, the command of which was given to Manno Donato. This army after committing the most dreadful devastation sat down before Cascina, a Pisan town. The Pisans presuming on a report that the enemy's camp was negligently guarded, resolved to attack it. Hawkwood like a prudent general^f would only allow them to give the enemy daily alarm; till an opportunity should offer for a general attack^g. For this purpose he took advantage of a day when the sun shone full in the enemy's faces, and the south wind blew the dust in their eyes^h. Both sides fought with equal bravery, and our countrymen particularly distinguished themselves. After several hours work, the Pisans fled in disorder with great loss, their

^c Ph. Villani Ist. Fior. L. ii. c. 81.

^d Ritratto di Roffi, ubi supra, p. 62.

^e The Florentines bought off with 75000 florins all the English except Hawkwood and 1200 men, and privately agreed with *Ugo della Succi* [*f. Zouch*] to abstain from their territory for five months. Buoninsegni, p. 526.

^f *Dux sagax*. Poggio. Buoninsegni says he made three false attacks on the camp to amuse the enemy, that the fourth or real one might succeed.

^g Poggio, p. 32.

^h Ph. Villani, L. ii. c. 97.

general retreating to Sabinoⁱ, where he had left his horses. The Florentines discharged most of their prisoners who were foreigners. It was the general opinion that had they proceeded immediately to Pisa the city in their consternation might have become an easy prize. But the Florentine general was apprehensive of some artifice on the part of the enemy, and contented himself with ravaging their territory. The distresses which this occasioned drove them to accept of hard conditions of peace two years after the commencement of the war^k.

The companies of Germans and English disbanded upon the conclusion of peace between Florence and Pisa, and destitute of subsistence ravaged the territory of Sienna in a dreadful manner: so that the Siennese reduced to a state of desperation by their calamities marched against them with their whole force, November 28, and drove them to Sazana, whence they carried their ravages to Perugia and Todi. Unhappy country where these fierce and greedy locusts settled, says Muratori^l, alluding to the dreadful plague of locusts which in the beginning of this year desolated Italy. The prospect of peace the following year 1365 was obscured by the continued devastations of our countrymen, to whom were now added the Hungarian marauders and all the refuse of the natives. The Perugians hired German companies to defend them against Hawkwood, with whom they fought so bloody a battle that 3000 were slain, and above 1600 English carried prisoners to Perugia. Hawkwood retired into the Siennese, the inhabitants of which were forced to call in foreign assistance which drove him out^m.

In January 1367 he renewed his inroads on the Siennese, and thence proceeded to the Pisan, whence in March he returned to

ⁱ *Sansevero*. Buoninsegni, p. 527

^l *Ubi sup.* p. 214.

^k Poggio, p. 34.

^m *Ib.* p. 216.

the Siennese. The miserable inhabitants again meeting their forces with the Hungarians and Perugians, gave him battle, but were defeated with great loss. Hawkwood turned his arms against the Perugians, and overthrew them in a pitched battle at the bridge of San Gianni; their loss amounting to 1500 men ^a.

We hear no more of Hawkwood till the year 1369, when upon the revolt of St. Miniato from the Florentines Bernabo Visconti, who set up a claim to that town, took him into his service (having before employed him to assist the Perugians against the Pope), and sent him to raise the siege of Miniato ^c. This general not caring to attack the enemy's entrenchments sat down at Cascina. The Florentines ascribing this to fear, sent positive orders to their general Malaterra to attack the English. They found them prepared to receive them December 1, 1369, and being drawn into an ambuscade by a feigned flight, they were surrounded and defeated, having lost their commander and a number of brave men, who fell into the hands of Sir John Hawkwood. The victorious troops were led immediately within four miles of Florence, or, as some authors say, to the very gates ^d, where they gave such an alarm that some historians say the army was recalled, and the siege of St. Miniato raised ^e. But Poggio only tells us that the English ravaged the Florentine territories, and at their return the town was betrayed to the French 1369 ^f. Hawkwood conveyed a supply of provisions, &c. into the town: but the Florentines notwithstanding became possessed of it by treachery, the garrison retiring to Rocca which the Florentines soon after took.

^a Ib. p. 223, 224.

^c Ib. p. 233.

^d Buoninsegni, ib.

^e Ib. p. 234. January 5 they advanced to the bridge of Riffredi, and sent 2 *palii* [] through the strada Pulverosa where they burnt some houses, and one of the horsemen foolishly coming to touch the gate was made prisoner. Buoninsegni, p. 542.

^f Recanatì's note on Poggii Hist. p. 38.

^g P. 38.

A number of conspirators raising disturbances at Modena, put themselves under the protection of Barnabo; and their allies who had laid siege to Mirandola were defeated by Hawkwood ^s.

The following year Barnabo having failed in his attempt to reinstate Agnelli who had usurpt the government of Pisa and been driven out, sent Hawkwood to ravage the Bolognese. His troops to the number of 2000 entered the territory August 1, and after committing their usual ravages in the environs of Bologna, they past into the territory of Parma ^t. Agnello by treating with Barnabo, and with the assistance of Hawkwood and the other soldiers had assumed the government of Pisa, which made the Pisans more hastily conclude a peace with the Florentines. Agnello lost his power the same year ^u.

Some authors say that in a battle fought on the confines of Arezzo and Cortona, between Visconti's troops and those under Obizzone Tomaso, Hawkwood notwithstanding he maintained his ground with great bravery was repulsed and made prisoner. But the Florentines at the instances of Pope Urban soon releast him, and he immediately entered into the Pope's service ^x.

Gregory XI who this year succeeded to the papal chair renewed the alliance with the states of Florence, Pisa, Sienna, &c. and sent Cardinal Bituricense his legate to Bologna. The legate soon after his arrival hired Hawkwood to make war upon the Milanese ^y. Our hero's desertion of Barnabo's party is ascribed to the reduction of his pay, and a false charge brought against him by Barnabo's son Ambrosio for neglecting his duty at the battle of Asti ^z. The succeeding legate Cardinal di S.

^s Muratori ubi sup. p. 238.

^t Griffoni Chron. Bonon. ap. Muratori Rer. It. Script. v. xviii. Muratori Annali ubi sup. p. 237.

^u Poggio, p. 40. Buoninsegni, p. 529. 533.

^x Roffi Ritratti, p. 61.

^y Poggio, p. 41.

^z Recanatii note ib. but this is expressly denied by Buoninsegni, who says not a man left it. Muratori says Hawkwood was refused a share in that battle, Galcazzo having given the command to his son Ambrosio. Ubi sup. p. 246.

Angelo gave the Milanese a defeat 1371, and his victorious army made themselves masters of Vercellæ and 100 other towns. This army Poggio says was commanded by a Frenchman^a: on which his editor Recanati observes that Pigna in his *Hist. Princ. Ateft.* p. 319. calls him *Habuuevod*, but that he was no other than Hawkwood. Barnabo soon after made his peace with the Pope. Hawkwood entered into the service of the Pontif, and accompanying the legate into Romagna defeated Francis and Sinibaldi, lords of Forli, and other usurpers of the ecclesiastical state in several rencontres. He also reduced to the Pope's allegiance Faenza, Forli, Forlimpopoli and Cesena, and made himself master of Ravenna. For these eminent services he was declared Gonfalonier of the church, and Pope Gregory gave him Cotignola and four other cities in Romagnola^b. But by degrees quitting the interest of the church, and siding with the Visconti, he in conjunction with them^c subdued the ecclesiastical states, and likewise those of Nicholas Secondo, Marquis of Est near Rubiera. But differing with Galeazzo Visconti, he past with the Pope's legate into the state of the Visconti, and gave Galeazzo's army near the river Pauaro, and that of John Galeazzo under the walls of Brescia two notable defeats^d. The first of these battles was fought in January 1377, and the greatest part of the vanquishd army is said to have owed their safety to their flight^e. Hawkwood was assisted on this occasion by the Bolognese; and his victory was followed by the revolt of many places from Galeazzo. This

^a *Victor exercitus, cujus dux Gallus erat.* Ib.

^b W. V. says, he made him governor of five great towns for reducing his revolted cities in *Provence*.

^c "Alienossi della chiesa indi a poco, e ridottosi presso a Visconti, ruppe insieme con essi, le genti ecclesiastiche come ancora &c."

^d Rossi, *Ritrattii*, p. 61.

^e *Chron. Placent.* in *Murat. Rer. It. Ser. v. xiv.* but in his *Annali ub. sup.* p. 249. he doubts this from the circumstance of their being in an enemy's country.

prince afterwards defeated the Pope's troops; but May 8 Sir John Hawkwood assisted by the French under the Sieur de Cuffi gave his army a great overthrow near the bridge del fiume chiesi in which were made prisoners the Marquises of Est and Saluzzo, and many other Italian nobles ^f. Hawkwood finding his troops decreased by battle and other accidents retired to Bologna ^g.

The oppressions and extortions of the legate rendered his administration very odious, particularly to the Florentines whom he wanted to reduce to the obedience of his master by forbidding the supplying their city with corn during an unheard of scarcity. He first endeavoured to get the town of Prato into his own hands by treachery. For this purpose he sent thither his general Hawkwood in the character of a discharged officer ^h. But Hawkwood who secretly favored the Florentines from whom some say he had received a sum of money, and detested the artifices of the Pope's officers, discovered the design, and the traitors were apprehended and put to death. Hawkwood had likewise orders to ravage the country, and destroy the harvest in order to starve the Florentines. The republic began to treat with the legate for recalling Hawkwood and his troops: to which the legate returning for answer that they were no longer in his service or under his command, the Florentines immediately treated with that general, who being before inclined to their interests ⁱ, from whom he had already received 13000 florins ^k, readily closed with their offers, to the no small mortification of the legate, who immediately sent him word to pursue his former orders. The general returned for answer that his former

^f Muratori Ann. ub. sup.

^g Ib. p. 252.

^h *Tanquam emeritis stipendiis liberum.* Pog. p. 45.

ⁱ Ib. p. 46.

^k Ib. p. 47. Aretin, lib. viii. The Chronicle of Siena ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xviii. et Annali ubi sup. 259. says, that of this sum 7500 florins were levied on the clergy.

orders

orders amounted to a discharge, and that he was now in the service of Florence. He then drew off his troops in a peaceable manner into the Siennese.

The Florentines determined to shake off the papal yoke, made an alliance with Barnabo Visconti and invited the other states of Italy to assert their liberty. Though Hawkwood secretly favored and was under obligations to the Florentines, he acted under the orders of the legate. Yet when he received them, this artful master of the art of war neglected to make levies, and gave the people of Perugia time to possess themselves of two forts in their city. Thus he acted a double part, secretly receiving a pension from Florence¹.

Upon this general revolt the governor of Perugia sent him to retake Tiferno. But he was no sooner gone than the Perugians and many other states joined the rest who had renounced the Pope's allegiance^m. The Pontif alarmed at these proceedings had began to treat with the Florentines when the legate received advice of the revolt of Granaroli, a castle of the Bolognese, of which there are at present no remains. No sooner was Hawkwood marcht out of Bologna by his orders to recover it than Bruscoli, with whom the Bolognese had been tampering, entered it with 1000 men, March 19, 1375, and was immediately joined by the populace who had taken up armsⁿ. The Bolognese joined the Florentines, and the Pope's deputies returned without doing any thing to Avignon. Hawkwood failing in his attempt on Granaroli, and not having any prospect of returning to Bologna, March 23, 1375, surprized Faenza, a city in the Pope's territories, whose inhabitants suspected no such thing, and after ransacking it completely delivered it to Nicholo d'Este prince of

¹ Murat. Ann. ib. p. 259.

ⁿ Buoninsegni, p. 568.

^m Pog. p. 52, 53. 55.

Ferrara, who repaired it °. Aretin says, the bishop of Ostia, who was governor of Faenza, fearing it might follow the example of the other cities, called in Hawkwood and his troops ^p, who having in vain prest for their pay from the Pope's empty purse, and being as was reported authorised by the count di Romagna one of the most abandoned of men, under a pretence of an intention to revolt imprisoned 300 of the principal citizens, expelled a great many more, and then plundered the city, murdering near 300 children. Such *dogs*, says Muratori ^q, did the Pope's ministers keep in their service in Italy.

The Pope provoked at the defection of Bologna, which he ascribed intirely to the Florentines, laid them under an interdict, and let loose upon Italy an army of hungry Bretons. The legate exercised cruelties and treacheries equal to any ascribed to the vilest tyrants of antiquity. Among these was the massacre at Cafena, in which 4 or 5000 perisht, and 8000 were turned a begging. A dreadful revenge for a popular insurrection, and in which the histories of that time charge Hawkwood with having too considerable a share, as also with sending 1000 of the women to Rimini to gratify the brutal desires of his followers ^r. Buoninsegni adds, that after the Cardinal and Galeotto had engaged their honor to stop the massacre, the former basely let in Hawkwood and the English to begin it again. Their avidity for plunder gave the unhappy people time to make their escape ^s.

The Pope having in his pay the two choicest ^t companies of soldiers then in Christendom, the Bretons and the English,

* Ib. Buoninseg. p. 570. 589. Aretin, l. viii. Rub. Hist. Rav. l. vi. W. V. Life of Hawkwood says, he also surprized Bagnacavallo, and kept it some time, till Manfred prince of Astorgo took it from him by treachery.

^p L. viii.

^q Ann. ubi sup. p. 262, 263.

^r Ib. 266, 267.

^s Buon. p. 578.

^t *Le piu favorite compagnie.* Buon. p. 582.

was hastening to Rome with implacable resentment against the Florentines. We now for the first time find our countryman actually engaged in the service of the republic, who perceiving the Pope's inveteracy against her, had by promises and pay prevailed on Sir John Hawkwood to join her and Barnabo ^u for a year, with 3000 lances and 5000 archers ^x. His appointment was 250000 florins ^y. This much displeased the governors of the church, and lowered the Pope's haughty spirit ^z. But the Florentine general Ridolfi piqued at their choice of a stranger, and allured by good offers from his holiness deserted them ^a.

The city of Florence had been involved in violent commotions, which produced a revolution in the government. A number of citizens who were now driven into exile called in Charles of Durazzo, who was at that time engaged in a war with Joan queen of Naples. The confusions encreasing occasioned a second revolution, and the new council of forty-six engaged Sir John Hawkwood for their defence against foreign powers. Machiavel ^b calls him "an Englishman, of great reputation in arms, who had formerly served in Italy under the Pope and other Princes."

In 1377 the Pope, after several ineffectual treaties with the Florentines, sent his nephew Raimund with an army against them. He marched along the Sieneſe coast, and laid ſiege to Groſſeto, which made a vigorous defence. But hearing Hawkwood was coming to its relief, he was ſo much afraid of this able general that he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated out of the Sieneſe with loſs and diſgrace ^c. Hawkwood marched towards

^u Poggio, p. 55. 66. 69.

^x Buoninf. p. 584.

^y Recanati's notes, Ammirati, l. xiii. Muratori Ann. ib. p. 267.

^z Buoninf. ubi ſup.

^a Ammirati Iſt. Fior. l. xiii. p. 705. Recanati ubi ſup.

^b Hiſt. of Florence, b. iii.

^c Buoninf. p. 591.

Perugia, ravaging the country on his route^d. The interdict had been strictly observed at Florence near a year and half, when on October 21 this year, the republic commanded the clergy to resume their usual functions, which order was immediately obeyed. Bernabo Visconti, the better to attach to his party and that of Florence Sir John Hawkwood and Count Lucio of Costanza, gave them his two natural daughters in marriage^e. This and the little prospect he had of success induced the Pope to offer proposals for peace by the mediation of Barnabo. Before it was concluded, Gregory died, April 8, 1378. His successor Urban took off the interdict, and confirmed the peace. The Florentines, having no longer any foreign enemies to contend with, fell into confusion among themselves.

Bernabo having set up some pretensions to Verona brought a great army against it, and nothing could have saved it but the avarice of his sons in law who were bought off, and a treaty agreed to on payment of a certain sum to Bernabo^f.

Upon the conclusion of a general peace between the princes of Italy, Hawkwood collected a number of disbanded soldiers and overrun several states of Tuscany, who were obliged to purchase their security at a very high price^g.

When Charles of Durazzo came in 1380 to recover the kingdom of Naples, the Florentine exiles joined him, and gave an alarm to their city, but were dispersed by Hawkwood, who was still in its service^h.

In 1381 when Lewis of Anjou entered Italy to drive Charles out of Naples, the Florentines solicited by the former to assist

^d Pog. p. 73. Buon. lb.

^e Murat. Ann. ubi sup. p. 270.

^f Id. ib. & aut. ibi cit. As these generals continued but twenty days in the Veronese, it was supposed to be a scheme of Bernabo's to get a sum of money. As he would not pay for the damages done by his marauders in the Brescian and Cremonese, he pretended to make them accountable for it. Ib. p. 288.

^g Rossi Ritratti, p. 61, 62.

^h Muratori, ib. p. 292.

him as a friend, and by the latter to observe a strict neutrality, dismiss Hawkwood from their service, and sent him to the Pope. As Urban had declared in favor of Charles, Lewis resented this equivocal behaviour in the Florentines ⁱ.

By the mediation of the Pope, Charles hired Hawkwood with 2200 horse October 22, 1382 ^k. When Lewis heard this, considering him in the Florentine service, he ordered all the effects of the Florentines in Provence to be seized, which was accordingly done to the great loss of that republic. Muratori however says it is certain the Florentines had discharged Hawkwood from their service ^l.

In 1386 Antonio della Scala, lord of Verona, and Fr. Carrara, lord of Padua, making war on each other, we find Hawkwood in the service of the former in May that year. With him was joined Giovanni d'Azzo, and both these gallant and experienced officers agreed, says Muratori, to a miracle, in the conduct of the war. In an action soon after between the two armies, Hawkwood forced a ditch, and charged the Veronese with so much vigor that 4600 of them with two generals were made prisoners, and Scaliger was glad to accept of peace ^m.

In April 1387, Hawkwood obtained his discharge from Carrara ⁿ, and leave to pass into the service of Galeazzo of Milan, who was watching to make his advantage of the disputes between the two rivals beforementioned, and at length declared war against Scaliger ^o. Hawkwood does not seem however to have closed with Galeazzo's offers, but to have returned to his old masters the Florentines, to whose vigilance alone it was owing that Galeazzo failed of the sovereignty of Italy ^p.

ⁱ Machiavel ubi sup.

^l Chron. Sen. ap. eund.

^k Ib. p. 331.

^p "Hawkwood captain of the league, April 10, 1387, with his English and the Bretons, &c. left Val d'Arno to enter Lombardy at the request of Bernabo against Scaliger and the Veronese." Buoninf. p. 603.

^k Giornal Napol. ap. Murat. ubi sup. p. 303.

^m Muratori ubi sup. p. 330, 331.

^o Ib. p. 347.

Bologna being particularly threatened by this aspiring prince, the Florentines, to whom it was united by league, sent the valiant John Hawkwood their general with a body of troops to its assistance. He was joined in May by three more allies, Gian Galeazzo, Albert marquis of Ferrara, and Francis Gonzaga, lord of Mantua. May 20 the Milanese army commanded by James Venni entered the Bolognese, but were repulsed in their first attempts, and soon after on the report that the duke of Bavaria was coming to relieve Italy, they were recalled ^q.

In 1387 ^r the Florentines demanding the restitution of Arezzo which the Siennese had possessed themselves of three years before, were refused by the latter: upon which a war ensued between the two states. After fruitless endeavours for an accommodation, the Siennese were joined by Galeazzo of Milan, who had the year before poisoned his uncle Bernabo, and usurped his dominions ^s. Hereupon the Florentines, who had appointed Hawkwood commander of their troops in conjunction with those of Bologna, and Padua against Visconti ^t, recalled him out of Apulia or from Caieta in Campania ^u, and sent him with 6000 horse to carry the war into Galeazzo's territories ^x. We find him soon after at Bologna with Charles, son of Bernabo, and Luchini an exiled nobleman ^y. In the course of this war the Siennese lost their general John Actio Ubaldini, whose consummate military knowledge made our countryman prefer him to all the other Italian commanders ^z. From Bologna Hawkwood led part of his army into the Modenese, whence he brought off considerable booty. He carried his ravages next into the territory of Reggio and Parma, and thence to Padua with 10000

^q Muratori ubi sup. p. 348.

^r Muratori ubi sup. p. 352. puts these transactions in 1390.

^s Poggio, p. 81. 95.

^u Ammirati, l. xv.

^y Ib. p. 97.

^t Roffi, p. 61, 62.

^x Poggio, p. 96.

^z Ib. p. 100.

foot and horse, and crossing the Adige at Porta Riccia^a laid waste all the country round about. But finding his troops likely to be bought off he returned to Padua. This most skilfull general in his excursions gave alarms to all Galeazzo's cities, and allowed his troops no rest^b.

The Florentines, not thinking their liberty secure while such a power as that of Galeazzo subsisted, resolved to humble it. For this purpose they invited James earl of Armagnac into their service with 12000 men, and sent Hawkwood towards France to hasten him, and join him. The design was, that Armagnac should begin the attack on Galeazzo's territories with Aleffandria, while Hawkwood with the united forces of Padua^c advanced to meet him in the Milanese, and in conjunction with him carry the war to the gates of Milan. Accordingly Hawkwood began his march May 10, entered the territory of Brescia, and having ravaged it and that of Bergamo, detachd a large corps of Bolognese to Reggio and Parma to create a greater diversion among the enemy. But this and the following month elapsing without any intelligence of Armagnac, and being in want of provisions, and beset by the enemy's well-disposed garrisons, Hawkwood broke up his camp in July. The enemy, pursuing him, met with a repulse, and our general brought off his army loaded with honor and booty through the heart of the enemy's country to Padua^d. The auxiliary troops which he had with him amounted to 6000 foot and 1000 horse: with these he had crossd the Adige in the same place as before, waiting for Armagnac, and carrying his ravages towards the river Abdica, within 15 or 20

^a Aretine, l. x. calls it *Pecile*.

^b Poggio, p. 103, 104.

^c The Florentines had dispatchd to Padua their experienced English captain Hawkwood [*il pr. de lor capitano Inglese*] with a considerable body of troops. Muratori, p. 355.

^d Muratori Ann. p. 355, 356. He adds, "I have related this retreat on the credit of Andrea Gatari, a contemporary writer of the History of Padua."

miles of Milan ^e. As he waited there some time, the Florentine deputies who were with him celebrated their annual horse-race on the same day as it was celebrated at Florence (July 24) in sight of the enemy on the other side the river ^f.

Hawkwood still continued by letters and messengers to hasten the arrival of Armagnac, who at last, without waiting for him, and contrary to his good advice, made an attack on Alessandria. But Venni who commanded there falling upon him, carried off the horses of his cavalry, and after a fight of three hours totally defeated and took him prisoner. He soon after died in the enemy's hands ^g. The victors marched to surprise Hawkwood, and encamped within a mile and half of him. But this cautious general retreated into the Cremonese, and when by several skirmishes he had amused the enemy, who kept within a mile of him, and thought to force his camp, he sallied out and repulsed them with loss ^h. This success a little discouraged them. Venni is said to have sent Hawkwood a fox in a cage, alluding to his situation: to which Hawkwood returned for answer, "the fox knew how to find his way out." This he did by retreating to the river Oglio, placing his best horse in the rear till the enemy had crossed the river, on whose opposite bank he placed 400 English archers on horseback. The rear by their assistance crossed the river and followed the rest, who, after fording the Mincio, encamped within ten miles of the Adige ⁱ. The

^e Ib. p. 105, 106.

^f Aretin. l. x.

^g Fog. p. 109. Compare Cori in Muratori, Ann. p. 356. 375. who represents it as an insignificant advantage.

^h Fog. p. 110.

ⁱ Buoninsegni, p. 708. says, that while Hawkwood lay encamped between the rivers Oglio and Adda, Venni who lay near him with a larger army thought himself sure of him, the river behind him continuing to overflow, and provisions failing. Hawkwood by various artifices allured him to battle, which the other declined, having in one rencontre, which was brought on with much pains, lost 400 men and horses. After this victory Hawkwood hastily crossed the Oglio, and by long marches in three days reached the borders of the Veronese, Vi-
greatest

greatest danger remained here. The enemy had broke down the banks of this river, and let out its waters swollen by the melting of the snow and mountains to overflow the plains. Hawkwood's troops, surprized at midnight by the increasing floods, had no resource but immediately to mount their horses, and leaving all their baggage, behind them marched in the morning slowly through the water which came up to their horses bellies. By evening with great difficulty they gained Baldo, a town in the Paduan. Some of the weaker horses sunk under the fatigue. Many of the foot perished with cold and struggling against the water: many supported themselves by laying hold on the tails of the stronger horses. Notwithstanding every precaution, many of the cavalry were lost as well as their horses. The pursuers seeing the country under water, and concluding the whole army had perished, returned back. The historian observes that it was universally agreed no other general could have got over so many difficulties and dangers, and led back his small army out of the heart of the enemy's country with no other loss than that occasioned by the floods, which no precaution could have guarded against. One of the most celebrated actions of Hawkwood's life, says Muratori, was this retreat, performed with so much prudence and art that he deserves to be paralleled with the most illustrious Roman generals; having to the disgrace of an enemy infinitely superior in number and in spite of all obstructions from the rivers, given them the slip, and brought off his army safe to Castel Baldo on the borders of the Paduan^k.

Sir

entine and Paduan territories, where he refreshed his troops; and then with great industry and honor brought back the Florentine army safe, and left the enemy vexed at the disappointment [*beffati*] thoroughly ridiculous.

^k Ann. p. 358. He has set down *two* retreats of Sir John Hawkwood this year, because finding in some writers only *one* (which he thinks most probable) he could not determine where the truth lay. It is probable, he conceives, that Hawkwood quitted the Cremonese on the first appearance of Armagnac in Italy, and returned no more thither. This is the asser-

tion

Sir John Hawkwood as soon as he found himself among his allies employed himself in refreshing his troops and watching the enemies motions ^l.

Galeazzo, wearied with the devastations of his territory, and unable to retaliate on the Florentines, began to incline to a peace; still, however, keeping his troops together about Lucca. The Florentines apprized of this recalled Hawkwood out of France. Accordingly he left a proper force there, and came to Bologna. He crost the Apennines, and making a descent into the territory of Pistoia, encampt at St. Miniato, still watching the enemy's motions. They waited in the Pisan till the Sienese joined them; after which they came down to the mouth of the river near St. Miniato. Hawkwood no sooner heard of their departure than he moved to Bonitio to intercept their march to Florence, and after embarrassing them on their route and in their retreat, encampt at Emporio. The enemy, after taking and burning a little town near St. Miniato, marcht to Fuchio, and thence entered the territory of Pisa. Hawkwood encampt in that of Prato, within two miles of them; and having received a reinforcement of 10000 auxiliaries from Florence ^m, posselt himself of all the approaches. This gave the Florentines such spirits, that two of their deputies who were in his camp prest him to attack the enemy. But this most prudent general, influenced by safer motives, paid no regard to their importunities ⁿ. The enemy finding Hawkwood's army was reinforced, and fearing his prudence as well as prest by want of provisions ^o, prepared to retreat in order of battle to Lucca,

tion of the Chronicle of Este, a contemporary and consequently more faithful relation. Rossi says, Hawkwood marcht through the territories of Visconti to join the count d'Armagnac, who was sent for to the assistance of the league: but hearing of his defeat, he brought back his army safe by surprizing dexterity (*con ingegno mirabile*). Ritratti, p. 62.

^l Pog. p. 110. 113.

^m Ammirati, l. xv.

^a Pog. p. 115, 116.

^o Antonini, p. 2. tit. 22. § 13.

whence

whence they came. No sooner was it reported that the enemy were retreating, than some officers of Hawkwood's cavalry demanded leave to pursue them. But the general, who knew the uncertainties of war, refused them, saying that the retreat of an enemy was an acknowledgment of victory on their side. Two of his officers, however, with their corps, resolved to pursue, but were soon obliged to return with loss. Hawkwood's object was to protect the territory of Florence, not to encounter with a superior force. But that the enemy might not boast of the smallest advantage, he detached a stronger party after them, who falling on their rear flushed with their late success threw them into disorder, took several of their officers^p, and obliged the rest to hasten their march to Monte Carlo in the Lucchese. The next day early they encamped in the territory of Pisa to recover from their consternation and fatigue. Hawkwood pursued them to Monte Carlo, and picked up many of their carriages and sick. Two days after, finding the enemy too strongly entrenched to be easily forced, he returned to St. Miniato, waiting to see whether the Siennese troops returned home. The better to defend the country from their inroads he drew a ditch twenty feet wide and fifteen deep from Toporio to the Arno, two miles in length, at the head of which he erected a huge tower, still called *Torre della fossa*, from which the enemy might be discovered at a great distance, and the alarm given. Their last resource now was to intercept the provisions carried from the coast of Pisa to Florence. To prevent this, Hawkwood remained in his quarters at St. Miniato. Venni tired of this delay engaged the Pisans to withdraw their supply of provisions from Florence, and returned to France^q.

^p Aretin, l. x. says, 300 of the enemy's foot and 200 horse were killed; and Ammirati, l. xv. makes their loss in killed and taken amount to 3000.

^q Poggio, p. 116, 117. Buoninsegni, p. 715.

The account given by Muratori ^s of the remaining transactions of this year is as follows. Galeazzo, determined to be revenged on the Florentines, dispatcht Verme from Sarzana, with orders to unite his troops in the Pisan, and ravage their territory; while his army in Sienna took another route with the Siennese. Upon this alarm Hawkwood was recalled in haste from Padua into Tuscany. Verme having joined the Siennese in September penetrated into the heart of the Florentine territory: but the diligent Hawkwood followed all his motions. Various rencontres happened with various success, but no action of moment. The Chronicle of Piacenza indeed relates that a large convoy of provisions which the Florentines were bringing from Pisa fell December 19 into the enemy's hands with 2000 sumpter horses, and the escort of 600 horsemen. In September Galeazzo believing Carrara to be weakened by the departure of Hawkwood, sent a body of troops to ravage the Paduan, but they were repulst with loss ^t. The Florentines, determined to make one decisive effort in this war, resolved to send Hawkwood with about 2000 lances into Lombardy against Galeazzo ^u. Accordingly he came from Rome by private and round-about ways; the direct and public ones being occupied by the enemy. His arrival in May 1390 occasioned great rejoicings at Florence, and dismay among the enemy, because he was reputed a *most excellent* captain ^x. He led the Florentine army first into the Modenese, whence he carried off great booty and 100 lances prisoners to Bologna ^y. He ravaged the territories of Parma, Reggio, Mantua, Vicenza, Verona and Brescia ^z, and returned to Padua. He defeated part of Galeazzo's troops under Verme, took a great number of men and horses, and killed 300 ^a.

Galeazzo, vexed to see the Florentines had been four months in the heart of his territories, while his own troops in eighteen

^s XII. 358.

^u Buoninsegni, p. 697. 700.

^y Ib. 702, 703.

^t Ib. 359.

^x Ib. 700.

^z Ib. 705.

^a Ib. 706.

months had not entered theirs, sent positive orders to Verme to invade them in September with an army of 3000 lances and 5000 foot. Hawkwood was just come from Bologna with 1200 lances and 100 foot, and encamp't at St. Miniato. Here he was joined by 1600 lances, 2000 foot, and 400 archers, and rendezvoused under Monte Topoli to oppose the enemy, who were afraid to enter the Florentine territory till September 17. They began their ravages, but the Florentines were always within three miles of them; so that they retreated in the night towards St. Miniato followed by the Florentines, and unable to get on to Florence. Hawkwood was within two miles of them; and his army being now augmented to 10000 men by fresh troops from Florence, Verme began to retreat, leaving his rear guard of 1500 lances. Hawkwood had made dispositions for an action, but hearing of the enemy's retreat, pursued them, came up with the rear guard, attackt, and threw them into confusion, and took or killed most of them. The main body of his army fell upon the rest, and routed them. Galeazzo in this battle lost near 2000 men, besides 1200 taken, among which last were several officers. The enemy disappointed in their designs fled to Monte Carlo, and thence to Lucca, and halted between that city and Pisa. The Florentines pursued them to Monte Carlo, and gathered up their stragglers in the route, and after refreshing themselves for two days proceeded toward the Lucchese; but, finding the enemy prepared to receive them, returned towards St. Miniato. Galeazzo's troops assaulted the castle of St. Maria del Monte, but meeting with a repulse retired first to Cascina, and thence to different places beyond the Arno. The Florentine army waited the motions of the enemy^b.

At the end of the year 1391 the Florentines made peace with Galeazzo and the rest of their enemies, though on disadvan-

^b Ib. p. 711. 715. Hawkwood being called to assist the Florentines against Giacomo di Verme, who with Visconti's troops invaded their territory, he opposed them so gallantly, that he obliged them to make a truce. Rossi, p. 62.

tageous terms. To reduce the expences of the state they discharged their foreign auxiliaries, except Hawkwood, of whose valor and fidelity they had had such repeated proofs, with 1000 men under his command ^c.

Peace being now re-established abroad, the city of Florence was in 1393 distracted with civil feuds, which were not terminated but by the execution and exile of some principal citizens. But at the close of this year they sustained a greater loss in Sir John Hawkwood ^d, who died March 6, advanced in years ^e, at his house in the street called Pulverosa ^f near Florence. His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, and the general lamentation of the whole city ^g. His bier, adorned with gold and jewels, was supported by the first persons of the republic, followed by horses in gilded trappings, banners, and other military ensigns, and the whole body of the citizens ^h. His remains were deposited in the church of St. *Reparata* ⁱ, where a *statue* (as Poggio and Roffi call it, though it is well known to be a portrait) of him on horseback ^k was put up by a public decree. If the Florentine historians did not distinguish between a statue and a portrait, no wonder our countryman Stowe ^l talks of an *image*

^c Pog. p. 120.

^d Ib. p. 122.

^e *Molto or assai vecchio*. Roffi. Giovio.

^f Ammirati et Antonini ub. sup. Buoninsegni says he died March 17, in Polvero'a in uno suo luogo, è fu honorato di grandissime essequie il suo corpo dalla nostra comunità di bandiera, cera e molti altri ornamenti, e sepolito in Sta. Maria del Fiore per fargli per à tempo honoratissima sepultura. p. 731. Bottari, in his edition of Vasari's Lives of the Painters, Rom. 1759, says May 17, 1394.

^g Pog. p. 123. Roffi. Muratori ub. sup. p. 351.

^h Ammirati, l. xvi.

ⁱ Pog. p. 123. This church was antiently called St. *Salvatore*, then Santa *Maria a fiore* or *fori*, and lastly Sta. *Reparata*, by order of pope Zozimus, for the victory gained over Radagaisus on the festival of that Saint. Poccianti vita septem sanctor. Florentinor.

^k Bocchi and Cinelli, Bellezze di Firenze, p. 51.

^l Annals, p. 308, 309. Fuller says "they adorned him with the *statue* of a man of arms and a sumptuous monument, wherein his ashes remain honoured at this present day." Worth. Essex, 330. Rapin's account of his exploits and their reward is comprized in this short paragraph. "Thomas Hawkwood, who went from England a journeyman taylor, having afterwards taken to arms, signalized himself in the wars in Italy by his valor and conduct, which raised him to the highest posts. He gained so great honour and reputation for having restored in those parts military discipline which was almost lost, that after his death the Florentines erected in their city a *black marble statue* as an acknowledgment for the services he had done them." IV. 314.

as great as a mighty pillar, erected to the memory of Sir John Hawkwood at Florence; or that Weever, copying him, calls it a *statue*.

In the representation of this hero painted on the dome of the church, and partly copied by T. Patch an English painter settled at Florence in the plate before referred to, he appears mounted on a pacing gelding, whose bridle with the square ornament embossed on it is covered with crimson velvet or cloth, and the saddle is red, stuffed or quilted. He is dressed in armour with a surcoat flowing from his shoulders, but girt about his body; his greaves are covered with silk or cloth, but the knee pieces may be distinguished under them: his shoes which are probably part of his greaves are pointed according to the fashion of the times. His hands are bare: in his right he holds a yellow baton of office which rests on his thigh; in his left the bridle. His head, which has very short hair, is covered with a cap not unlike our earls' coronets, with a border of wrought work.

Under this picture is the inscription exhibited in the plate.
JOANNES . ACUTUS . EQUES . BRITANNICUS . DUX . AETATIS . SUE .
CAUTISSIMUS . ET . REI . MILITARIS . PERITISSIMUS . HABITUS . EST .
PAULI . UCCELLI . OPUS .

1436.

Mr. Wright^m observes the character of *dux ætatis sue cautissimus et rei militaris peritissimus*, here given to him, is borrowed from an antient inscription in honor of Fabius Maximus preserved in the great Duke's gallery. But Poggio, who hardly ever mentions Hawkwood without some epithet of praise, uses that of *rei bellicæ peritissimus*, p. 104, and applies that of *rei militaris sue ætatis peritissimus* to Ubaldini, the Siennese general, of whom, as we have already observed, our countryman had so high an opinion.

Our countryman Skippon, who travelled over Italy 1663, gives the following account of this monument.

^m Travels, p. 395. Breval makes the same observation, l. 169.

“On the north wall of St. Maria di Fiori is pictured one *John Sharp*, an Englishman, who was a taylor in England, but here he was preferred to a command in the army. He took the city of Pisa^a; and it is storied of him that, immediately before he stormed it, he received a letter from Florence, giving him orders not to storm it, but deferred the reading of it till after he had gained the place. He is painted on horseback, and under him is an inscription much defaced^o, but some words we made shift to read:

Johannes Acutus, Eques Britannicus dux ætatis suæ
 ————— *habitus est.*

His coat of arms also is painted, Arg. 3 escallops on a chevron Sa. Under all is written, *Pauli Ucelli opus*, being the painter's name. The picture of the horse is faulted by Borghini for being painted ambling, which he says is not natural to horses; but, by his leave, horses pace naturally. This Sir John Hawkwood, called in Latin *Acutus*, is indeed Sir John Hawkwood, but by omitting the H. and the W. the name is turned into *Acutus*. Verstegan, p. 302^p.”

Vafari^q and Bocchi^r pass the same critique on Hawkwood's horse, which they represent as *lifting up both legs on the same side at once*^s. Bocchi however says of the whole picture, that

^a I find nothing of this fact in historians.

^o It is plain the inscription has been renewed since Skippon wrote. Keysser gives it as at present, with this comment on it, that *Acutus* perhaps signifies *Sharp*. He adds, that next to Hawkwood is painted Nicholas de Tolentino on horseback. This last was by And. di Castagno.

“In this church (viz. the Doma) a *Johannes Acutus* (as he is called) is painted in fresco on horseback. He was an Englishman in the Florentine service, and behaved very bravely. His proper name according to some was *Hacluit*, by others *Sharp*, which the Italians render into Latin by the word *Acutus*.” Ives's Voyage, p. 411.

^p Churchill's Voyages, iv. 633.

^q Lives of Painters.

^r Ballezze de Firenze 1677, p. 50.

^s *Star ritto sopra i due piedi dalla medesima banda, i! che naturalmente non puol' essere, imperchè i cavalli così ferme come camminando se posano il piè della staffa, posano anche la mano della lancia, et così per lo contrario.* Bocchi ubi sup. He adds that Castagno copied this mistake in his portrait of Tolentino many years after.

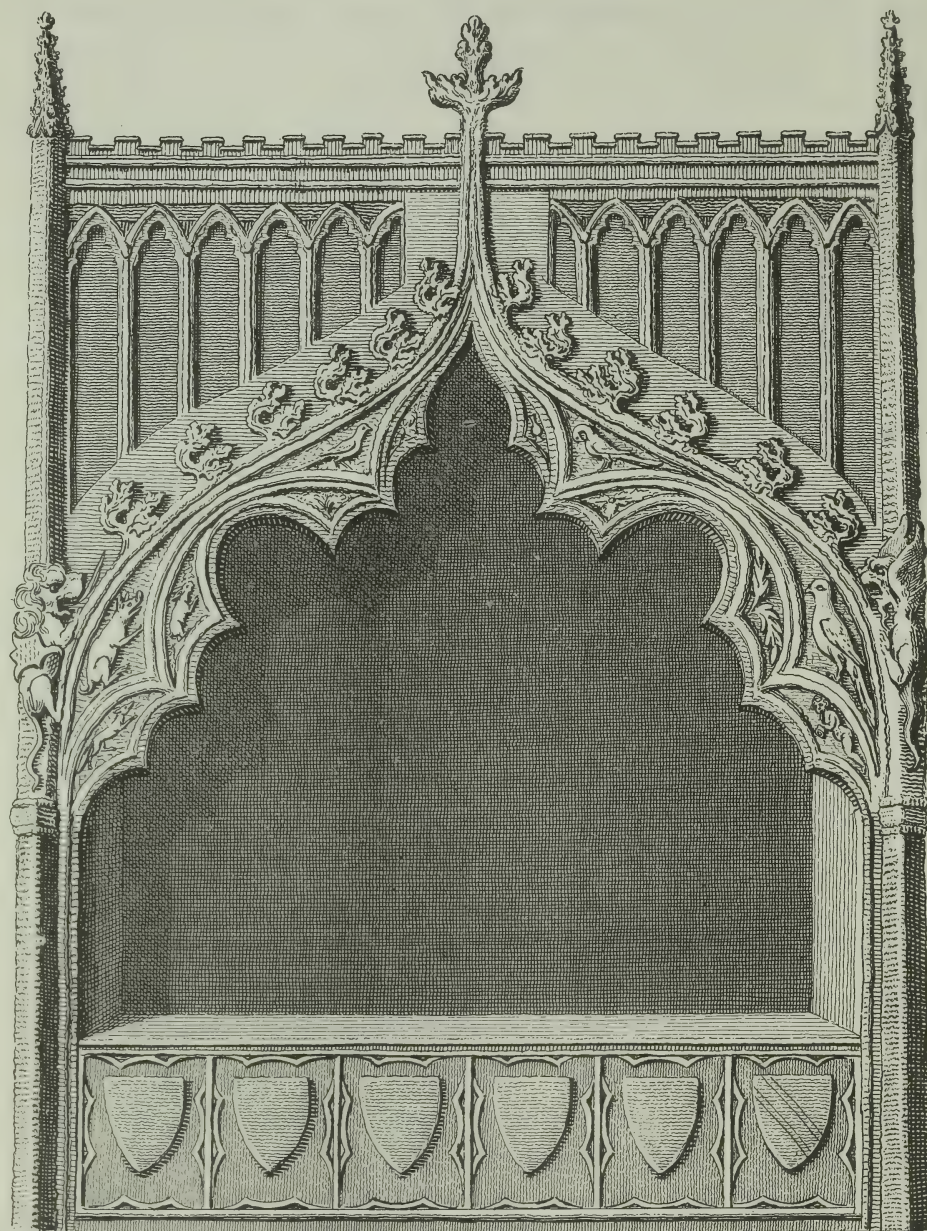
it was highly esteemed by connoisseurs. The painter *Paolo Uccelli*, or *Mazzochi*, was born at Florence 1349, and is generally supposed to have died 1432, aged 83; but, if the date on this picture be rightly copied, he must have lived some little time longer. He was a disciple of Antonio Venitiano, and one of the first of the old artists that paid a proper attention to perspective, on the study of which he spent so much time as to leave him not enough to earn a maintenance by practising it. He painted all sorts of subjects; but was so particularly fond of painting birds, that he introduced them wherever he could into his compositions, and from thence got the name of *Uccelli*^s.

Sir John had a cenotaph in the church of his native town, erected by his executors Robert Rokeden senior and junior, and John Coe. It is described by Weever^t, as “a tomb archt over, and engraven to the likeness of hawks flying in a wood,” which Fuller^u says, was “quite flown away.” It is plain the last of these writers never took any pains to visit or procure true information about this monument, which still remains in good preservation near the upper end of the south isle of Sible Hedingham church. The arch of this tomb is of the mixt kind, terminating in a sort of bouquet, on both sides of which over the arch are smaller arches of tracery in relief. The arch is adorned with hawks and their bells, and other emblems of hunting, as a hare, a boar, a boy founding a conch-shell, &c. The two pillars that support it are charged with a dragon and lion. Under this arch is a low altar tomb with five shields in quatrefoils, formerly painted. One of them seems to have been charged with a *bend cotized*. On the slab, which is of grey marble, are some imperfect traces of figures inlaid in brass: but not enough to support Mr. Merant’s assertion, that “from the effigies on this monument it should seem he

^s Resta’s Catalogue of Painters. Pilkington’s Dictionary of Painters.

^t P. 623.

^u Worth. Essex, 330.



The Monument, of SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD
at SIBLE HEDINGHAM ESSEX.

M. Tyson del.

Chiswick.

had two wives." Within the arch were some lines painted on the wall by way of epitaph, but they have been whited over, and are not preserved in any author. A print of this tomb from a drawing taken on the spot 1775 by the late ingenious Mr. Tyson, F. S. A. is prefixt to these memoirs.

In a south window of the chantry chapel, at the east end of this isle, are painted hawks, hawks bells, and escallops, which last are part of the Hawkwood arms, as the first were probably the crest as well as a rebus of the name; and we find a hawk volant on Sir John's seal. In the north and west side of the tower are two very neat hawks on perches in relief, in *rondeaux* hallowed in the wall: that over the west door is extremely well preserved. They probably denote that some of the family built the tower. Mr. Morant imagines some of them rebuilt this church about the reign of Edward III. but none appear to have been in circumstances equal to such munificence before our hero; and perhaps his heirs were the rebuilders.

Contemporary and succeeding writers agree in their praises of this illustrious general. Both friends and enemies considered him as one of the greatest soldiers of his age. Poggio styles him *rei militaris scientia clarus, et bello assuetus*^x, *dux sagax*^y, *dux prudens*^z, *tantus dux*^a, *rei bellicæ peritissimus*^b, *ad belli officia prudentissimus*^c, *expertæ virtutis et fidei*^d. Epithets these which might serve instead of a particular character. Muratori calls him *il prode et il accortissimo capitano*^e. As he had been formed under the Black Prince, it is not to be wondered that his army became the most exact school of martial discipline, in which were trained many captains who afterwards rose to great eminence. Of these, not to mention Italians, John Oliver and Thomas Newenton, esq. his military companions, are joined

^x Pogg. p. 29.

^a P. 3.

^d P. 120.

^y P. 32.

^b P. 104.

^e Ann. ubi sup. p. 358. 371.

^z P. 47.

^c P. 115.

with him in the chantries founded for him in his parish church, and in the adjoining priory of Castle Hedingham ^f.

The circumstances of the times must make an apology for the frequent changes of his service, which led him to engage as suited his interest. He was a soldier of fortune, and his abilities in the field occasioned him to be courted by different rival states. The Florentines offered the best terms, and to them he ever after adhered with an irreproachable fidelity. Lucan's character of a mere mercenary soldier ^g by no means belongs to Sir John Hawkwood. Though Poggio charges him while in Barnabo's service with an eagerness after booty ^h; he brings no charges of cruelty, oppression, or injustice. Compared with the excesses authorised by the Italian generals and even the Pope's legates, the massacre at Cesena 1376, the cardinal legate's horrid threat to wash his feet in the blood of the Bolognese ⁱ, all the ravages committed by Hawkwood, will be the pure though unhappy effects of lawful war.

His charity appears in his joining with several persons of quality in this kingdom in founding the English hospital at Rome for the entertainment of poor travellers ^k.

^f "The licence for this foundation bears date 1412, and the endowment consisted of 4 messuages, 4 tofts, 420 acres of arable, 13 of meadow, 20 of pasture, 4 of wood, 22 of alder, and 12 s. rent in Sible and Castle Hedingham, Gosfield, Mapiltrested, Great and Little Gelham, and Toppesfield, [Inquis. 14 Hen. IV.] The house where the chantry priest lived stands at some little distance from the church, and bore then and still bears the name of the *Hostage*, having originally been a charitable foundation for the entertainment of devout pilgrims. The patronage of this chantry belonged to the Lord of the Manor of Hawkwood. On the dissolution of chantries this coming to the crown, king Edward VI granted it to John Lucas of Colchester, and his heirs, by the name of the chantry of Hedingham Sible; and a messuage called *le Ostage*, the Tilekill, Barns-end, the Storehouse and Horrolds all in this parish. [Pat. 2 Edw. VI.] They have been for some time in other hands. The *Hostage* belongs to Mr. Joseph Smitheman, bookseller in Braintree." Morant's Essex, II. p. 290, 291. *Hostage* is a corruption of *Hostelage* or *Ostelage*, as *Ostel* yard in some colleges at Cambridge is the yard of the *hostel* or college.

^g Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur,
Venalesque manus: ibi fas ubi maxima merces. Pharf. x. 408.

^h Pog. p. 40.

ⁱ Ib. p. 65, 66.

^k Stowe's Annals, p. 335, cited by Weever.

To complete the character of my hero, I shall add the description of his person given by Rossi in his "Ritratti di capitani illustri;" but I must at the same time caution my readers that it is as much to be suspected as the portrait prefixt to his elogium. He was, says this author, of somewhat more than middling stature, well set, his complexion florid, his eyes and hair dark¹.

Sir John Hawkwood appears to have been married, and to have had a son long before he quitted his native country. John Hawkwood and Margery his wife, and John their son and heir, held their first court for the manor of Gosfield in 1344, at which time the place was called *Hawkwode's Gosfield*^m. John Hawkwood held another court here 1360, the very year of the treaty of Bretigny which drove him upon adventures. By his style here he should seem not to have been a knight so early. Nicholas Hawkwood chaplain and others held the court 1363, probably as steward to his relation Sir Johnⁿ.

In Italy Sir John took for his second wife *Donna*, or as some writers^o call her *Domitia*, natural daughter of Bernabo duke of Milan, who gave her a portion of a million of florins.

Besides his son abovementioned, he left another of both his names born in Italy, and knighted. The record of his naturalization cited by Weever^p, calls him, "*Johannes filius Johannis Hawkwood, miles, natus in partibus Italia, indigena*, 8^o Hen. IV. "*mater ejus nata in partibus transmarinis*." This John Hawkwood had a daughter and heir named *Antiochia*, married to Sir William de Coggeshall, who died about the beginning of the

¹ *Era l'Aucuto di statura piu che mezzana, di membra forte, di volto rubicondo, d'occhi è di capelli castagnicci*.

^m Morant, Essex, II. 287. 380.

ⁿ Ib. 379.

^o Barnes Hist. of Edw. III. p. 533. 718. ex Jovio in Bernabo. W. V. calls her *Dominia*, Weever and Fuller *Domnia*.

^p P. 623. ex MS. in Bib. Cot. et in Arch. turr. Lond. Pat. 8 H. IV. p. 1. m. 20.

reign of Hen. VI.¹ and by whom she had four daughters who all married Essex gentlemen. By Anne, a female descendant from Sir John Hawkwood, jun. the family estates at Hedingham and Gosfield passed to Thomas Rolf, esq. serjeant at law to Hen. VI. who died 1440.

Sir John Hawkwood, sen. was one of the executors of Thomas de Vere, seventh earl of Oxford of that name, who died 1371, 45 Edw. III.¹

In the British Museum (MS. Harl. 6989. 1. 2.) are two original letters from *Johannes Haukewood, capitaneus, defensoribus civitatis Senarum*, dat. Feb. 3 & 28, 1377.²

“Magnifici et potentes domini tamque fratres carissimi; singnificavimus vobis quod dominus summus pontifex nobis rescripsit quod pro ambaffiatoribus ipsius procuremus hunc unum saluum aductum a nobis et a d'nis Florentinis pro omnibus gentibus lige quod ipsi possunt adcedere per quascunque terras lige cum ducentis equitibus, armis, valisiis, et rebus aliis quibuscunque, indeque Romam reddere, valiturum duobus mb'; quare magnificentiam vram deprecamur quod dictum saluum aductum nobis mittere non tardetis in tali forma et ordine quod aliquid in eo opponi non possit. Data in S'co Quiricho die 111^o Febr.

Johannes Haukewod,
Capitan³.”

Endorsed, “Magnificis et potentibus d'nis d'nis defensoribus p'pli civitatis Senar', frib' carissimis.”

The other is as follows:

“Magnifici et potentes domini honorandi, amici carissimi; habemus pro certo per literas egregii militis d'ni Johis Tornebrici,

¹ Morant ubi sup. p. 525. In p. 372 he says she remarried Sir John Tyrrell of Horndon: but this is a mistake, no such marriage occurring among the Tyrrells. Ib. I. 208.

² Dugd. I. 193.

³ See Poggio, p. 73.

⁴ *Mensibus.*

m'ri Thome de Edwarfton, et Alderici de Int'minellis, quod hoc fero " ambaf' d'ni fummi pontificis Radicoffanum applicuerunt, Et cras in prandio veniunt S'cum Quirichum bona hora, quibus obviam ibimus ufque ad hofpitale balduini bona hora, quæ vobis fignificare curavimus per prefentes. Apud S'cum Quirichum xxvii Feb. hora iii noctis.

Johannes Haucwod,
Capitan'."

Endorfed, " Magnificis et potentibus d'nis d'nis defenforibus civit' Senar' hon^{dis}, amicis car^{mis}.

Both thefe letters refer to the deputies fent by Pope Gregory in 1377 to Florence, to endeavor to gain over the Florentines, by infinuating that the war in which they were engaged againft him was more the effect of private ambition and refentment than public concurrence: but his artifices were feen through, and fuch an answer returned as ferved only to prolong the war with aggravated refentment on his part.

The feal to both is of an octagonal form, with a hawk volant, and traces of an infcription on a label from its mouth.

" Ambaffiatores.

Magnifici et potentes Domini tamq̃ fides cariffimi / fignificam' vob' qd dominus fumus

Johannes Haukewod
Capitan' } r?



Autograph & Seal of Sir John Hawkwood.

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N° XIX.

C O N T A I N I N G
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T O
T H E M E M O I R S
O F
S I R J O H N H A W K W O O D.

MDCCLXXXIV.

[Price Six Pence.]

TO MR. J. NICHOLS, PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.

S I R,

My absence from home for many weeks was the cause of my not receiving the Memoirs of Sir John Hawkwood till last night.

Not knowing with certainty the author, I beg leave, through your means, to communicate the following remarks on a publication which, in general, has very great merit.

P. 33, l. 8, *France*, r. *Lombardy*. The error is from some historian writing *Gallia*, which means *Gallia Cisalpina*, not “*Modern Gaul*.”

P. 33, l. 7, *dark*. The word *castagnicci* can imply no more than “tending to chestnut,” which is from dark.

P. 35, if the *fac simile* is right, the label has “God avance,” or “Dieu foit en l’aide,” or “à l’aide Dieu,” plainly his *word of battle*, or *cri de guerre*. In the latter, *tamq* should be *tanquam*. The letters are not *autograph*; they are of the hand-writing of some notary or scribe; the authenticity depends on the *seal*.

These are little observations; what follows is of more essential moment.

There is a mistake which runs through the whole work, and it is this. Because the lord of the manor of Hawkwood was called John de Hawkewood in Edward III. it is supposed that John Hawkwood, the great general, was lord of that manor. The error is in Morant originally. The very authority which he produces confutes him. If John Hawkwood and Margery his

G

wife,

wife, and *John* their son, held their first court for the manor of Gosfield in 1344, that son must have been born in 1323 at the latest; and we can hardly suppose that at that time John Hawkwood was under 22, as he died in 1393-4, his age at his death must have been 92 or 93. He married in Italy anno 1377, at the age of 76 or 77. All this is highly improbable. Add to this, the great improbability of the lord of different manors serving as an archer or common soldier of the meanest kind, and Mr. Morant's error will be obvious.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

Newhailes, near Edinburgh,
12th October, 1782.

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

To the two Letters already printed, we here add a third.

A. D. 1382, 5 Ric. II.

Johanni Hawkewode & subditis regiis in Italia de imperatore assistendo.

Dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni Hawkwode militi qui penes dictum fratrem nostrum * retentus existit ut accepimus, prout idem Johannes ad ipsius fratris nostri commodum et honorem vos et quemlibet vestrum requisivit intendetis.

* Wenceslaum Romanorum & Boemiæ regem.

Not having an Opportunity of consulting the complete editions of VILLANI sooner, we shall subjoin here his Account of HAWKWOOD's Exploits in the Service of PISA, which was his first Appearance in ITALY, before recited from other Authors, p. 6.

The ENGLISH Forces again taken by the PISANS into pay.

NOW taking leave of foreign affairs, and returning to the petty skirmishes and bugbear triflings of the tiresome war between the Florentines and the Pisans, it happened that the term for which the English were engaged being near expired, the Pisans, for two reasons (one that the Florentines might not engage them, the other that they might be drawn away from the city, as long as the war might require) took them again into service in January, 1364, for six months, at the pay of one hundred and fifty thousand florins, with condition, that they might make inroads where ever they pleased, except on the territories of the Pisans and their confederates; that the Pisans should discharge all their other soldiery, and appoint *John Aguto*, an Englishman, to be their captain-general. He was a great master in the art of war, and was naturally, fox-like, wily and cunning like the rest of his nation. His surname, in the English language, was *Hawkwood*;

Come l'Ingleſi furono da i PISANI ricondotti, p. 153.

LASCIANDO le forestiere ſtorie, e tornando alle ſcaramucchie e badalucchi della tedioſa guerra intra i Fiorentini e Piſani, ci occorre che eſſendo li Ingleſi per finire loro condotta per due riſpetti, l'una perche li Fiorentini non li conduceſſono, l'altra per trarliſi di caſa, per li tempi che richiedeſſe la guerra, i Piſani del meſe de Gennaio, 1364, li riconduſſono per ſe meſi con ſoldo di cento cinquanti migliaia di Fiorini, con patti che poteſſono fare cavalcate dove a loro piaceſſe, ſalvo alle terre loro ſottopoſte, raccomandate, e collegate tutti li altri ſoldati loro caſſaſſero, e feciono loro capitano di guerra Vanni Aguto Ingleſe, gran maeftro di guerra, di natura a loro modo volpigna e aſtuta. Il ſuo ſopranome in lingua Ingleſe era

wood, q. d. *Falcon of or in the wood*; for his mother being in the pains of child-birth, and finding her labour attended with difficulty, caused herself to be carried into an adjoining grove, and there brought him forth; and although he was not of race of dignified nobility, his father was a gentleman in the mercantile profession, and a citizen of long standing, as his ancestors were. Young Hawkwood being grown up of age to carry arms, and his countenance and behaviour having something very promising in the martial career, he was put under an uncle of his, a great warrior, and one, who in the war of France and England, had displayed great talents, and signalized himself on many occasions. The English, therefore, took up their winter quarters at Pisa, but very much to the damage and molestation of the citizens, and of their wives; many of whom were therefore sent away to Genoa and other places out of danger of being violated in their beds.

Expeditions undertaken by the ENGLISH in the depth of Winter.

THE English finding themselves again taken into service, like men fond of booty, and eager for action, on the 2d of February,

Kauckovole, che in Latino dice *Falcone di bosco*, ovvero *in bosco*, pero che essendo la madre a un suo maniere per partorire, e non possendo, si fé portare in un suo boschetto, e quivi lui di presente partorì; e tutto che non fosse di schiatta de nobili, con dignità, il padre era gentilhuomo mercatante e antico borghese, e così li suoi antenati. E come Giovanni venne in età di portare arme essendo d'aspetto, e diffidenza di farsi in esse valente huomo, fu dato a un suo zio, gran maestro di guerra, il quale nella guerra di Francia e d'Inghilterra havea fatto in arme e pratiche di guerra belle e rilevante cose. E li detti Inglesi vernarono in Pisa con gran danno e disagio de cittadini i qualia loro facieno oltraggio, e intra li altri delle donne loro. Il perche molti di loro le ne mandavano a Genoue, e altrove in luoghi dove potessono honestamente dormire.

Cavalcate fatte per li Inglesi nel pieno del verno, p. 154.

POI che l'Inglesi si viddono ricondotti, come huomini vaghi di preda, e vogliosi di zuffa, a di 2 Febbraio, in numero di mille lancie, i quali si facevano tre per
lancia

bruary, fat out from the frontiers, where they had just before assembled, to the number of one thousand lances, to each of which were three horsemen. They were the first who brought into Italy the custom of embodying horsemen under the names of lances; since before them the troops bore the name of rough beards and banners. Along with them were two thousand foot; and though the cold was excessive, with repeated great falls of snow, they penetrated by night through the Val de Nievole, and reached Vinci & Lampolecchio, fertile spots, and abounding with provisions and forage for man and horse. By the stubbornness of our country people, whom no edicts nor threats of government will make obedient, they found their stores unremoved, and the army coming in the dead of night, many of the inhabitants were seized in their beds.

The English fixed their quarters in the villages about Vinci, occupying above a thousand houses, and the next day pursued their incursions as far as Signa and Carmignano (within a few miles of Florence). The march of an army at a season so unusual and unfavourable, especially by night, gives us occasion to mention the manners and discipline of these English, in the present chapter, without making any digression on this subject elsewhere.

lancia di gente a cavallo (e egli furono i primi che recarono in Italia il condurre la gente da cavallo sotto nome di lancia, che in prima si conducevano sotto nome di barbuti, e bandiere) e in numero di due mila a piè; Essendo il freddo fuori di misura e venute più nevi sopra nevi si partirono dalle frontiere dove poco dianzi serano ridotti, e passando la notte per la *Val di Nievole*, se ne vennero a Vinci e Lampolecchio, luoghi fertili e abondevoli di vittuaglia per li huomini e per li cavalli, e trovarono il paese non sgombro per la pertinacia de nostri contadini, che non vogliono per bando o per minacce a loro signori ubidire; giugnendo nel pieno della notte molti paesani presono nella letta; e posono il campo ferme nelle villate di Vinci stendendosi in più di mille case, e il seguente di cavalcarono infino a Signa e Carmignano. Il tempo disusato e sconcio a cavalcare gente d'arme e massimamente di notte ne presta materia di scrivere de modi e reggimenti de' detti Inglesi nel presente capitolo senza farne altra distinzione. E in prima essi havieno in consuetudine di guerreggiare così di verno come di state, che a Romani (di cui è scritto "Fortia
" agere

where. And first, it was habitual to them to go to war as well in winter as in summer; a thing quite unusual even among the Romans, of whom it is said, "*Fortia agere et pati Romanum.*" Winter to them was a time of vacation; and unless some great emergency brought them out to battle, war gave place to repose. Hannibal, a man of iron, in the midst of winter passed the highest summits of the mountains which form a chain through the middle of Italy, from Monte Veso to the Faro of Messina; which Alps, from the above events, are called *Alpi Pennine*, the Africans being denominated *Penni*. In winter he came down to the plains of Pavia, where he gave battle to Scipio, and was victorious. Afterwards directing his course towards Rome with only one elephant left in his army, and with the loss of an eye by the excessive cold, he proceeded to the lake of Perugia, where, between Mount Gete and Passignano, he gave battle to the consul Flaminius, and was again victorious, not only by stratagem, but by the precaution of anointing with oils the benumbed and weakened limbs of his soldiers, and ordering great fires to warm them before they went to action.

To return to our subject: there was no ancient record of any cold so strong and piercing; for, from the beginning of December to March, the snows had fallen without ceasing, and the ice
by

"*agere et pati Romanum*"—che in volgare suona, "*Forti cose fare e patire Romana cosa è*") non fu in uso; e sempre il verno facieno feria dando alla guerra riposo se per forza non fussino tratti a battaglia. Annibale, uomo di ferro, nel mezzo del verno passa gli altissimi pioghi delle montagne che surgono per lo mezzo d'Italia, e passano da Monte Veso in fino sopra il Faro di Messina, li quali Alpi poi per la detta cagione sempre nominati furono le *Alpi Pennine*, perché li Africani sono nominati *Penni*. E scese; il verno si combatte a Pavia con Scipione, e lo vinse; poi dirizzandosi verso Roma con un solo elefante che rimasogli era, per lo freddo perdé un occhio, e procedendo sopra il lago di perugia tra Monte Geti e Passignano, si combatté con Flaminio console, e lo vinse, usando astuzia, però ché essendo per lo gran freddo le membra de cavalieri arrudate e spossate, avanti che venisse alla battaglia Annibale fé fare gran fuochi, e scaldare i suoi cavalieri, e ugnere con olio.

Tornando a nostra materia, per antico ricordo non era che fossè stato il freddo sì aspro e pungente, che quasi per tutto Dicembre fino al Marzo non erano cessate le
nevi,

by the cold winds become very thick, which made the roads almost impassable for horse, especially in certain declivities, which could not be avoided. These English were all lusty young men, most of them born and brought up in the long wars between the French and English; warm, eager, and practised in slaughter and rapine, for which they were always ready to draw their swords, with very little care for their personal safety; but in matters of discipline very obedient to their commanders. However, in their camps or cantonments, through a disorderly and over-daring boldness, they lay scattered about in great irregularity, and with so little caution, that a bold resolute body of men might in that state easily give them a shameful defeat. The armour of almost all were cuirasses, their breasts covered with a steel coat of mail, gauntlets, and armour for the thighs and legs, daggers and broad swords; all of them had long tilting-lances, which, after dismounting from their horses, they were very dextrous in handling. Every man had one or two pages, and some of them more, according to their ability to maintain them. On taking off their armour, it was the business of their pages to keep them clean and bright, so that when they came to action their arms shone like looking-glass, and thus gave them a more terrifying appearance.

nevi, e'l giaccio per li venti freddi fu grosso, e a passare per li cavalli quasi impossibile, e massimamente in certi pendenti di vie, che non si potieno schifare. Costoro tutti giovani e per la maggior parte nati e cresciuti nelle lunghe guerre tra Franceschi e Inglesi, caldi e vogliosi, usi alli homicidi e alle rapine erano correnti al ferro, poco havendo loro persone in calere, ma nell'ordine della guerra erano presti e ubidenti a i loro maestri, tutto che nell'alloggiare a campo per la disordinata baldanza e ardire poco cauti si poneffero sparti e male ordinati, e in forma da lievemente ricevere da gente coraggiosa dannaggio e vergogna. Loro armadura quasi di tutti erano panzeroni, e davanti al petto un'anima d'acciajo, bracciali di ferro, cosciali e gamberuoli, daghe e spade fode, tutti con lancia da posta, le quali sceſi a pic volentieri ufavano, e ciascuno di loro avea uno o due paggetti, e tali piu seondo ch'era possente. Come s'havieno cavato l'arme di dosso, i detti paggetti di presente intendeno a tenerle pulite, si che quando comparieno a zuffe, loro arme parieno specchi, e per tanto erano piu spaventevoli. Altri di loro erano arcieri, e loro archi erano di nasso, e lunghi, e con essi erano presti e ubidenti e facieno buona prova. Il modo del

appearance. Others among them were archers, their bows long, and made of yew. They were very expert and dextrous in using them, and did great service in action. Their manner of fighting in the field was almost always on foot. The horses were given in charge to the pages. The body they formed was very compact and almost round; each lance was held by two men in the same manner as the spear is handled in hunting the wild boar; and thus close embodied with their lances pointed low, and with slow steps, they marched up to the enemy with terrible outcry, and very difficult was it to break or disunite them. But after all, experience has shewn they were more fit for night expeditions and plundering villages than for keeping the field; and their success was more owing to the cowardice of our own men than their valour and military virtue. They had very curious ladders in pieces, the biggest of which was of three steps, and one piece socketed into the other like so many trumpets, and with these they were able to mount the top of the highest towers.

del loro combattere in campo quasi sempre era a piede, assegnando i cavalli a paggi loro, legandosi in schiera quasi tonda, e li due prendieno una lancia a quello modo che con li spiedi s'aspetta il cinghiaro, e cosi legati e stretti colle lance basse a lenti passi si facieno contro a nimici con horribil strida, e duro era il poterli snodare: e per quello se ne vidde per la speriienza, gente piu atta a cavalcare di notte, e furare terra che a tenere campo; felici piu per la codardia della nostra gente che per loro virtu. Scale havieno artificiose che'l maggior pezzo era di tre scaglioni, e l'un pezzo prendea l'altro a modo della tromba, e con esse farebbono montati in su ogni alta torre.



To face p. 45.



GIO • AVCVTO

Character' of Sir JOHN HAWKWOOD, translated from "Ritratti
 "& Elogii di Capitani Illustri," published "In Roma, alle
 spese di Pompilio Totti, Librario, MDCXXXV." 4to, p. 45.
 Reprinted there by Roffi, MDCXLVI. 4to, p. 60.

With an Outline of his Portrait, as there exhibited.

[See Memoirs of Sir JOHN HAWKWOOD, p. 33.]

JOHN HAWKWOOD acquired the reputation of a valiant captain in the wars which Edward IV. made in Burgundy against the French. His name afterwards became more celebrated under Barnaba visconti, whose pay he entered into with a large company of English archers, during the war that was carried on against the Gonzaghi in the Mantuan. From thence, having fixed himself in the highest esteem of the princes, he was sent by order of the Visconti to defend the Pisans against the Florentines, in whose territories he took and destroyed several castles, and carried his victorious arms even to the gates of Florence. The Florentines having taken alarm at his success instantly agreed on a peace with the Pisans; but Hawkwood having received orders from the same Visconti to attack the Florentines

Acquistò Giovanni Aucuto Inglese affai celebre nome di Capitano nelle guerre fatte in Borgogna da Odoardo quarto, contra i Francesi. Crebbe poi la sua fama sotto Barnaba Visconte, a gli stipendij del quale fu condotto, con una grossa compagnia d'arcieri Inglese, nella guerra fatta contra' Gonzaghi nel Montouano. Salito però nella opinione de' principi in grandissima stima, fu da visconti mandato in favor de' Pisani, contra' Fiorentine, nello stato de' quali prese, e rouinò molte castella: e fin fu le porte di Fiorenza trascorse vittorioso. Atteriti dunque i Fiorentini, stabilirono per all' hora co' Pisani la pace: ma, tornato l'Aucuto contra di loro, per ordine de'

H

Visconti

rentines again, defeated them under San Miniato. Soon after he fought a battle upon the confines of Arezzo and Cortona with Obizzone Tomaffo, and though he made a vigorous resistance, he was beaten and taken prisoner; however, the Florentines, at the request of pope Urban V. set him at liberty. After being released he passed into the service of the church, and went with the legate into Romagna. There he won several battles against Francesco and Sinibaldo Ordelaffi, lords of Forli, and other usurpers of the ecclesiastical dominions. He reduced to the obedience of the pope Faenza, Forli, Forlimpopoli, and Cesena, and likewise took Ravenna. In reward of his valiant deeds he was made a gonfalonier of the church, and was presented by pope Gregory XI. with four more castles in Romagna. He then quitted the service of the church, and engaged again in that of the Visconti, and with their troops, hard by Rubiera, defeated the ecclesiastical army, and the legions of the marquis Nicolo II. of Este: but having disagreed with Viscount Galeazzo, he passed with the legate into the territory of the Visconti, and won two remarkable victories over the army of Galeazzo near the river Panara, and that of Giovanni Galeazzo under the walls of Brescia.

Upon

Visconti medesimi, gli ruppe, sotto San Miniato. Venne indi a poco, un' altra volta, a battaglia ne' confini d'Arezzo, e di Cortona, con Obizzone Tomaffo: & in questa, ancorche egli valorosamente combatteffe; fu nondimeno rotto, e fatto prigioniero. Ma i Fiorentini, ad istanza di papa Urbano V. lo liberarono. Dopo la sua liberatione, passato a' seruigi della chiesa, andò col legato in Romagna, oue in più battaglie vinse Francesco, e Sinibaldo Ordelaffi signori di Forlì, & altri usurpatori del dominio ecclesiastico. Sottomise anco al papa Faenza, Forlì, Forlimpopoli, e Cesena: e prese di più Ravenna. Onde, per gli egregij suoi meriti, fu fatto gonfalonier della chiesa: & hebbe in dono da papa Gregorio XI. Cotignola, con altre quattro castella nella Romagna. Alienossi dalla chiesa, indi a poco: e ridottosi presso a' Visconti, ruppe insieme con essi, legenti ecclesiastiche, come ancora quelle del marchese Nicolò Secondo d'Este, presso Rubiera. Ma, venuto in discordia con Galeazzo Visconte, passò col legato della chiesa, nello stato de' Visconti: & all' esercito di Galeazzo, vicino al fiume Panara, come anco a quello di Giovan Galeazzo, sotto Brescia, diede due rotte notabili,

Upon the conclusion of a general peace between the princes of Italy, he collected together many soldiers of the disbanded armies, and with them overrun Tuscany, till the inhabitants agreed to pay him a large sum of money to prevent his doing any farther damage in their country. He was afterwards chosen commander of the Florentine, Bolognese, and Paduan troops, against the visconti, whom he drove out of Padua, Modena, and Reggio. He again took the rock of Padua, and marched through the territories of the visconti in order to join the count d' Armignac, who united with the League; but having heard of this latter's defeat, he, with admirable art, brought back his army safe. From thence he was called to the help of the Florentines against Giacomo del Verme, who plundered their dominions with the troops of the Visconti. He opposed them so vigorously that they were glad to agree to a truce. He died soon after at Florence in an advanced age, in the year 1393, and was buried with great pomp, and to his memory an equestrian statue was erected.

Hawkwood was above the middle size, strong made, of a ruddy complexion, with chestnut eyes and hair.

notabili. Essendo finalmente conchiusa universal pace fra' principi d'Italia, raunò molti soldati de' gli eserciti disfatti, e con loro scorse il paese della Toscana: i cui popoli gli pagarono d'accordo gran somma di danari, per non receuer da lui danni maggiori. Eletto poi capitano de' Fiorentini, Bolognesi, e Padouani, contra' Visconti; gli cacciò da quel di Padoua, di Modona, e di Reggio. Racquistò la rocca di Padoua: e passò per mezzo gli stati de' Visconti, per unirli col conte d'Armignac, il quale era giunto in aiuto della lega: ma intesa la sua rotta, ricondusse con ingegno mirabile il suo esercito a saluamento. Chiamatò quindi in aiuto de' Fiorentini contra' Giacomo del Verme, che con le genti de' Visconti il dominio loro infestaua; gli s'oppose così gagliardamente, che lo costrinse a far triegua. Morì non molto dopo, in Fiorenza, assai vecchio l'anno 1393, e fu con molta pompa seppellito, & honorato d'una statua equestre.

Era l'Aucuto di statura più, che mezana: di membra forti: di volto rubicondo: d'occhi, e di capelli castagnicci.



B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A

N^o. XV.

C O N T A I N I N G

EXTRACTS from the MS. Journal of Sir SIMONDS
D'EWES, with several Letters to and from Sir
SIMONDS and his Friends. From the Originals
preserved in the British Museum.

AMONG the various Labours of Literary Men, there have always been certain Fragments whose Size could not secure them a general Exemption from the Wreck of Time, which their intrinsic Merit entitled them to survive; but, having been gathered up by the Curious, or thrown into Miscellaneous Collections by Bookfellers, they have been recalled into Existence, and by uniting together have defended themselves from Oblivion. Original Pieces have been called in to their Aid, and formed a Phalanx that might withstand every Attack from the Critic to the Cheesemonger, and contributed to the Ornament as well as Value of Libraries.

With a similar view it is here intended to present the Publick with some valuable Articles of BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY, from printed Books and MSS. One Part of this Collection will consist of Re-publications of scarce and various Tracts; another of such MS. Papers as the Editors are already possessed of, or may receive from their Friends.

It is therefore proposed to publish a Number occasionally, not confined to the same Price or Quantity of Sheets, nor always adorned with Cuts; but paged in such a Manner, that the general Articles, or those belonging to the respective Counties, may form a separate Succession, if there should be enough published, to bind in suitable Classes; and each Tract will generally be completed in a single Number.

Into this Collection all Communications consistent with the Plan will be received with Thanks. And as no Correspondent will be denied the Privilege of controverting the Opinions of another, so none will be denied Admittance without a fair and impartial Reason.

E X T R A C T S

FROM THE MS. JOURNAL OF

SIR SIMONDS D'EWE S,

W I T H

Several Letters to and from Sir SIMONDS and his Friends.
From the Originals in the British Museum.

MELIUS MORI QUAM SIBI VIVERE.

L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS,
PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES;
AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
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[Price Three Shillings.]

P R E F A C E.

THE MS. JOURNAL of the LIFE of SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, by himself, in the British Museum*, though not worth publishing entire, contains some very curious particulars that tend to throw light on a part of the English history, and some anecdotes not generally known. Sir Simonds having minuted down most of the facts that he records soon after they happened, his narrative carries with it a degree of authenticity, to which modern historians cannot pretend.

It extends even to very minute particulars, wherein he interweaves several matters relative to his friends, the public affairs of this nation, and of Europe in general. It reaches from his birth, December 18, 1602, to May 8, 1636, ending abruptly †.

A correspondent has pointed out to us a few extracts from it, which seem to him worth preserving, and which have been transcribed by permission of the Honourable Curators of the British Museum.

In the Harleian Library, N° 381, f. 234, is “the lineal descent and pedigree of the ancient family of the *Ewes* or *Des Ewes*, sometime lords of the dition of Kessel, in the dutchie of Guel-

* Harl. MS. N° 646.

† To it are added his will in English, written by himself, dated March 28, 1626, but wanting the first leaf. A translation of his will from English into Latin, dated September 19, 1639, and another will drawn up by himself in Latin, dated July 31, 1641, with an imperfect transcript of it.

“ derland, which familie, by the receffe of Adrian D'Ewes, the
 “ true heire thereof, into England, in the reign of Henry VIII.
 “ is now feated at Stow Langtoft, in the county of Suffolk, by
 “ the English contraction only of the name of Des Ewes into
 “ D'Ewes,” written by the hand of Sir Simonds; and another
 in Latin illuminated, with the arms beautifully painted, f. 8.

Adrian D'Ewes, the first of the family that came over from Guelderland, when it was depopulated by the intestine wars between Charles its duke and Philip the archduke and his son Charles V. brought the Latin pedigree before-mentioned, and a very ancient silver seal with the family arms, bearing, says Weever *, “ the test of the age, as may be gathered from the
 “ very exotickenesse of the workmanship.” He died in London of the sweating sickness 1551. His last will is also extant †, dated July 15, 1551, in which not only his wife Alice Ravenscroft, who remarried one William Ramsey, is mentioned, but his four sons, *Gerrard* or *Garret*, *James*, *Peter*, and *Andrew*.

The portraitures of Adrian and his wife were in the window of St. Michael Bassishaw church in London, engraved by Weever, p. 698, with the inscription below ‡. On his surcoat *D'Ewes* quartering per fess nebule. On hers *D'Ewes* impaling a chevron between 3 raven's heads. *Ravenscroft*.

* P. 697.

† Harl. MS. 381. 9.

‡ “ Ad memoriam eternam Geerardt D'Ewes filii primogeniti Adriani D'Ewes
 “ ex illustri & perantiqua familia Des Ewes dynastarum ditionis de Keffel in
 “ ducatu Geltriæ oriundo, & Aliciæ Ravenscroft conjugis suæ, viri singularis sub hoc
 “ marmore tumulati, qui obiit die xii Aprilis anno domini MDXCI. unico relictæ
 “ sui ipsius & Greciæ Hind primæ suæ conjugis filio & herede Paulo D'Ewes ar-
 “ migeri (qui duxit in uxorem Siffiliam § filiam unicam & heredem Richardi Simonds
 “ de Coxden in pago Dorsetensi armigeri), & unica filia Alicia nupta Gulielmo
 “ Latham de Upminster in comitatu Essex armigero.”

§ In Harl. MS. 374. f. 49, is a letter from James Allington, of Mildenhall, to Mrs. D'Ewes, Aug. 29, 1619, concerning the true way of writing her Christian name, which he thought was *Cæcilia* or *Cecilie* (of which name was the martyr), and not *Siffilia* as she wrote it.

Gerard, father of Paul, father of Sir Simonds, was that *Garret* D'Ewes the stationer, who lived at the sign of the swan in St. Paul's church-yard from 1562 to 1584, whose rebus was a house with two men in a garret casting deux at dice, G. D. *. He purchased the manor of Gaines in Upminster, in the county of Essex, and died April 12, 1591, leaving Paul his son and heir, born 1570 †, afterwards one of the six clerks in Chancery, who bought Stow hall, and sold Gaines in 1683 ‡.

The inquisition, taken after the death of Gerrard, is recorded, and his epitaph, with his figure in armour in brass on his gravestone in the chapel at Gaines, delineated in Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 653, whereon was the inscription below §, and on 4 shields, a fess vaire between 3 quatrefoils twice. Crest, on a chapeau two wolf's heads adloft charged with a quatrefoil. 3 quatrefoils without the fess. Crest, on a torse a wolf's head. On a chevron between 3 goats heads 3 lozenges: in chief a lion passant guardant. The octavo History of Essex, IV. 386, represents this monument as remaining in Upminster chapel at the time of its being taken down and rebuilt by Sir James Esdaile.

* Ames, 320. Camden's Remains, art. *Rebus*.

† Inq. 34 Eliz. June 7.

‡ Morant, I. 108.

§ “ Adrianus D'Ewes ex illustri familia Des Ewes olim dynastarum ditionis de Kessel in ducatu Gelriæ prognatus, intestinarum patriæ suæ discordiarum per-tæsus in Angliam alienigenarum asylum sceptrum tenente rege Henrico VIII. recessit, foeminamque Anglicam nomine Aliciam ex perantiqua Ravenscroftorum familia oriundam in uxorem duxit, et quatuor de ea genuit filios, Geerardt, Jacobum, Petrum, & Andream. Obiit iste Adrianus de sudore Anglico mense Julii ann. 5 E. VI. ann. Dom. 1551, & infra limites sacratæ terræ huius ecclesiæ inhumatur. Dicta autem Alicia maritum supervixit annos XXVIII. & ultimum naturæ debitum persolvit mense Julii an. Dom. MDLXXIX. & tumulatur in hac ecclesia non procul ab ista fenestra, postquam viderat quatuor reges Angliæ, viz. Henricum VII. Henricum VIII. Edwardum VI. & Philippum; & novem reginas regni ejusdem, viz. matrem, VI uxores & duas filias regis Henrici VIII.”

Sir Simonds D'Ewes was the son of Paul D'Ewes by his wife Cecily, daughter and sole heiress of Richard Symonds of Coxden, a hamlet of Chardstock*, in the county of Dorset†. He was born December 18, 1602.

He was educated in the school at St. Edmund's Bury, and at sixteen years of age was admitted fellow-commoner of St. John's college, Cambridge.

At the age of eighteen he began to collect materials for a correct and complete History of Great Britain, in which he spent thirteen years‡; and the MS. memoirs of his life, from whence the following extracts are made, shew his attention to preserve the history of his own time.

This naturally recommended him to the notice of Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Selden, two of the most extensive scholars of their time.

The example of the former was followed by his friend in the care with which he digested into order the great collections he had made, which are now in the British Museum.

His literary engagements did not interfere with his public services. He was high sheriff of Suffolk 1639, to which county his ancestors had early retired from the Low Countries, and in which they had acquired a considerable settlement. In the Long Parliament, 1640, he was elected a burgess for Sudbury. July 15, 1641, he was created a baronet.

* Hutchins' Dorset, I. 258. The family of Symonds were seated at Cliff, in the parish of Tinkleton, in the same county, in the reign of Henry VIII. Ib. p. 495.

† His birth is thus entered in his Journal: "I was borne through the mercie and providence of my gracious God (who hath hitherto preserved me) at Coxden, in the parish of Chardstocke, in the county of Dorset, upon Saturday the 18th day of December, about five of the clock in the morning, in the year of our Lord 1602."

‡ Letter to Usher, among Usher's letters, p. 496. See a letter of Usher to him. Ib. 505.

On the breaking out of the civil war he adhered to the parliament, and took the solemn league and covenant 1643*. This did not however prevent his being turned out of the parliament-house by the army 1648.

From that time he seems to have given himself up entirely to the prosecution of his studies and literary designs;—"those greater labors," as he calls them; conceiving himself not to be born for himself alone, according to that old saying, so familiar to him, "*Melius mori quam sibi vivere*†." He collated and transcribed several ancient records and muniments, particularly the *Black Book of the Exchequer*, which he had thoughts of publishing, and his transcript of which remains in the British Museum. A copy was left by Sir William Dugdale to the Ashmolean Museum, and was printed by Hearne in two volumes at Oxford, 1728, from a transcript given him by Mr. Graves of Mickleton, and the various readings and notes of D'Ewes at the end marked with his initial, all the while professing not to have consulted the original in the Exchequer‡. He compliments Sir Simonds with the epithet of *in illis rebus versatissimus*. The industrious Weever acknowledges himself much beholden to him§.

What Sir Simonds proposed may best be learned from his own words in the close of his preface to his Journals.

"A general history of Great Britain, from the first inhabitants to the present times, to be drawn especially out of records and other abstruse and exotick monuments, for the reformation of all the chronicles and histories of this kind yet extant, which will require several volumes.

"The survey of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgehire, out of records or original deeds.

* His opinion of ship money may be seen in the extract, p. 65.

† Preface to his Journal.

‡ Pref. p. viii.

§ Fun. Mon. p. 208. 397. 660. 718, &c.

“ The antiquity of the municipal or common laws of the realm before the Norman Conquest, out of records also for the greatest part, or other irregular materials ; and, if I have time for collecting a second part, out of the itinerant and plea-books in the Treasury at Westminster.

“ Besides divers other smaller works, as well theological as moral.”

It has been suggested that he threatened to point out errors in every page of Camden's *Britannia* ; but he only observed in a private letter to archbishop Usher, in giving an account of his own design conceived 1620 to form a correct history of England compared with records, that little was to be expected from common writers, when there was hardly a page in the so much admired *Britannia* without errors. He spent above twenty years in collecting for this history, and thirteen in writing it.

All that he published in his life was a speech delivered in parliament touching the antiquity of Cambridge, which he asserted against Oxford, in an accidental debate in the House of Commons, 1642, on levying subsidies, on an occasion when one would naturally have supposed men's thoughts would have been better engaged than to quibble about dates.

The brief discourse concerning the power of parliament in cases of judicature, 1640, is still in dispute between D'Ewes and Selden.

His collections of the Journals of Parliament during the reign of Elizabeth were revised and published by Paul Bowes, of the Middle Temple, Esq; 1682, folio.

The religious and political principles which Sir Simonds imbibed at St. John's college under his tutor Dr. Richard Holdsworth, who was a man of moderate principles, though steadily attached to the constitution both in church and state, were such as did not much recommend him to archbishop Laud and other
warm

warm divines, whose tenets he tells us (p. 55) made him tremble: yet he was sincerely religious, and, with all the learning useful to qualify him for a senator, was far from inclining to anarchy or a commonwealth; though his adherence to the parliament drew on his memory several heavy censures from the bigoted Thomas Hearne. Echard, with equal prejudices in his political creed, draws his character as an antiquary impartially, and entirely passes over every other point of view*. Hearne, after representing him as a learned industrious man, but vain and empty, and like Selden (whom D'Ewes himself brands as exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities) an inveterate enemy to royalty, sums up the character of both by saying, that they were the greatest of men in the opinion of the puritans, fanatics, and rebels, who loved fishing in troubled waters†. He proceeds to pronounce him totally unfit for writing a history of England‡.

Sir Simonds lived in times when every step was taken to render the kingly power disgusting, and set it in a disagreeable light. He has drawn the character of the king under whom he was born in the strongest terms of abhorrence. While we spurn at the detested Cecil and Car, we shudder to find the learned Bacon involved in the same censure§.

Sir Simonds died April 18, 1650, in the 48th year of his age, and was succeeded in his estate and titles by his son Willoughby D'Ewes, to whom his father's journals were dedicated by his cousin Paul Bowes||, esq. of the Middle Temple, son of Sir Simonds' brother Richard.

* Hist. of England, p. 686. † Pref. to Liber Niger, p. x. ‡ Ibid. xi.

§ See Hearne Pref. to Hist. Rich. II. p. xxxvi.

|| See his letter to Sir Willoughby D'Ewes, Sept. 16, 1678, desiring to borrow the three journals, for which and a transcript of Domesday he gave a receipt 1680, and when he had obtained them he printed the journals without asking leave. MS. Harl. 374. f. 316.

He is said to have been buried in the church at Stow Langtoft, in the county of Suffolk, where stood his mansion house, called Stow Hall*. No memorial is extant for him in the church, and the register of that time has not been preserved. The epitaph therefore which he prepared for himself, to be erected in Westminster-abbey, near Mr. Camden †, must supply this defect. In his will in 1639, he was not resolved where to be buried, but left it to be where his wife determined herself to be buried.

He married 1628 Anne, daughter of Sir William Clopton. of Kentwell, co. Suffolk, knt‡. His courtship and consummation, as recorded by himself, may be seen p. 34. His wife's jointure, without addition by will, 700*l. per annum*. Their issue were six sons and daughters.

To these in succession Sir Simonds bequeathed his “pretious “librarie ||,” coins §, &c. with express injunction to keep them altogether under penalty of forfeiting 1000*l.* and the library, &c. to his wife or other surviving children, and so to his brother Richard; subject to the express condition of letting it be free of access to all lovers of learning. From his descendants it was probably purchased by the earl of Oxford. The pictures at Stow-hall he left to his son Adrian, or his own brother and sister.

* The arms and inscriptions which he caused to be annealed in glass, and put into the windows of his house at Stow-hall, to shew the descent and matches of his family, are in Harl. MS. 383, f. 141.

† See his will dated 1626, p. xiii.

‡ Morant, Effex, II. p. 540. We have an ancient pedigree of the Clopton family drawn up by Sir Simonds, continued down to 1696, by Thomas Clopton, rector of Chriselton, Cheshire, and perfected and improved by Mr. Holman. Morant II. 320.

|| “Bibliothecam post Cottonis in fallor (quem vixisse doleo) inter privatas Anglicanas locupletissimam numismatis aureis, argenteis, æneis, autographis & MSS. codicibus exornatam instauravimus.” Letter to Usher, ubi sup.

§ See a catalogue of his coins, Harl. MS. 254, 255.

In the Harleian library are the following transcripts made by or for him.

N^o 8. Elfric's Saxon grammar, from an ancient MS. in the public library, at Cambridge, with collations.

A Saxon and English dictionary, in 2 vols. 1 from A to G.

N^o 9. - - - - - 2 from G to end.

These two he was endeavouring to print 1640. See his correspondence with Mr. Wheelock about them. MS. Harl. 374. 385. 387. 388. 392. 398. 125.

10. Transcripts from wills in the registers at Norwich.

21. Abstract in English of all the parliamentary rolls in the Tower, from 4 E. III. to 9 H. V.

27. The original register of Bury abbey, intituled CROFTIS, for the Pitancer's use.

638. Another register of the same house, intituled WERKETONE.

29. Trivet's Annals *.

30. Collections and transcripts from the common rolls in the Exchequer, t. H. III. chiefly in his own hand.

34. Abstract of releifs t. E. I. II. III. IV. and V. &c. from the same records.

83. Pleadings in parliament, t. E. I.

85, 86, 87. 301. 310, 311. 313. 320. Collections from the Tower rolls of John, Henry III. and Richard I.

312. Collections from abbey registers.

97, 98, 99. Private family papers bound in 3 vols.

118—121. His school exercises and common places.

* It is not improbable that Sir Simonds might have intended an edition of this annalist, who wrote both in Latin and French, and whom Mr. Hall his editor sixty years after preferred to all the historians of his time. The editors of the Decem Scriptores and bishop Fell had the like design to add this writer's Latin work to their collections, and Henry Wharton set about an edition. It was first published, but incorrectly, by Luke D'Achery, in the 8th volume of his *Spicilegium*. Mr. Hall, of Queen's College, Oxon. put out a complete edition at Oxford, 1719, from two MSS. and collated them with the French MS. of his French Chronicle, and 1722 a continuation by two different hands to 1380. Trivet's work reaches from Stephen to the death of Edward I.

160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. 362. Parliamentary collections.

255. Plan of a work intended by him, called “Prolegomena ad Thesaurum nummarium Britanno-Anglicum.”

Letters to him.

258. Miscellaneous collections from Oxford libraries, &c. some relating to Cambridgehire and Ely.

319. Household book of Henry IV. for his 7th and 8th years.

374. 376, 377, 378. Letters between Sir Simonds D'Ewes and William Le Neve, Wheeloc, W. Burton, John Hare, Henry Elfying, Dodsworth, Dugdale, Twysden, Cæsar, Knyvet, Pocoke, John Davies, Patrick Young, Somner, Anna Maria Schurman, Du Laet, Du Chesne, Cornelius Burgefs, George Speed, minister of Stow Langtoft, archbishop Usher, bishop Hall, and other learned persons, besides foreign princes and noblemen, as well as English nobility, including the queen of Bohemia. Among these is a rough draught of letters patents from Louis count Egmond, whereby he grants to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and his heirs, the territory of Kessel, &c. in Guelderland, whenever he or his family should recover that country, with the county of Zutphen, out of the clutches of the Spaniards, dated London, Oct. 19, 1642*.

379. Letters from and to him, to and from his mother, brother, and other relations, 382. 384—5—6—7—8.

380. Transcripts of charters, pedigrees, &c.

383. Collection of original letters, all relating to news and occurrences of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.

* He wished to get the whole of Thuanus' invaluable history printed, of which only parts appeared during its author's life. A compleat edition was reserved for the judgement and liberality of Dr. Mead. Sir Simonds however obtained from Mr. De Thou's nephews, by the intervention of his own brother Richard, portraits both of Mr. De Thou and admiral Coligni. In his letter from Paris, 1637, he adds, that he had been shewn “several rooms beautified with many pictures of such late men as had been famed either for valour or learning, and as the greatest rarities” one press wherein were 800 MSS. the most part of them originals.” See the letters printed in p. 74—77, from Harl. MS. 374. f. 126.

481, 482, 483, 484. His diarian discourse or ephemeridian narration," a diary of part of his own life, from Jan. 2, 1621, to March 24, 1646-7, in 48vo. vols. written in cipher.

623. Extracts from both volumes of Domesday, with prolegomena or preface *.

624. Historical collections.

639. Collections for the county of Suffolk.

640. Escheats from the Tower and Rolls, from Henry III. to the end of Philip and Mary.

In the Herald's College are three volumes of Simonds's collections for the History of Essex, which formerly belonged to Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

The journal from whence these extracts are taken seems, from several of his reflections, and the facts there set down, to have been entirely made for its author's own use. In those industrious times it was the custom among such eminent persons as had an opportunity of obtaining extensive intelligence to commit almost every thing to writing. Thus the earl of Clarendon and Mr. Whitelock, both whose compilations in this way have been published. As therefore our author neither intended nor foresaw that these notices of his might be made public, it would perhaps be deemed a debt due to candour to pass the most favourable opinion on them.

If the reader should object that several passages of this diary here offered to the public have already appeared in some of Hearne's pieces†, the editor's best apology must be, that they are here connected in one view.

* See p. 52.

† Viz. Characters of Cotton and Selden, Hearne's Pref. to Lib. Niger, p. x. Intrigues of the countess of Somerset, ib. xxxvi. Extract about Aids, ib. ad fin. Pref. Prince Charles's Journey into Spain, ad fin. Hist. Rich. II. Appendix, p. 371. The account of the assassination of the duke of Buckingham, ib. p. 376. Description of his person, ib. p. 329. Fall and vices of Bacon, p. 385.

Sir Simonds' sister married Sir William Elliot, *knt.* of Busbridge †, in Godelming, *co.* Surrey, by whom she had a son, William, to whom his uncle addressed the Latin letter printed in p. 81.

She had eleven more sons and four daughters. Of the former nine died infants, and two other unmarried; of the latter three died infants, and the fourth unmarried. Sir William died Dec. 7, 1650, the said Joan having deceased before him, April 14, 1646.

Sir William, their eldest, and at length only surviving son, married two wives, by the first of which he had one daughter, and by the second five sons and six daughters. He died Nov. 28, 1697. His two eldest sons died infants; the third, who succeeded him at Busbridge, and whose name was also William, died (unmarried) by a fall from his horse, Feb. 26, 1707-8, *ætat.* 37, leaving that estate to Laurence his next brother, who sold it in 1710, to John Walter, on whose death, in 1736, Abel his son sold it to James Dolliffe, who deceasing in 1747, left it to his widow, of whom it was purchased, in 1748, by Philip Carteret Webb. Mr. Webb, dying in 1770, left it also to his widow, who sold it, in 1775, to Sir Robert Barker, *bart.* the present proprietor.

† Where they were settled from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Anne. See Aubrey's Surrey, IV. 5—11.

‡ Two letters from Sir William, to Sir Simonds, 1628, from Harl. MS. 374, f. 77, are printed in p. 66; and a third in p. 71.

Extracts from the Will of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, dated at Busbridge,
March 26, 1626.

“ And my will and intent is, that my executor bestow the full somme of one hundred pound at least upon my buriall, and upon a monument after my interring ; and if it happen that I decease in London, and that my buriall may bee in decent manner according to my desire, then my will is that the lesse be bestowed upon my monument ; else that the entire somme, or the greater parte of the saied one hundred pound, be bestowed upon a monument, which my will and intent is shall be performed in manner and forme following :

“ I desire that a monument bee set upp in Westminster church, just by Mr. Camden's tomb, on the right-hand, in everie thing according to the forme and patterne of that as neare as may bee possible, both for the form and matter of it, but with this epitaph :

Depositum SIMONDS D'EWES de
Medio Templo, London, armigeri :
Qui amator literarum et antiquitatum
inter literatos et antiquariolos
sepelire cupivit curavit :
Infelix tamen
in hoc solo non habendus,
quod
Ille tantum decrevit quod laturus esset,
Alii
consummarunt quod decrevissent.

“ And that I may be heere happilie interred, I doubt not of the readie and able assistance of my two loving friends Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Selden, together with my executor hereafter named.

“ Item,

“Item, I give and bequeath alsoe to the deane of Westminster then being, after the erecting of my monument aforesaid, for his consent therto and furtherance therein, a standing boule of silver of 10s. price, which I will to be a void legacie, unles my monument may be set up as aforesaid. And if leave may not be obtained in the saied cathedrall church of Westminster, then my will and desire is, that a monument bee erected in the same manner, according to the patterne of Mr. Camden’s tomb before-mentioned, in the Temple church, by Mr. Martin’s monument; and instead of those two words *Antiquitatum* and *Antiquariolos* in the former epitaph, I desire may be added *Legis* and *Legiperitos*, this being fitter for the Temple societie.

“Lastlie, I give and bequeath one hundred pound, my best cloake and goune, and tenn of my best MSS. alreadie not particularlie nominated and disposed offe to particular men, to my deare and bosom friend Peter Baal, of the Middle Temple, esquire, to bee chosen by him, upon condition that hee take upon him the speedie and faithfull execution of this my last will and testament.”

In the will dated 1639 he directs this epitaph “*laminæ æneæ cippo nostro imponendæ inscribendum:*”

“Depositum Simonds D'Ewes de Stowlangtoft in agro Suffolciensi, equitis
 “aurati, filii & hæredis Pauli D'Ewes, armigeri, & Siffiliæ uxoris suæ filiæ
 “unicæ & hæredis Richardi Simonds de Coxden in consulatu Dorsetensi
 “armigeri. Dictus dominus Simonds D'Ewes literarum & antiquitatum
 “alumnus in uxorem duxit Annam filiam unicam & hæredem Gulielmi
 “Clopton equitis aurati; quorum animas Deus misericordiarum pater post-
 “quam totos annos menses & dies felicibus pie &
 “caste hymæncis exegerant ex hujus vitæ miseriis ad puram & eternam
 “requiem evocavit, donec tandem eorum corpora sub hoc marimone con-
 “dita eisdem in extrema demortuorum resurrectione animis uniantur.
 “Obiit idem Simonds D'Ewes, anno ætatis suæ annoque Dñi MDC.....
 “die mensis . Eademque domina Anna anno ætatis suæ
 “ , annoque Dñi MDC...., die mensis . Quibus
 “dedit Deus filios & filias.”

In the will of 1626 he bequeathed all books, printed and MSS. all notes and pictures, and such like things, to his dear and onlie brother Richard D'Ewes, excepting others already disposed of particularly: to Richard Houlesworth, D. D. pastor of St. Peter le Poor, sometime his tutor, 5*l.* to buy him a mourning gown; the same sum to Thomas Master, B. D. his most familiar and comfortable friend: either of whom was to preach his funeral sermon, if he died in London. To his dear and loving sisters Elliot, now wife of Sir William Elliot; Mrs. Bokenham, now wife of Wiseman Bokenham, son and heir apparent to Sir Henry Bokenham, of Thornham Magna, co. Suffolk, knt. and Mrs. Maria D'Ewes, yet unmarried, he leaves xl*l.* due from him as executor of his grandfather Simonds, unless discharged by his own father; and then 50*l.* to his sister Elizabeth after she arrived at the age of twelve years; to his two loving brothers in law Sir William Elliot and Wiseman Bokenham, esquire, as "a small legacy to remember him," two silver standishes of four pounds price each; 50*l.* to the poor of Chadstock; 10*l.* to the poor of Lavenham and Stowlangtoft each 5*l.*; to the poor of Bury, where he was once a scholar; to the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, "having once been a member of that house," 20*l.* to buy books, in which his name was to be written; to Sir Robert Cotton, "his most loving and endeared friend, a man incomparable for his care in gathering and his humanitie in communicating," a standing gilt bowl and cover, worth 15*l.* circumscribed *Sequebar te sequeris me*, and his name and arms below; and the Mirror of Justices, transcribed by himself, with a table by him, and many other MSS. bound with it; to Robert de Vere, xixth earl of Oxford, his most honourable friend, a diamond ring, worth 10*l.* inscribed *E/o*; to his three most loving friends, Sir Martin Stuteville, Sir William Spring, and Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, of Dalham, Pakenham, and Kediton, co. Suffolk, three gold seal-rings; to "that unmatched antiquarie, my entire friend,"

John

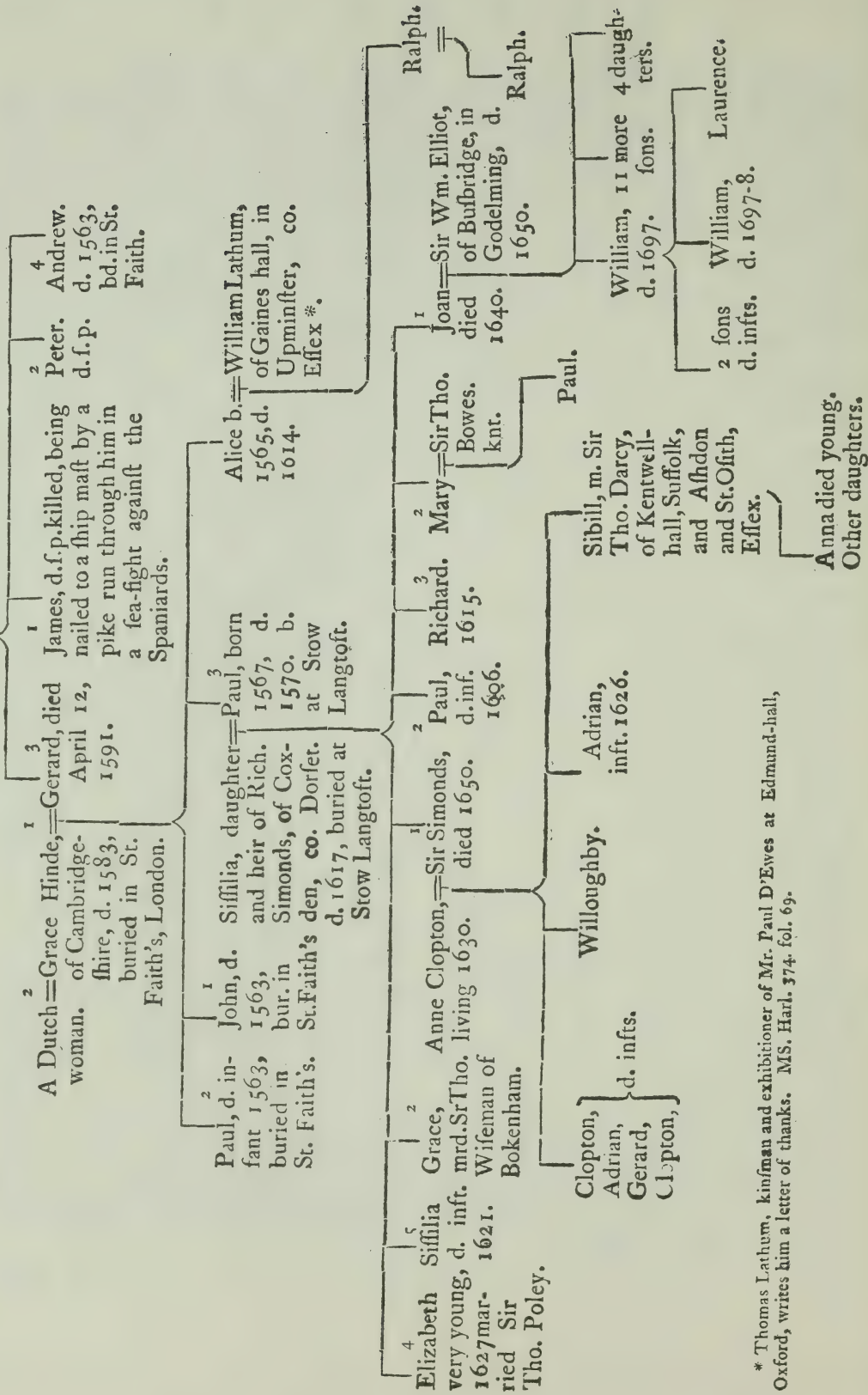
John Selden, of the Inner Temple, esq; a standing bowl gilt and cover, worth 15*l.* in scribed *Non passibus æquis*, and a MS. Chronicle of St. Alban's or Fructus Temporum, and a printed history of the Low Countries, in folio; to the religious and good lady Denton, now wife to his father, a diamond ring of five stones, and a great piece of Portingall gold, which she gave him; to his godsons Leonard Stevens and Nathaniel Gibson twenty pounds each; to his loving friend Robert Tanfield of the Middle Temple, esquire, an ancient MS. Commentary on the Ten Commandments, and a Saxon Testament with the English to it; to his kind chamber-fellow Thomas Mulso, esq. a MS. Register of Wills in parchment in folio; to Lodowicke Thewes (whom he believed to have sprung from the family in Guelderland whence his own ancestors came) 30*l.* and all his wearing apparel otherwise not specifically devised; to John Scott, his servant, 20*l.*

In a will, dated Stow-hall, September 19, O.S. 1639, he says;

“ I bequeath to Adrian D'Ewes, my young son, yet crying in the cradle, or to any other of my sons heereafter to bee borne, whoe shall proove my heire (if God shall voucheife to me a masculine heire, by whom my fir-name and male-line may be continued in the ages to come), my pretious librarie, in which I have stored up for divers yeares past, with great care, cost, and industrie, divers originalls or autographs; ancient coines of golde, silver, and brasse, manuscripts or written bookes, and such as are imprinted; and it is my inviolable injunction or behest, that he keepe it intire, and not sell, divide, or dissipate it. Neither would I have it locked upp from furthering the publike good, the advancing of which I have always endeavoured; but that all lovers of learning, of knowen vertue and integritie, might have access to it at seasonable times, soe that they did give sufficient securitie to restore safely any original or autograph, any manuscript or any other materiall to be borrowed out of the same librarie, without blotting, erasing, or defacing it. But if

God hath decreed now at last to add an end to my familie in the male line, as it was very lately exposed to great contempt in the depressed condition of Adrian D'Ewes my great-grandfather, and of Geerardt D'Ewes my grand-father, his most holie and most just will be done. And then my will is, that my faied librarie or paper treasurie shall be entirely possessed by my eldest daughter, upon this condition, that shee herselfe if shee bee unmarried, or hee who shall then be her husband, before they have possession given them of their faied librarie, shall enter into a bond of a thousand pound penaltie to my most deare wife, if shee be then living, or to my other daughters or ther husbands, in case my wife be then deceased, that neither hee nor shee shall or will sell or dissipate all or anye parte of my faied librarie, nor willinglie suffer the same to be solde away or dissipated; which if hee or shee shall doe, then my will and intent is, that my faied librarie shall remaine entiere to my next daughter, upon like securitie; and soe from daughter to daughter, till it shall come to my brother Richard, if all my daughters shall either refuse to put in caution, or shall breake the condition. Yet I ordaine as before, that not onlie all lovers of learning, of an upright and honest life, well known, may have acesse to it at seasonable times, but also that all original deedes or autographs, all copies, and all other collections which concern mine owne familie, or my wives, or anye other familie from whome wee are descended, may freely be lent to my other daughters or ther husbands, upon securitie given for the safe restitution of them, that they may transcribe from these materials what they please. For though I have amongst my moore serious and moore profitable studies stored upp many particulars of that kinde, yet I call God himselfe to witness, that I abhorred all fucacie and lying inventions, and that I onlie sought after the verie truth, as well in these things, as in all other my elucubrations, whilest I searched amongst the king's records or publike offices.

Adrian D'Ewes, died 1551. = Alice Ravencroft, remarried Wm. Ramfey.



* Thomas Latham, kinsman and exhibitor of Mr. Paul D'Ewes at Edmund-hall, Oxford, writes him a letter of thanks. MS. Harl. 374. fol. 69.

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E X T R A C T S

F R O M

S I R S I M O N D S D ' E W E S '

J O U R N A L.

I.

ROBERT CECIL, THE FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY, UNIVERSALLY HATED—THE PRINCIPAL AGENT IN BRINGING ESSEX TO THE BLOCK.

Before the decease of this inestimable prince [Henry prince of Wales] died Robert Cecil, earle of Salisburie, the 24th of Maye the same yeare; of whose death I took notice by reason of all mens rejoicing, as I did of the prince's loss by reason of all mens reluctance and sorrow. The times since have justified this man's actions, that however he might be an ill christian in respect of his *unparallel'd lust*, and *bunting after strange flesh*, yet that he was a good statesman, and noe ill member of the commonwealth. For during the time he was lord treasurour of England, hee took care to supply the ordinarie expences of the crowne by the ordinarie

B

dinarie

dinarie revenues thereof, which are verie vast and great, without oppressing and depauperating the subject with new impositions and unlimited taxes. And therefore when I consider in what a general hate of all fortes he died, and what infamous libels* were made of him after his death, instead of funeral elegies, I cannot but conceive that the first ground of the peoples hatred to him arose from their love formerly borne to Robert de Ebroicis, or D'Evreux, earl of Essex, who was beheaded within the Tower of London the 25th day of February, in the year 1601. Of whose death and destruction no man doubted, but that his subtle head, actuated by his father's principles, had been the contriver and finisher, howsoever his cousin Francis Bacon, the then solicitor general, much hated also for his ungrateful treachery to that earl, did afterwards labour by a printed apology, colourably inscribed to the lord Montjoy, earl of Devonshire, to purge both himself and the said earl of Salisbury from that imputation.

* One of them has been preserved by Osborne :

Here lies, thrown for the worms to eat,
 Little bossive Robin, that was so great.
 Not Robin Goodfellow, nor Robin Hood,
 But Robin, the encloser of Hatfield Wood;
 Who seem'd as sent from ugly fate,
 To spoil the prince and rob the state:
 Owning a mind for dismal ends,
 As traps for foes, and tricks for friends.
 But now in Hatfield lies the [fox],
 Who stunk while he liv'd, and died of the —.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the portrait of this crooked statesman among the ILLUSTRIOUS HEADS is a fictitious one, as will evidently appear by comparing it with the two original pictures of the Earl now at Hatfield House, or with the portrait in the *Heroologia*, which there is reason to believe genuine also.

II.

ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.

This yeare [1615] was first certainly revealed and brought to a public trial the mercilefs and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, knight, sonne and heire apparent of Thomas Overbury, esq. one of the ancient benchers of the Middle Temple, poisoned at least two years before in the Tower of London. It came first to light by a strange accident, of Sir Ralph Winwood, knight, one of the secretaries of state, his dining with Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the said Tower, at a great man's* table not farre from Whitehall. For that great man commending the same Sir Jervis to Sir Ralph Winwood, as a person in respect of his many good qualities verie worthie of his acquaintance; Sir Ralph answered him that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him, touching the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Jervis heard that, being verie ambitious of the secretaries friendship, hee tooke occasion to enter into private conference with him, and therein to excuse himself to have been enforced to connive at the said murther, with much abhorring of it. Hee confessed the whole circumstance of the execution of it in generall, and the instruments to have been sett on worke by Robert earle of Somerset, and his wife. Sir Ralph Winwood having gained the true discoverie of this bloodie practice, from one of the actors, even beyond his expectation, parted from the lieutenant of the Tower in a verie familar and friendlie manner, as if he hee had received

* Earl of Shrewsbury.

good fatisfaction by the excuse hee had framed for himfelfe; but foon after acquainted the king's majeftie with it, who having at that time fixed his eyes upon the delicate perfonage and features of Mr. George Villers, a younger fonne of Sir George Villers, of Brokesby, in the countie of Leicefter, knight, hee was the moore easilie induced to fuffer the earle of Somerfet, then his potent favourite, and lord chamberlaine of his houfeholde (whom he had foe highlie advanced from the condition of a mean page), to bee removed from his court and prefence to the Tower of London. This murther had been long fufpected; but the lady Frances the earles counteffe, being daughter to the lorde Thomas Howard, earle of Suffolk, and lorde treasurer of England, and allied to the earles of Arundel, Nottingham, and Northampton, all Howardes, and in great place and efteme at court, none at firft dared to call the matter in queftion, efpecially whileft her husband was mafter of the king's ear, and could advance or deprefse whom hee lifted; and therefore when hee afterwarde learned about the beginning of his troubles that Sir Ralfe Winwood had been the chief discoverer of his bloodie finne, hee upbraided him with ingratitude, that having been advanced by his only meanes to the fecretaries place, hee would now become the instrument of his ruine. But Sir Ralf answered him, that for his fecretaries place he might thank feven thoufand pounds (if I miftake not the fume a little) which hee gave him; and as for the bufinefs in queftion, hee could neither with the fafetie of his life nor confcience have concealed it, or wordes to that effect.

Sir Thomas Overburie had been highlie eftemed of the earle of Somerfet, to whome hee ever performed the office of a faft freind and faithfull counfellour. And when the faide earl (being then but viscount Rochefter, for hee was created earle of Somerfet in 1614, after Sir Thomas Overburie's deceafe) had begun in the yeare 1612, to frequent the counteffe of Effex bedd (whome he after married),

married), and that hee often mett at the severall houses of one Mrs. Anne Turner, both in Pater Noster Row, in London, and at Hamersmith, and so continued the frequent commission of that abominable sinne with her; the said Sir Thomas often dehorted him from it, and seeing no good counsell would prevaile, at length hee told him plainlie he would have noe longer entireness with him, knowing that his unlawfull accompanying with that whore, being another man's wife, would be the means to ruine him and his fortunes. Upon which viscount Rochester fell into hot termes, telling Sir Thomas Overbury hee could stand on his own legs, and would bee even with him; and not long after, revealing Overburies wordes to the countess of Effex, his advoutress, shee was much enraged with it, and tooke upp doubtles thereupon at that instant a resolution of revenge, which should be profecuted with the losse of his life that had in such broad terms branded her honour. At first she broke the matter to Sir David Wood, a servant of queen Anne's, whome shee knew to have a particular quarrell with Sir Thomas, promising him, that if he would by way of duel or otherwise kill him, shee would give him a thousand pounds. Hee was willing to undertake to bastinado the said Sir Thomas, but for killing him hee said hee was loath to bee carried to Tyburn for any ladies pleasure. Then it was advised by the subtle head of Henry Howard, earle of Northampton, and lorde privy seale, her great uncle, that viscount Rochester should outwardlie reconcile himselfe to Sir Thomas Overburie, and that some meanes should bee used to send Sir Thomas Overburie to the Tower: after they might at leisure advize what further course to take. I cannot affirme the said earle was privie and consenting to his murther, for hee died in the yeare 1614, before the busines came to an open trial; but there were severall lettres of his produced at the trial of Sir Jervis Ellvis, which left a foule stain of suspicion upon him.

About

About the beginning of April, in the yeare 1613, king James was moved by Rochester, or some instrument sett on worke by him, to make choice of Sir Thomas Overburie to send as his embassador into Russia; which hee, having advized with Sir Dudley Digges and some other freinds, resolved to have undertaken; when the same viscount Rochester, whome Sir Thomas called his pretious cheife, dissuaded him from accepting that employment, promising him better preferment at home within a shorte space; and that if hee weere committed to prison for his refusal, hee would speedlie procure his enlargement. Sir Thomas Overburie therefore believing his lordship had spoken sincerelie and cordiallie unto him, did peremptorilie refuse to take upon him the said embassie, and was thereupon committed to the Tower of London, April 21, in the yeare 1613. As soon as the countess of Essex had gotten him safe cooped up there, shee began to plott with mistresse Anne Turner her bawde, by what meanes shee might make him away. Sir William Wade, knight, an honest and upright man, was then lieutenant of the Tower, during whose continuance in his place, which was but a few days after, hee had faire and noble usage; but the countesses revenge brooking no delay (intending also about this time to be divorced from the earle of Essex and to marrie viscount Rochester), and finding Sir William Wade's integritie to bee corruption-prooffe, soe as there remained noe hope of making him an instrument of murther, shee used meanes at court to remove him out of his place, and settled Sir Jervis Elvis, knight, in his roome, upon the 6th day of May next following, being about fifteene days after Sir Thomas Overburie's imprisonment. This man's ambition, void of all pietie or pittie, was content to purchase preferment at the price of innocent blood. His fadd prisoner never saw good day after his attaining that leiftenantshippe; for the

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countess

countesse having fitted him to her lure, resolved with Mrs. Turner not only to poison Sir Thomas Overburie, but to effect it by a tormenting and lingring death, which shee might as easilie have had effected speedilie. To this end, on the 8th day of the same May, one Richard Weston, servant to Mrs. Turner, was placed as keeper of Sir Thomas Overbury, with the leiftenant, and a direct bargaine struck with him to bee his imposer. Upon the finishing of which a messengers place at court was promised him, or a good sum of moneie. By this example, as in many others, wee may see plainly, that the conscience being once emaculated and cauterized by lust and whoredome, is then prepared and fitted for the commission of witchcraft, murder, or anie other villainies: and this inhumane crueltie in the said countesse of Essex is the more to be admired; for I have heard one captaine Field, a faithful votarie of the earle of Suffolke her father, protest, that having known her from her infancie, hee had ever observed her to bee of the best nature and sweetest disposition of all her father's children, exceeding them all alsoe in the delicacie and comelines of her person; execrating alsoe by his bitter expressions my lorde of Northampton's wicked practices, by which shee was first drawn to become the earle of Somerset's advoutresse, and afterwards to bee his wife.

Upon the 9th day of the same moneth, Weston, being yet scarce-lie of two dayes standing in his new office, had a little glasse full of rasaker sent him, being a water of a yellowish greene couler, with which he that very day poisoned Sir Thomas Overburie's broath; from which time for the space of three moneths and six daies hee had severall poisons administred unto him in tartes, jellies, phyfic, and almost in every thing hee tooke, soe as the stronger his bodie and constitution weere, the moore horrible weere his torments; having sometimes upon the taking of one only fascinated poison threescore stools and vomits, and divers of them mixed
with

with blood. Certainlie this gentleman's extreame miserie is scarce to bee paralleld by any examples of former ages, being cutt offe in the midst of his hopes, and in the flower of his youth; betrayed by his freind, and prostituted to the crueltie of his fatal enemie; sent to prison as it weere in jeast, and there undergoing many deaths, to satiate the implacable malice of one cruell murthereffe; debarred from the sight of friends, divines, and phisicians, and only cumbred with the dailie converse of his treacherous executioner. His owne father not being able to entertain the least speach with him, noe nor soe much as to see him, petitioned the king for remedie, from whom he received a gracious answeare, but was prevented by viscount Rochester from ever reaping any good effect by it, or happie issue from it, on whome hee yet relied for reliefe and helpe; but hee that had betrayed the sonne, did as easilie delude the father. Towards his end, to fill his soule yet with greater horror, they conveied him to a dark and unwholsome prison, where he scarce behelde the light of the sunne to refresh him. His youth indeed even to the daye of his imprisonment, had been spent vainlie enough, according to the court garbe, and hee now found need of comfort from heaven, before hee had fullie studied the way thither; and in this appeares the divelish and barbarous furie of his enemies, who by debarring him from the sight and conference of all godlie ministers, did as much as in them lay endeavour to destroy both his soule and body together. At first hee thought all these practices to have been without Rochester's knowledge, and therefore in a lettre hee wrote to him had this passage amongst others: "Alas, will you let mee bee thus murdered?" But at last hee too surelie perceived that hee was a partaker of all their bloody packings. The last poison that was administred unto him was in a glister, soon after the taking of which hee died in horrible terrible torment and agonies upon the 15th day of September the same

same yeare 1613. The apothecary that administred it was liberallie rewarded for his paines, and receaved twentie pounds, but could not bee afterwards heard offe. Weston alsoe receaved from the countesse of Essex, either by her owne hande or Mrs. Turner's, at two paiments, one hundred and fourescore pounds. But for the faied countesse of Essex and the earle of Northampton, ther horrible malice exceeded all beleife; for, not contented with his mercilefs and long protracted murther by those severall poisons, which had eaten out his entrailies within, and caused great boiles and soares to break out on his bodye without, they, intending to entombe his good name with his miserable carkas, which doth to this day survive him, caused it to bee generally bruited and reported that he died of the French pox (which is commonly gotten by accompanying with whores), and that the boiles and soares on his body procured by that, made his stench after death intolerable. After his murther by the leiftenant's meanes, it was found by a coroner's enquest, consisting halfe of prisoners within the Tower, and halfe of others, upon view of the bodie, that he died of a natural death, and thereupon it was suddenie and obscurelie buried; neither his father, nor any of his other friends, being permitted so much as to see it. And now the great ones thought all future danger to bee inhumed with the dead bodie, and therefore shortly after, in the yeare 1614, the viscount Rochester, then created earle of Somersset, married the lady Frances Howard, who had been divorced from the earle of Essex the yeare before. Sir Jervis Elvis, Mistresse Turner, Weston, and Franklin, all rested secure to bee borne out by Somersset's power, if any thing should bee questioned; and soe were all the actors in this tragedie (the apothecary excepted, that administred the last fatall glister,) in a moment seized upon, as soon as the thing itself was discovered, although Weston presently left the leiftenant's service, after hee had dispatched the worke hee had

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undertaken.

undertaken. Had Sir Thomas Overburie accepted and undertaken the embassie into Ruffia, hee had perhaps been poisoned before his returne, and the matter might have been more secretlie carried.

After Sir Ralfe Winwood had by a meer compliment, as is before observed, drawen the confession of that murther from Sir Jervis Elvis, and acquainted the king with it, his majestie caused him to sett downe a true discourse of all that had passed in it, which he did but verie imperfectlie, and thereupon hee and the rest being taken and committed to severall custodies or prisons, Richard Weston was first brought to the barre before Sir Thomas Hayes, then lorde-mayor of London, and divers others, in the Guildhall, upon the 19th day of October, this present year 1615, at which time hee stood mute; but on the Monday following was judicallie tried and condemned, &c. as was one Franklin, an actor in the said murther, and both of them executed at Tiburne. Sir Edward Coke, lorde cheife justice of Englande, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them both, as hee did alsoe upon Mrs. Turner, arraigned and condemned Nov. 9, and on Sir Jervis Elvis, arraigned and condemned Nov. 16, both of them in the Guildhall the same yeare. Hee tooke great paines in severall examinations to find the truth of this darke business, and had promised these that went before to execution, that the great ones should not breake through the nett; though it afterwards fell out otherwise. Mrs. Turner had first brought upp that vaine and foolish use of yellow starch, cominge herself to her triall in a yellow bande and cuffs; and therefore when shee was afterwards executed at Tiburne, the hangman had his bande and cuffs of the same couler, which made many after that day of either iex to forbear the use of that coulered starch, till at last it grew generallie to be detested and disused. At Sir Jervis Elvis' execution, being at Tower
 2 Hill,

Hill, there fell out a moore strange accident, though farre remote from the place of his faied execution : for having been formerly a fellow-commoner of St. John's colledge in Cambridge, and given a silver bowle there, it fell downe that day hee suffered, and as was supposed that verie houre, and brake in funder, just at the place where the handle was joined to the cupp or upper part of it. Being myself a fellow-commoner of the same colledge a few yeares after, I was enformed very assuredly of this accident. This fatal busines had almost swallowed upp Sir Robert Cotton, that famous English antiquarie, in whose acquaintance I was manie yeares after verie happie ; for hee being highly esteemed by the earle of Somerset (soe as if he had stode awhile longer 'tis verie probable hee had made him one of the secretaries of state) was acquainted with this murther a little before it now came to light, and had advised him what hee tooke to bee the best course for his safetie. Sir Robert had his pardon, and never came to his open triall ; yet was in the Christmas holidays this yeare committed to prison. Notwithstanding all the great friends he had, it cost him five hundred pounds, and wrought a very good effect upon him : for presently upon his escape out of danger, hee tooke home his laddy to his own house, and cohabited with her ever afterwarde, from whome hee had divers yeares before lived separated.

III.

ANECDOTE OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

I have heard it undoubtedlie related, that a little before the earle of Pembroke brought him to the king's knowledge hee was at a horse race in Cambridgeshire, in an old black suite, broken out in divers places ; and at night much of the companie lying at Lintone, near which towne the race had been, hee could not gett

a roome in the inne to lodge in, and was therefore gladde to ly in a trundeled bed in a gentleman's chamber of a meane qualitie alfoe at that time; from whose owne mouth I heard this relation, who was himfelfe an ey witnes of it.

IV.

ACCOUNT OF CAR EARL OF SOMERSET, AND HIS WIFE.—DEATH OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.—STRONGLY SUSPECTED TO HAVE BEEN OCCASIONED BY POISON GIVEN BY CAR.

Upon the 24th day of May, being Friday, the counteſs of Somerſet, having before been delivered of a daughter (whome they baptized Anne, perhaps to ingratiate themſelves into the queen's favour, whome Somerſet had often before his fall oppoſed and irritated) was brought to a publique triall in Weſtminſter-hall, before Sir Thomas Egerton, knight, then lorde chancellour of Eng-lande, and for that day created lorde high ſteward. Shee was by her peeres found guiltie of Sir Thomas Overburies murder, and ſoe condemn'd; and in her returne to the towne the axe head was carried before her with the edge from her. The day following, being the 25th day of the ſame moneth, was Robert earle of Somerſet her huſband arraign'd at the ſame barre before the ſame lorde high ſtewarde, found guiltie by his peeres, and condemned, and from thence was remanded priſoner backe againe to the Tower. And when all mens expectations were readie to anticipate the day of the executions, the earle of Suffolke continuing ſtill in his place of lorde treaſurer, being father of the ſaid counteſſe, ſoe wrought the matter with queene Anne and the new favourite, that they with his other friends and alliance, by their earneſt and daylie interceſſion with the king, at laſt got the pardon of their lives, and the continuance of his honours, excepting

excepting the place of lord chamberlaine, which was conferred on the earle of Pembroke, whoe had been the meanes first to prefer the new favourite Mr. Villers to bee cup-bearer to his majestie that then was, and perhaps furnished with clothes or with monie to provide them, besitting that ministration.

There are two reports which seeme to crosse the former relation of Sir Thomas Overburies murther, with the discoverie of it. The first, that after the last poison was administred to him in the glister, and that hee lived some howres longer after it then was expected, they caused him to be smothered in his bed. The second, that it was first discovered by Mrs. Turner. But I rather adhere to the former relation in all the circumstances of it, because it was warranted to be true, by those proofes and depositions which were produced at the severall arraignments, and still remaine upon recorde. It was much pitied that Sir Jarvis Elvis, Weston, and Franklin had suffered, who were meerelie instruments to execute that murther which the countesse of Somerset had originally plotted and principallie acted; and yet that shee and her husband shoulde escape. For Mrs. Turner, she was less regarded, as a principall mover of the villanie, and in her owne person alsoe worthie to be abhorred as a diabolical whore, who had used forceries to draw Sir Arthur Manaring to her bedd. This discontent gave many satirical wits occasion to vent themselves into stinging libels, in which they spared neither the persons, families, nor most secret avowtries of that unfortunate paire. There came alsoe two anagrams to my handes, not unworthie to bee owned by the rarest witts of this age, though the first be resolved into somewhat too broad an expression for soe nobly an extracted ladie :

Frances Howard,
Car finds a whore.

Thomas Overburie;
ôô a busie murther.

This

This ladie had been formerlie married to the earle of Effex, who much resembled that wise statesman Sir Francis Wallingham, his grandfather by his mother's side; and was, in respect of the greatnes of his familie, and towardlie hopes of his youth, desired by the greatest peeres to bee ther sonne-in law. The earle of Suffolke therefore having obtained him, was soe carefull not to hazarde the losse of his alliance, as in the yeare 1606, when the earle of Effex was scarce fourteen yeares olde, hee caused the espousals to bee solemnized between him and the ladie Frances his second daughter, about thirteen yeares olde, and then a most sweete and delicate lady. It seemes that the earle of Effex made choice of her; for else her younger sifter named Katherine, after married to William earle of Salisburie, had been much the fitter spouse for him. Certainlie this first bredde the coales of discontent betweene them, that the earle of Effex was unfitt to pay her the rites of marriage for many years after she was readie to receive them. They lived about foure yeares after they were man and wife separated from the very converse each of other, by which doubtles a great estrangement and alienation of affections was wrought between them. Afterwards, in the yeare 1610, when they were first suffered to lye together, the earle was a mere boye, and little past eighteene, and *soe unable to consummate his fore-passed matrimonie*. This was a reall and true affliction to the ladie, for remedying whereof had she first sought that divorce which was afterwarde procured, and not satisfied her inordinate lust by unlawful copulation, she had never been plunged into that deluge of sinne with which she was afterwards overwhelmed. For, as the earle's impotencie caused her distaste of him, soe her known and common avoutries with viscount Rochester caused him at last to abhorre her; and therefore shee fearing that her lorde would seeke some publicke or private revenge against her, by the advice of the before mentioned Mrs. Turner her bawd, consulted and practised with
 Doctor

Doctör Forman and Doctör Savorie, two conjurers, about the poisoning of him. Her letters to the said Forman weere verie passionate, that her lorde did yet thrive, and would survive she feared all her good fortunes, and that therefore shee desired the hastening of his ende. I knowe one John Wright, being deposed at Mrs. Turner's before mentioned arrangement, did affirme upon his oath, that the devill (which he had learned from one of the wizardeſ) had noe power over the earle of Effex' life; but though that might be true, yet doubtleſſ hee might easilie enough have periſhed by poiſon; and this made the commiſſioners in the yeare 1613 haſten the divorce between the ſaid earle and the ladie Frances, as Doctör Cæſar, one of them, being afterwards maſter of the Roles, did aſſure mee, fearing if they protracted that, they might bee an occaſion of procuring the earles murther. Whether the earle of Effex were any wayes diſabled from copulation by the ſorceries practiſed againſt him, I cannot determine; but this is certaine, that hee did freeſie confeſſ, that he could never carnallie know his ſaid wife. But for that ridiculous act of the ſaid lady Frances pretending to bee ſearched to prove herſelfe a true virgin, and for modeſty ſake to have her face covered, and by that meanes obtruding to the ſearchers another young gentlewoman inſtead of herſelfe, it is ſoe palpable, as needes noe further diſcuſſion. Another reporte is moore ſtrange and worthie of obſervation, which I have heard very credibly related; that ſoon after the birth of her daughter, ſhee was diſabled by the ſecret puniſhment of a higher providence from being capable of further copulation; and that though ſhee lived neare upon twentie yeares after it, yet her huſband the earle of Somerſet never knewe her carnallie; but the ſaid inſirmitie ſtill encreaſed more and more upon her, till at laſt ſhee died of it, in very great extremitie*. Shee was ſoe delicate in her

* Wilſon has given a loathſome account of her death in his HIST. OF K. JAMES I. p. 83.

youth, as notwithstanding that inestimable prince Henry's martial desires, and innitiation into the waies of godlineſſe, ſhee being ſet on by the earle of Northampton her father's uncle, firſt caught his eye and heart, and afterwards prostituted herſelf to him, who reaped the firſt fruits of her virginity*; but thoſe ſparkes of grace which even then began to ſhew ther luſtre in him, with thoſe more innated qualities derived from vertue, which gave the law to his more advized actions, ſoon raiſed him out of the ſlumber of that diſtemper, and taught him to reject her following temptations with indignation and ſuperciliouſneſſe. God beſt knows whether that haſtened his end; moſt certaine it is that ſome moneths before his highneſſe's death, viſcount Rocheſter's familiaritie and hers tooke its firſt inniciation by Mrs. Turner's procurement.

The Scotts have a conſtant reporte amongſt them, as I learned from one of them, that Sir Thomas Overburie, foreſeeing divers croſſings and oppoſitions to happen betweene that peereleſſe prince and the ſaied Rocheſter, by whoſe meanes only he expected to riſe, and fearing it would in the end bee a meanes to ruin Rocheſter himſelfe, did firſt give that damnable and fatal advice of removing out of the way and worlde that roial youth by fascination, and was himſelf afterwards in parte an inſtrument for the effecting of it, and therefore, ſay they in Scotland, it happened by the juſt judgment of God afterwards as a puniſhment upon him, that he himſelf died by poiſon.

V.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN LONDON IN 1620.

Chriſtened 8414—Died 8316.

* Wilſon ſays, ſhe courted the prince, but that he ſlighted her. Her glove having fallen as ſhe was dancing, it was taken up (according to that hiſtorian's account) and preſented to him by one that thought he did him acceptable ſervice; but the prince reſuſed to receive it, ſaying publickly, *he would not have it,—it is ſtretched by another*, meaning the viſcount [Rocheſter]. HIST. OF KING JAMES I. p. 56.

VI.

VI.

TRAIT OF BUCKINGHAM.

1620-21. Monday, Jan. 8, in the afternoon, I went to the Tilt Yard, over against Whitehall, whence fowre couples rann to shew the before-mentioned French Embassadour Cadnet, and divers French lordes that came with him, that martial pastime. Prince Charles himself rann first, with Richard lorde Buckhurst earle of Dorset, and brake their staves verie successefully. The next couple that rann were the beloved marquesse of Buckingham, and Philip lorde Herbert earle of Montgomerie, younger brother to William Herbert earle of Pembroke; but had verie badd successe in all the courses they made. Marquesse Hamiltone, a Scottishman, and the king's near kinsman, with Sir Robert Rich earle of Warwicke, performed their course almost as gallantlie as the prince and earle of Dorset; but the last couple did worst of all, not breaking a staffe. After this most of the tilters, excepting the prince, went upp to the French lordes in a large upper roome of the howse standing at the lower end of the Tilt Yard; and I crowding in after them, and seeing the marquesse of Buckingham discourfing with two or three French monfieurs, I joined to them, and most earnestlie veiued him for about halfe an houres space at the least, which I had the opportunitie the more easilie to accomplish, because hee stood all that time he talked bare-headed. I saw everie thing in him full of delicacie and handsome features; yea his hands and face seemed to mee especialie effeminate and curious. It is possible hee seemed the moore accomlisht, because the French monfieurs that had invested him weere verie swarthie hard-favoured men. That he was afterwarde an instrument of much mischief, both

at home and abroad, is foe evident upon recorde, as noe man can denie ; yet this I doe suppose proceeded rather from some jesuited incendiaries about him than from his owne nature, which his verie countenance promised to be affable and gentle.

VII.

OBSERVATIONS ON LORD BACON'S NEW TITLES.

1621. By letters patent, dated the 27th day of this January, was Sir Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, created viscount St. Alban ; all men wondering at the exceeding vanity of his pride and ambition : for his estate in land was not above four or five hundred pounds per annum at the uttermost, and his debts were generally thought to be near 30,000*l*. Besides, he was faine to support his very household expences, being very lavish, by taking great bribes in all causes of moment that came before him. So as men raised very bitter sarcasms or jests of him ; as that he lately was *very lame*, alluding to his barony of *Verulam*, but now having fallen into a consumption of purse, without all question he was become *All-bones*, alluding to his new honour of St. *Alban* ; nay, they said, *Nabal* being folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of *Alban*, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition.

VIII.

ACCOUNT OF KING JAMES'S GOING TO PARLIAMENT IN MDCXXI.

1620-21. There had long time writts of fummons gone forth for the calling of a parliament, of which all men that had any religion,

gion hoped much good, and daily prayed for a happy issue. For both France and Germany needed support and help from England, or the true professors of the Gospel were likely to perish in each nation, under the power and tyranny of the Anti-christian adversary. I got a convenient place in the morning, not without some danger escaped, to see his majesty pass to parliament in state. It is only worth the inserting in this particular, that prince Charles rode with a rich coronet upon his head, between the serjeant at armes, carrying maces, and the pensioners, carrying their pole-axes, both on foot. Next before his majesty rode Henry Vere, earl of Oxenford, lord great chamberlain of England, with Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, earl marshal of England, on his left hand, both bare-headed. Then followed his majesty with a rich crown upon his head, and most royally caparisoned.

I amongst the nobility especially viewed the lord Seymer, earl of Hartford, now some 63 years old, and even decrepid with age. He was born, as I was informed, the same day king Edward the Sixth was ripped out of the lady Jane Seymour's womb, his aunt.

In the king's short progress from Whitehall to Westminster, these passages following were accounted somewhat remarkable: First, that he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and three-fold on all sides to behold him, "God bless ye! God bless ye!" contrary to his former haughty and passionate custom, which often, in his sudden distemper, would bid a pox or plague on such as flocked to see him. Secondly; though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet that he spake to none of them but to the marquiss of Buckingham's mother and wife, who was the sole daughter and heir of the earl of Rutland. Thirdly; that he spake particularly and bowed to the count of Gondemar, the Spanish embassador. And fourthly; that looking up to one window, as he passed, full of gentlewomen and ladies, all in yellow

bands, he cried out aloud, "A pox take ye, are ye there?" at which, being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window. Doctor Andrews preached in Westminster church, before the king, prince, and lords spiritual and temporal.

Being afterwards assembled in the upper house, and the king seated on his throne, he made a pithy and eloquent speech, promising the removal of monopolies, of which there were at this time 700 in the kingdom, granted by letters patent under the great seal, to the enriching some few projectors, and the impoverishing of all the kingdom besides. Next he promised, with his people's assistance, to consent to aid the king of Bohemia, his son-in-law, and not to enforce the Spanish match without their consent; and therefore in conclusion desired them cheerfully and speedily to agree upon a sufficient supply of his wants by subsidies, promising them for the time to come to play the good husband, and that in part he had done so already. I doubt not, howsoever, these blessed promises took not a due and proportionable effect, according as the loyal subject did hope: yet did king James (a prince, whose piety, learning, and gracious government, after-ages may miss and wish for) really at this time intend the performance of them.

IX.

PROFITS OF A SIX CLERK'S PLACE IN THE TIME OF KING JAMES.

1620-1. Thursday the 22d day of February, being with my father in his study, he was discoursing unto me, that in 12 years he had now continued one of the six clerks, viz. from 1607, in which year he was admitted into his office, to the end of the
year.

year 1619, he had gained near upon the full and just sum of 16,000*l.* having paid for his office at his first coming in near upon 5000*l.* What his year's gain was in 1620 and 1621, I never saw his account book, being burned in December ensuing, with other particulars of great value, as I shall further discover in that month; but it was 1400*l.* for each year, or thereabout. But for his gains the years following, viz. the four terms in each year, I found thus set down in his account book begun after that fire, as in the former, by each day's income; which, being summed up, make the sums ensuing, to wit:

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A. D.	1622	1522	7	0
	1623	1670	12	4
	1624	1459	8	4
	1625	1216	15	4
	1626	1850	18	5
	1627	1981	10	8
	1628	1883	14	3
	1629	1724	6	1
	1630	1856	12	4

Foreign account, beginning the year Jan. 1.

which nine years gains do amount unto the full sum of 15,166*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* So as I do believe, during the space of about 23 years which he continued a fix clarke, he gained about the sum of 32,500*l.* and yet I have often thought that if he had never bought that place, being but meane and ministerial, considering what he at first paid for it, and what he afterwards lost in the fire there, being about 9000*l.* put together, he might have been a richer man if he had never bought it, and have been also a means of a further restitution of his posterity, in dignity and title, as well as in revenue. For the gains of the last Hillary term he lived, and during which he fell sick, I shall speak more fully of it, and how it was defalked from his estate, when I come to speak of his

his decease ; many new-years gifts and other charges were also incident to his office, besides some large bribes towards his later time extracted from him and his fellows.

X.

RATE OF PURCHASE OF LAND, AND PRICE OF CORN, IN 1621.

At this time the rates of all sorts of corn were so extream low, as to make the very prices of land fall from 20 years purchase to sixteen and seventeen ; for the best wheat was sold for 2*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* the bushel, the ordinary at 2*s.* barley and rye at 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* the bushel, and the worser of these grains at a meaner rate, and malt also after that proportion ; nor were horse-corn, as oats and pease, at any high price ; which I have the rather observed, though a matter in itself very trivial, because all farmers of lands generally murmured at this plenty and cheapness ; and the poorer sort, that would have been glad, but a few years before, of the coarse rye bread, did now usually traverse the market to find out the finer wheats, as if nothing else would serve their use, or please their palates ; which unthankfulness and daintiness was soon after punished by the high prices and dearness of all sorts of grain every where, which never since abated much of that rate, though at some times it were cheaper then at others ; so as in the year 1630 wheat was about 5*s.* a bushel, rye at 4*s.* 6*d.* and malt and barley about that rate ; and this present year 1637 *, malt and barley are sold at 5*s.* the bushel, though wheat be under that price, and rye at some 4*s.* a bushel.

* The time of writing this Journal, or at least of Sir Simonds D'Ewes's arranging the particulars of it, is here ascertained.

XI.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON'S ATTACK ON THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
IN PARLIAMENT.

1621. The beloved marquess of Buckingham, not yet satisfied with the censure of Sir Henry Yelverton knight, late the attorney general, passed against him in the star chamber upon the 10th day of November last foregoing in 1620 (which I have there more fully touched) was the meanes this Easter terme to have him called in question for new matters in the upper house of parliament, where he laid open, upon Monday the 30th day of April, so many of the marquess's inordinate actions, comparing him to the Spencers that misled king Edward II. of England, as his lordship had much better have let him alone in the Tower, where he still remained a prisoner since his former censure, than to have brought him upon the stage again, whence his revenge might have cost him dear, had not the king himself in person, and prince Charles also, appeared in the upper house against Sir Henry Yelverton, so as the lords out of their great wisdoms, fearing at this time to irritate the king by further questioning the marquess his favourite, remitted all further prosecutions of those accusations, but sent back Sir Henry Yelverton to the Tower, where he remained awhile close prisoner.

XII.

XII.

BACON'S DELIVERY OF THE GREAT SEAL, AND THE KING'S
OBSERVATION UPON IT.

1621. Sir Francis Bacon, viscount St. Alban, had been often questioned during this parliament in the upper house for his gross and notorious bribery ; and though he had abstained from coming to the parliament house, yet he had the broad seal still remaining with him, till this first day of May in the afternoon, and he by that means as yet remained lord chancellor of England. The four lords that came for it were Henry viscount Mandevile, lord treasurer ; Lodowike Steward, duke of Lenox, lord steward of the king's household ; William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of the household ; and Thomas earl of Arundel, earl marshal of England, whom I should have placed before Pembroke. They coming to York House to him where he lay, told him they were sorry to visit him upon such an occasion, and wished it had been better. " No, my lords", replied he, " the occasion is good ;" and then delivering them the great seal, he added, " It was the king's favour that gave me this, and it is my fault that "hath taken it away :"*Rex dedit, culpa abstulit* : or words to that effect. So leaving him, the said four lords carried the gage they had received to Whitehall to the king, who was overheard by some near him to say upon the delivery of it to him, " Now, by " my fault, I am pained at my heart where to bestow this ; for as " for my lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Which it seemed at that time was to prepare a way to bestow it upon a clergyman, as the marquess of Buckingham had intended, for otherwise there were at this present divers able wise lawyers, very honest and religious men, fit for the place, in whom there might easily have
been

been found as much integrity, and less fawning and flattery, than in the clergy ; and accordingly Dr. Williams, now dean of Westminster, and before that time made bishop of Lincoln, was sworn lord keeper, and had the great seal delivered to him October 9, next ensuing, being the first day of Michaelmas term.

XIII.

REMARKABLE CHARGE AGAINST LORD BACON.

1621. Upon Thursday the 3d of May, Sir Francis Bacon, lord Verulam and viscount St. Alban, who had been exuted of the lord chancellor's place the Tuesday before-going, by the taking the great seal of England from him, as I have there shewed, was, for his notorious and base bribery in that place, censured by the upper house of parliament ; to pay 40,000*l.* fine to his majesty ; to be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure in the Tower of London ; never again to be capable of any place of judicature under his majesty, or to sit amongst the peers in the upper house. Never had any man in those great places of gain he had gone through, having been attorney general before he was lord chancellor, so ill-husbanded the time, or provided for himself : but his vast prodigality had eaten up all his gains ; so that it was agreed on by all men that he owed at this present at least 20,000*l.* more than he was worth. Had he followed the just and vertuous steps of Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, his father, that continued lord keeper of the great seal some 18 years under queen Elizabeth

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beth

beth of ever bleſſed memory, his life might have been as glorious, as by his vices it proved infamous. For though he were an eminent ſcholar, and a reaſonable good lawyer, both which he much adorned with his elegant expreſſion of himſelf and his graceful delivery; yet his vices were ſo ſtupendous and great, as they utterly obſcured and outpoized his virtues. For he was immoderately ambitious, and exceſſively proud; to maintain which he was neceſſitated to injuſtice and bribery, taking ſometimes moſt baſely on both ſides. To this latter wickedneſs the favour he had with the beloved marquis of Buckingham emboldened him, as I learned in a diſcourſe from a gentleman of his bedchamber, who told me he was ſure his lord ſhould never fall as long as the ſaid marquis continued in favour. His moſt abominable and darling ſin I ſhould rather bury in ſilence than mention it, were it not a moſt admirable inſtance how men are enſlaved by wickedneſs, and held captive by the devil: for, whereas preſently upon his cenſure at this time his ambition was moderated, his pride humbled, and the means of his former injuſtice and corruption removed, yet would he not relinquish the practice of his moſt horrible and ſecret ſin of ſodomy, keeping ſtill one Godrick, a very effeminated youth, to be his catamite and bed-fellow, although he had diſcharged the moſt of his other houſhold ſervants; which was the more to be admired, becauſe men generally after his fall began to diſcourſe of that his unnatural crime, which he had practiſed many years, deſerting the bed of his lady, which he accounted, as the Italians and Turks do, a poor and mean pleaſure, in reſpect of the other: and it was thought by ſome that he ſhould have been tried at the bar of juſtice for it, and have ſatiſfied the law moſt ſevere againſt that horrible villainy, with the price of his blood; which cauſed ſome bold and ward man to write theſe verſes following, in a whole ſheet of

paper,

paper, and to cast it down in some part of York-house in the Strand, where viscount St. Alban yet lay :

Within this fly a hog* doth ly,
That must be hanged for sodomy.

But he never came to any public trial for this crime ; nor did he ever, that I could hear, forbear his old custom of making his servants his bedfellows, so to avoid the scandal that was raised of him ; though he lived many years after this his fall in his lodgings in Grays Inn in Holbourne, in great want and penury.

XIV.

LORD SOUTHAMPTON'S IMPRISONMENT.

About Friday, the two and twentieth day of this month [June 1621], was doctor Williams, dean of Westminster, sworn of the privy council, after he had been first made bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Southampton was committed prisoner to him at his deanry of Westminster, but for what cause none of his own servants yet knew ; from which imprisonment he was again awhile after freed, by the mediation of some noble person with the beloved marquis of Buckingham, whom the issue shewed he had only offended, crossing him often during the continuance of the parliament, and answering him stoutly since it had been adjourned †.

* Alluding to his surname of Bacon, and to that swinish abominable sin.

† See a farther account of this matter in the Debates of the Parliament that met in the year 1621, printed at Oxford, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1766. EDIT.

XV.

LORD ELLESMERE'S PREDICTION CONCERNING ARCHBISHOP
WILLIAMS.

1621. Michaelmas term beginning upon Tuesday the 9th day of October, John Williams, doctor of divinity, dean of Westminster, and bishop of Lincoln, took his place in the chancery as lord keeper of the great seal; viscount Mandavile, lord president, administering the oath to him. Much talk there was of this divine's sudden rising, being a Welchman by birth, and but a few years before a sub-fizar in St. John's College, Cambridge, of little regard or learning. After he had taken his oath, he made a long, learned, and honest speech in the Chancery court, but little practised it, as the sequel too plainly verified. I heard it confidently reported, that the old lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, lord Ellesmere, prophesied of him, being then his household chaplain, that he would prove another Wolsey, which was as strangely verified by his fall, as now by his rising.

XVI.

ORIGIN OF THE DORSET FAMILY..

THER was much good hoped in the publicke by the meeting againe of the two houses of parliament upon Tuesday (which day of the weeke the king held propitious to himself) the 20th day of this instant November, especiallie after it was declared in the upper house the day following by the new lord keeper, and Sir Lionel Cranfield, knight, lorde Cranfield, (who but a few yeares before had himselfe been a shopkeeper in the cittie of London,

don, as his father had been before him) latelie made lorde treasurer, that the king purposed to aide his sonne-in-law for the recoverie of the Palatinate.

XVII.

KING JAMES NARROWLY ESCAPES DROWNING.

It fell out very strangely the next day (January 10, 1621-2) the king riding on hunting at Theobalds, was cast headlong from his horse into a pond, and narrowly escaped drowning.

XVIII.

AFFLUENT ALLOWANCE OF A TEMPLAR IN 1623.

On Friday the 27th day of June, 1623, I was at night, with divers other gentlemen, very good students, called to the bar, or made an utter barrister, by the benchers of our Middle Temple; a preferment which gave me much content, being most of my daily companions were then called, and whose loving society, by which I reaped much good, I might else have missed. It pleased God also in mercy after this to ease me of that continual want, or short stipend, I had for about five years last past groaned under; for my father, immediately upon my said call to the bar, enlarged my former allowance with forty pounds more yearly; so as, after this plentiful annuity of one hundred pounds was duly and quarterly paid me by him, I found myself eased of so many cares and discontents, as I may well account that 27th day of June foregoing the first day of my outward happiness since the decease of my dearest mother.

XIX.

XIX.

RIDING OF LORDS ON HORSEBACK IN THEIR ROBES TO
PARLIAMENT.

1623-4, on Feb. 16, just as the king was ready to go to the parliament, and divers of the lords in their robes already on horseback, and thousands of spectators ready to behold them, &c.

XX.

CHARACTER OF SIR ROBERT COTTON AND MR. SELDEN.

1624. On Tuesday September 28, going, as I frequently used, to visit Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime antiquary, I there met with Mr. John Selden of the Inner Temple, a man of deep knowledge and almost of incomparable learning, as his many published works do sufficiently witness, with whom Sir Robert, our joint friend, brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good outward correspondence; but both of them being more learned than pious, I never fought after, or ever attained unto, any great entireness with them; yet I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton than with Mr. Selden, being a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities.

XXI.

ACCOUNT OF KING JAMES'S DEATH AND FUNERAL.

1625. On the 27th day of March, king James our learned and peaceable sovereign, having newly entered into the three and twentieth

twentieth year of his reign, deceased between eleven and twelve of the clock in the forenoon, at Theobalds, in the county of Hartford. The same day he died, being Sunday in the forenoon, one Doctor Price preached at court upon 1 Kings, ii. verses 1, 2, 3. He prayed earnestly for the king before his sermon, and wept often whilest he prayed and preached. His highness's sickness was at first but an ordinary ague, though at last it turned to a burning fever. It was at first reported that he fell into that extremity by his own wilfulness, neglecting the advice and remonstrances of his physicians; but it afterwards appeared in parliament, by the testimony of Doctor Ramfay, a Scot, and other learned practicers in that faculty, that he was reasonably well recovered, and in their judgments past all danger, till in their absence George duke of Buckingham ministred to him a potion, and gave him plaisters, after which he soon fell into a great burning and distemper, which encreased more and more till his disease. He spake very Christianly before his end, shewing that he died a true and faithful Protestant. Being embowelled, his heart was found to be very great, which argued him to be, as very considerate, so extraordinary fearfull, which hindered him from attempting any great actions. His liver was as fresh as if he had been a young man; one of his kidneys found, the other shrunk, and two little stones found in it; his lights and gall almost black, which proceeded doubtless from excessive care and melancholy. The futures of his skull were so strong and firm, as they could scarcely be broken open with a saw or chisell, and the pia mater so full of braines, as they could scarcely be kept from spilling. His bowells were speedily buried in a leaden vessel, and the body the same day removed to London. King Charles was presently proclaimed at Theobalds, of which himself was an auditor in two or three several places; and about four of the clock of the same day he was proclaimed in London, and afterwards in other parts
of

of the kingdom. He took the duke of Buckingham with him in his coach, and shewed him much grace and favour for the present, which he afterwards encreased towards him exceedingly. The royal corps was interred on Saturday, May 7, ensuing, as I shall shew more at large in its own place. It did not a little amaze me to see all men generally flight and disregard the loss of so mild and gentle a prince, which made me even then to fear that the ensuing times might yet render his loss more sensible, and his memory more dear to posterity; for though it cannot be denied but that he had his vices and deviations, and that the true church of God was well near ruined in Germany, whilst he sat still and looked on; yet if we consider his virtues and learning on the other hand, his care to maintain the doctrine of the church of England pure and sound, his opposition against James Arminius, Conradus Vorstius, and other blasphemous Anabaptists, and his augmenting the liberties of the English, rather than his oppressing them by any unlimited or illegal taxes and corruptions; we cannot but acknowledge that his death deserved more sorrow and condolment from his subjects than it found.

The 7th day of this instant May, being Saturday, were the funerals solemnized of our late deceased sovereign. The hearse was carried from Somers-et-house to Westminster. The first mourners set out from thence about ten o'clock in the morning, and the last came not to Westminster till about four in the afternoon; and no marvel, seeing the number of the mourners was near upon eight thousand. King Charles himself, as the principal, followed next behind the hearse on foot also with the rest. Dr. Williams, dean of Westminster, bishop of Lincoln, and lord keeper of the great seal of England, preached the funeral sermon. His text was 1 Kings, xi, verses 41, 42, 43; upon which some conceived the king took some just offence, as if, by reason of the mention of Rehoboam in the 43d verse, his highness was necessarily paralleled

paralleled with him. The sermon ended not till about seven of the clock at night. I was a spectator of the whole funeral pomp, and in a most convenient place in the Strand, near Somerset House, on the other side of the way.

XXII.

KING CHARLES CONSUMMATED HIS WEDDING AT CANTERBURY.

June 12, 1625, being Sunday, about eight of the clock at night, Marie de Cleremont, youngest daughter to Henry the Great, the late French king, who had lately been married by proxy to king Charles, arrived at Dover. The next morning the parliament should have begun, but by reason of this new occasion it was again adjourned to the Saturday next ensuing; and the king was at Dover with his royal spouse the same forenoon by ten of the clock. They having dined together, went in the afternoon to Canterbury, where the queen was first bedded. The next day the royal pair rested themselves there; and on Wednesday, June the 15th, departing thence, lodged at Cobham, in Kent, from whence they passed the next day to London, where they were welcomed with the thundering peales of the ordnance from the Tower, and with bonfires at night from the city and suburbs,

XXIII.

THE QUEEN DESCRIBED.

On Thursday the 30th, the last day of this instant June, I went to Whitehall, purposely to see the queene, which I did fullie all the time shee sate at dinner, and perceived her to bee a most absolute delicate ladie, after I had exactlie surveied all the

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features

features of her face, much enlivened by her radiant and sparkling black eye. Besides, her deportment amongst her women was so sweete and humble, and her speech and lookes to her other servants so milde and gracious, as I could not abstaine from divers deep-fetched sighes, to consider that she wanted the knowledge of the true religion.

XXIV.

LOVE LETTER FROM SIR SIMONDS D'EWES TO HIS MISTRESS;
AND THEIR MARRIAGE.

August 31, 1626, being Thursday, I sent my servant over to Clare, with a diamond carcanett, to be presented to Mrs. Clopton, and a letter with it, which being the only lines I sent her during my wooing-time, and but short, I thought good to insert them in this place, to which they do most properlie belong :

“ Fairest,

“ Blest is the heart and hand that sincerely sends these
“ meaner lines, if another heart and eye gratiouſlie daigne to
“ pittie the wound of the first, and the numnes of the latter;
“ and thus may this other poore inclosed carcanett, if not adorn
“ the purer neck, yet be hidden in the private cabinet of her,
“ whose humble sweetnes and sweet humility deserves the
“ justest honour, the greatest thankfulness. Nature-made stones,
“ but opinion jewels; this, without your milder acceptance and
“ opinion, will prove neither stone nor jewel. Doe but enhappie
“ him that sent it in the ordinarie use of it, who though un-
“ worthie in himself, yet resolves to continue your humblest
“ servant,

SIMONDS D'EWES.”

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The same 31st day at night, my servant returned from Clare, and brought me worde of the faire and respective * receipt both of my lines and the carcanet, and how bountifullie himselfe had been rewarded before his departure from thence. Monday September 4, I went again thither myselfe, and ther spent the greater parte of the weeke in several conferences with the same ladie Barnardiston; or in private converse with my dearest, whose humble and discrete deportment obliged me noe lesse to an ardent affection of her, than the comeliness of her person. Saturday September 9, I returned home to Stowhall, and the Monday following tooke care to write downe the articles agreed upon betweene my father and the lady Barnardiston for the future marriage. Tuesday September 12, came Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, with his brother Arthur, and Mr. Giles Barnardiston, the same ladie's son, to Stowhall, and received from my father most loving entertainment and heartie welcome; and the day following all particulars to bee inserted into the marriage-conveyance were fullie agreed upon betweene them. Thursday September 14, they departed, and I accompanied them, and came againe the same night to Clare, where I found the same serenitie of countenance and heartie welcome from the said ladie Barnardiston and her grand-child as I had done formerlie. I remained with them at Clare till Tuesday September 19, when myselfe accompanied the lady herselfe, my dearest, and her uncle and aunt Brograve (who had come a little before to Clare) to Alburie Lodge, the mansion-house of her saied aunt, in Hartfordshire, being some twentie and five miles from Clare aforesaid. This gentlewoman was the youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Barnardiston knight (grandfather of the said Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston), and of the said lady Barnardiston, his last wife. She was now the wife of Mr.

* i. e. respectful. EDIT.

John Brograve, sonne and heire apparant of Simeon Brograve, of Hamils in Brafyn* in the saied countie of Hartford, esquire; with whome the saied ladie his wife's mother, together with Mrs. Clapton his wife's neice, did now sojourne; although some particular occasions had driven over the old ladie to Clare aforefaied this present summer. Mrs. Brograve was a verie comelie gentlewoman, a little with the tallest, full of knowledge, and of exemplary piety; being trained up in all religious performances, as well by her mother's example, as by her instruction: soe as upon my coming hither I received much more content and heartie entertainment than I had done at Clare. The day following I had some serious discourse with the old lady touching a speedie consummation of my future marriage, and wee had both great motives to induce our mutual consents to it. She feared some inveigling or misfortune might come to her grand-child, having some cause to suspect that some of neare freinds would bee too mercenarie to help her to some meane match. Besides, though shee had agreed for her wardshipp, she had yet paid nothing, nor given securitie for the paiment of it; which was now to bee done in October next ensuing. The most of the estate being in reversion, shee had obtained the wardshipp for five hundred pounds, which, had she been to buy but two or three years after, would have cost her at leaste as much moore. For my owne parte, I had many reasons to desire the hastening of it. I feared some greater offers might bee made to tempt the old lady, who was naturallie, as most of her sex, marvailous inconstant. I was assured that, before my suite was allowed of, she had directlie refused a match of double my father's estate, because she allowed not of † the courses of the young gentleman, nor of the ill carriage of his father to his wife, the gentleman's owne mother. I had alsoe felt too many sad and wofull experiences of my father's prones to alter and change his former

* Braughing. EDIT.

† i. e. did not approve of. EDIT.
purposes

purposes and resolves ; and I knew, the longer the business hung in suspense, the more likelier it was for some rubbs and stopps to occur : besides, it took up my whole time and thoughts, and I desired againe some freedome for my studies. The onlie objection arose from her grand-child's tender yeares, which perswaded her to make some long pause before shee yeilded to the consummation of her marriage : for shee did not onlie doubt what danger might ensue to her very life, if shee should prove with childe too earlie, upon her deliverie of it ; but she was alsoe in some feare that the verie interest I had already gained in her grand-child's good-will and affection, was no solid or real love grounded on judgment, and might alter and lessen againe after marriage ; she being at this time but little above thirteen yeares old and an halfe. To these objections I answered fullie to her owne abundant satisfaction ; that I onlie desired to have the marriage consummated, and would forbear to reape the fruits of it till all danger in that kinde should be past ; which, through God's blessing, I afterwarde performed, although ther was no separation betweene us ; it being perhaps the first example that ever was of that kinde *, and so impossible it seemed as others could scarce be brought to believe it ; and for the second objection, I tolde her, I did not doubt but easilie to mediate and prevent it : for the same meanes I had used to gaine her affection before I married her, should be continued, after that were consummated, to maintain and encrease it. Hereupon she the same day, being Wednesday Sept. 20, mooved her grand-child to assent to a speedie marriage ; which she having yeilded unto, I spent about a week longer at Alburie, enjoying all manner of privacie of discourse with her, to the further settling and uniting of our

* The earl of Essex (son to queen Elizabeth's favourite) married lady Frances Howard (who has already been mentioned in these papers, p. 9, by the name of the countess of Somerfet) in the year 1607, and did not consummate his marriage for four years ; if she is to be believed, never ;—but he did not, like Sir Simonds D'Ewes, live with his bride. After his marriage he went abroad.

deare affections. Tuesday, Sept. 26, I returned to Stow (being above fortie miles distant from Alburie), and gave my father much satisfaction, in respect it was assented unto on all handes that the match should be speedily solemnized. And it fell out very convenientlie, that my father and I were to goe up alone to London, and might with ease goe by Alburie, and carrie the ladie Barnardiston and her grand-child with us.

* * *

We had now [1628] been partakers of the nuptial rites about two yeares, and yet had as little expectation of issue as in the first eight months of our continencie next after our marriage.

XXV.

ACCOUNT OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The rest of Julie [1628] was spent in visits, discourses, letter-writing, and such like, as was the beginning of August whollie; and divers dayes after during the same moneth: yet I devoted manye dayes and houres of retirement to my searches for my formerlie intended worke touching Great Brittaines strength and weakness; gathering notes and observation especiallie for it, out of Meteranus Latine Historie touching the Netherlandes or the Seventene Provinces. I was now again the rather encouraged to proceede with it, because I hoped that the Divine Providence would firmlie unite the hearts of prince and people in England now at last, after the death of the duke of Buckingham, who was generallie conceived to bee the maine cause of the sale of that multitude of English, Scottish, and Irish hereditarie honours, of the aversion of the hearts betweene the king and his subjects, and of all other mischeifes in church and commonwealth: the strange storie of whose fatal end I shall now relate a little particularlie, in which I shall sett downe the truth as neare as I canne, and heartilie wish I were able to say anye good of him; whose wife named Katherine, sole daughter

daughter and heire of Francis Manners earle of Rutland, was and still is my wive's kinswoman, by Frances daughter and one of the coheires of Sir Henry Knyvet, of Charlton, in the countie of Wiltshire, knight. Of the said duke's rising, and of manye of his actions during the raigne of king James and king Charles, I have before spoken. He was most of this month of August at and neare Portsmouth, preparing a fleete for the releife and victualling of Rochel, which the French had beseiged both by sea and land, and had foe stronglie blocked upp the water channel before it, as it was verie probable hee could never have relieved it, had hee lived to have gone with the navie himselfe. Whether he meant sincerelie in deferring thus long his journeie I know not; but most certaine it is, had sufficient stoore of corne onlie been sent in but fix or seven months before, which tenn faile of marchant ships might have carried into the towne, that inestimable peice had been saved from ruine. The duke himselfe seemed confident hee should doe the worke, and therefore made all the hast hee could to gett all things in a readines for his departure. Some of his friends had advised him how generally hee was hated in England, and how needfull it would bee for his greater safetie to weare some coate of maile, or some other secret defensive armour; which the duke flighting, saied, "It needes not; ther are noe Roman spirits left." August 23, being Saturday, the duke having eaten his breakfast betweene eight and nine of the clocke in the morning, in one Mr. Maſon's house* in Portsmouth, hee was then hasting away to the king, who lay at Reswicke†, some five miles distant, to have some speedie conference with him. Being come to the further part of the entrie

* August 23, 1628, George duke of Buckingham stabbed to death in captain Maſon's house by one John Felton. MSS. Sloan. N° 988.

Sept. 1. Foulk Grevil lord Brook stabbed to death with a knife by his servant Ralph Hayward, who with the same knife stabbed himself also, whereof he also instantly died. Ibid.

† Southwick (says lord Clarendon), the house of Sir Daniel Norton. EDIT.
leading

leading out of the parlour into the hall of the howse, hee had there some conference with Sir Thomas Frier, knight, a colonell; and stooping downe in taking his leave of him, John Felton, gentleman, having watched his opportunitie, thrust a long knife with a white halft hee had secretlie about him, with great strength and violence, into his breast under his left papp, cutting the diaphragma and lungs, and piercing the verie heart itself. The duke, having received the stroake, instantlie clapping his right hande on his sworde hilt, cried out, "God's wounds, the villaine has killed mee!" Some report his last wordes otherwise, little differing for substance from these: and it might have been wished that his end had not been so sudden, nor his last wordes mixed with so impious an expreffion. Hee was attended by manie noblemen and leaders, yet none could see or prevent the stroake. His dutchesse and the countesse of Anglesey, the wife of Sir Christopher Villars earle of Anglesey, his younger brother, being in an upper roome, and hearing the noise in the hall into which they had carried the duke, ran presentlie to a gallery that looked downe into it, and ther beholding the duke's bloud gush out abundantlie from his breaste, nose, and mouth (with which his speech after those his first wordes had been immediately stopped), they brake into pitiful outcries, and raised great lamentations. Hee pulled out the knife himselfe; and, being carried by his servants unto the table that stood in the same hall, having struggled with death neare upon a quarter of a howre, at length hee gave upp the ghost aboute ten of the clocke the same forenoon, and lay a long time after hee was dead upon the hall table ther. Mr. Felton, that gave him the deadlie wound, was a gentleman of very ancient familie of gentry in Suffolke; verie valourous, and of a stout spirit. Hee had been a leutenant under a captaine in the late unfortunate voiage to the Island of Ree, and was before alsoe employed in the expedition to Cadiz, under Sir Edward Cecil
viscount

viscount Wimbledon, in the yeare 1625. Ther had been an ancient quarrell betweene him and Sir Henrie Hungate, knight, whose secret lust hee had discovered, and received from him a most base revenge, being wounded by him in his bedd verie dangerouſlie; ſoe as Sir Henry having afterwardes by ſome meanes pacified him, yet when hee ſaw him recovered, ever feared him, and therefore was, I beleeeve, the cheif inſtrument with the duke (in whoſe favour he had a great ſhare) to deprive Mr. Felton once, if not twice, of the captaine's place of that companie over which he commanded as lieutenant; which was due to him by the rules and lawes of the warres, upon the death or remove of the captaine. And this cauſed him to work his revenge on the duke's perſon, ſaied ſome of the duke's friends and followers. But Mr. Felton even to his death avowed the contrary, and that the love onlie of the publike good induced him to that act. For having read the remonſtrance the Houſe of Commons preferred to the king in the late ſeſſion of parliament, by which the duke was branded to bee a capital enemy to church and ſtate, and that ther was noe publicke juſtice to be had againſt him, he had ſtrong inward workings and reſolutions to ſacrifice himſelfe for the ſafe-guard of the church and ſtate; yet knowing the danger he ſhould run into, and fearing it might be a temptation of the devil's, he had conflicted with it for neare upon two months ſpace, and fought of God deliverance from it by faſting and praier; and when his reſolutions were ſtill the ſame to accompliſh it, hee then tooke the incitation to proceed from God himſelfe, redoubled his courage, and heartilie praied for divine aſſiſtance to finiſh it. That hee had noe abettor, counſellor, or aſſiſtant in it, but onlie proceeded in it upon private diſcuſſion and deliberation with himſelfe alone (ſoe as his mother and ſiſters, who were at firſt impriſoned upon ſuſpicion, were afterwards upon his teſtimonie, and ther owne confeſſion, ſett free); and that hee undertooke

foe dangerous and difficult an enterprize with a sincere aime of publike good, is most probable ; because, when hee sheathed the knife in the duke's breast, just at the instant, " God," saied hee, " have mercy on thy soule !" which plainelie shewed hee had no private aimes of personall revenge against him, but had a greater care of Buckingham's soule than Buckingham himself had. Besides ; had his conscience accused him at the present, after the fact hee would not have neglected to have escaped, which his bitterest enemies confesse hee might have done, amidst the confusion that followed the blow, when everie man being busie about the duke, hee passed quietlie unmarked and unpursued out of the saied hall where hee slew Buckingham, into the kitchen of the saied house ; and after returning againe into the hall, hee averred first himself to have been the author of the duke's death, before anie other appeached him for it ; and had been ther flaine outright by some of the duke's followers, had not Sir Dudlie Carlton, baron of Imbercourt, and some others, hindred it. Mr. Felton himselfe alsoe suspecting, as it seems, some such sudden ende, had written the cause and ground of that his hazardous undertaking in a peice of paper, and fastened it to his hatband, that in case he had been instantlie flaine upon the place, it might have testified for him that hee onlie aimed at the publike good in that action. The writing was as followeth, consisting of two severall and divided peices, with his name subscribed to either of them :

" Let no man commend mee for doing it, but rather discommmend themselves ; for if God had not taken away their harts for their sins, hee had not gone so long unpunished.

" JOHN FELTON."

" That man in my opinion is cowardlie and base, and deserveth neither the name of a gentleman nor souldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life for the honour of God, and the good of his king and countrie.

" JOHN FELTON."

And

And so stronglie was this perswasion fixed in his minde, that hee had removed the enemie of God, the king, and the commonwealth out of the way, as after his removal from Portsmouth (where he was imprisoned immediatlie upon his taking) to the Tower of London, and that divers divines had dealt with him about the fact, and had in some measure convinced him that hee had sinned in it, because of the apostle Paul's rule, that wee must not doe evill that good may come of it; "I confesse," saied hee, "I did sinne in killing the duke, and I am sorrie that I killed a most wicked impenitent man soe suddenlie; but I doubt not but that great good shall result to church and commonwealth by it; and I assure myselfe that God hath pardoned this and all my other finnes, in and through the merits and blood of Jesus Christ my Saviour." The news being carried to the king the same morning, I have heard it certainlie reported, that, striking his breast with his hand, "Who (saied he) can prevent a stroake from heaven?" in which speech, whether he alluded to God's decree, or to his secret and just judgments, I cannot tell*. Certainlie the duke of Buckingham had highlie provoked God, by his extream lust, ambition, pride, gluttonie, and other sinns; not contenting himselfe with anie measure of honour, till he had outstripped all the antient nobilitie and peeres of England by a dukedome, although his condition had been verie poor and meane but a few yeares before. He was the likest to Henrie Lorainer, duke of Guize, in the most of the later passages of his life and death, that possible could be; onlie in this they differed, that Guize was a prince borne, but Buckingham was but a younger sonne of an ordinary familie of gentrie, of which the coat-armour was soe meane, as either in this age or of late yeares, without any ground,

* Lord Clarendon says, he was at prayers when the account was brought to him; that he shewed not the least emotion till the service was over, but then retired to his chamber, and broke out into strong expressions of grief. EDIT.

right, or authoritie that I could ever see, they deserted their owne coat-armour, and bare the arms of Weyland, a Suffolke family, being, Argent, on a Croffe G. 5 Escalops Or. Some wit, to infamouze the rare confidence of Mr. Felton in that he fledd not after the work was finished, framed the truth of it out of his verie name, in this following anagram ;

John Felton.
No'h ! flie not.

I will in this place a little anticipate the time, and end his storie. Being removed from Portsmouth, in September, to the Tower of London, and well lodged and used, having the diet accustomed to prisoners in that place allowed him ; he was at one time there threatened by Sir Edward Sackville, earle of Dorset, that he should be forced upon the racke to confess who were privie with him and consenting to the duke's death. " I have," saied he, " alreadie tolde the truth in that point upon my falvation ; and " if I bee further questioned by torture, I will accuse you, and you " onlie, my lord of Dorset, to be of conspiracie with mee." At last he was brought to his own triall at the King's-bench barre in Westminster-hall on Thursday the 27th day of November in the morning, and the knife, all defiled and besmeared with blood, as it came out of the duke's breast, was laied before him in open court. He instantly acknowledged himselfe to be the author, and soe received the sentence of condemnation. The next day he received the sacrament of the Lordes Supper in the forenoon with great desire and devotion ; and the day following, Nov. 29, Saturday, he was hanged at Tyburne in the morning, where he made a verie pious and Christian end ; still affirming to the last that he had never slaine the duke, but that he assured himselfe therebie to save church and state from imminent and unavoidable ruine. His familie was doubtles more noble and ancient than

the duke of Buckingham's, and his end much bleffeder than the duke's, whoe was afterwarde interred as obscurlie at Westminster as Felton suffered ignominiouslie; having this miserie even after death, to be more prodigiouslie flattered in his epitaph in Westminster church, then he had been by all his sycophants in his life-time. I have heard Sir Robert Cotton affirme, that persons of that kinde, of which most were young indiscreete gentlemen, had soe prevailing a power with him, as, contrarie often to those safe counsils he had received from wise men of great experience, and solemn resolves to put them in practice, he was presentlie transversed and over-ruled by his flatterers to fall upon new and dangerous resolves, which at last imbarcked him into the general hatred of most men. What his religion was, I am not able to averre; yet it was observed in parliament, that he procured himselfe to be elected chancellour of the universitie of Cambridge by the Arminian partie, or the enemies of God's grace and providence, which till of late yeares have called themselves Anabaptists, being the followers of Michael Servetus, Lælius Socinus, and Sebastian Castellio, and have been so named and written against by the orthodox Protestant partie for neare foure-score yeares last past; and were first called Arminians after the death of James Arminius, professor of divinitie in Leyden in Holland, about thirtie yeares past, who stole much of that he wrote out of his great master Sebastian Castellio, or out of the worke of Robert Bellarmine, and other Jesuits. For his private practice, the duke's devotion was very small; so as at the sacrament of baptisme, when he was a witness with some comelie and beautiful women, he hath been observed to winke and smile on them, when the minister came to that passage to demand if they forsoke the carnal desires of the flesh, soe as they would not follow or be led by them. It was reported the duke had some prediction or fore-warning given him to beware of this month of August as fatal to him; of the truth of which I say nothing: but this is most certaine,

certaine, that there was made a chronagram out of his name some months or weekes at least before his death, which contained this present yeare, 1628, verie exactly, and two distichs made upon it, imprecating the same yeare might be his last, which are not unworthie to be inserted, being as followeth :

I 5 500.5. 10 5.100 1 1000.1
GeorgIVs DVX BVCKInghaMIæ MDCXVVVIII.

*Læto jam sæclo tandem sol pertulit annum ;
Noni non videat quæsumus Alme diem.*

Thy numerous name with this yeare doth agree,
But twentie-nine heavens grant thou ne'er may'ſt ſee !

The ſenſe of both the diſtichs are the ſame, but the author was a better Engliſh poet then a Latine. One William Harreife, of Lincoln's Inne, eſq; ſonne and heire apparent of Sir William Harreife, an Eſſex knight, was ſaid to be the author of them, and of this hexaſtich following, of a like imprecatorie nature as the former, which, being read backwards, ſeemes to be a praier for the duke's proſperity, and was doubtleſs made in imitation of thoſe verſes which that learned poetical Scot, Mr. George Buchanan, made touching a pope of his time, which, being vulgarlie known, I omit to mention :

*Surripiant vada te lethæ, nec vivida virtus
Infita victuris ſit tua carminibus.
Eripiant precor o curis, te tempora tollant
Turbida, nec fugiat hoc caput exitium.
Convaleas, bone dux, tribuit cui nomina regis
Gratia non virtus, ſors vaga non bona mens.*

Mr.

Mr. Harreife hath slipped in his poetrie here more than in the former Latine distich, were he the author of both. It seemes he was so intent upon the sense, as he did not exactlie observe his quantities; and I choose rather to transcribe them as I received them, then to add mine own amendments.

XXVI.

SIR ROBERT COTTON ACCUSED OF HAVING WRITTEN A BOOK OF
A DANGEROUS TENDENCY, AND IMPRISONED.

1631, May. Amongst other books he [Richard James*] lent out, one Mr. St. John, of Lincolnes Inn; a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him, for money, a dangerous pamphlet that was in a written hand, by which a course was laid down, how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. St. John shewed the book to the earl of Bedford, or a copy of it; and so it passed from hand to hand, in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in his house to transcribe it; which plainly proves, that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come

* Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, born at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and author of several sermons, both in Latin and English. He died at the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, bart. in the beginning of December 1636. Sir Symonds D'Ewes gives a very severe character of him; "a red-bearded high-coloured fellow, a master of arts, who had sometimes resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travailed; an atheistical profane scholar, but otherwise wittie and moderately learned;" and he adds, that "he had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, that whereas at first he had only permitted him the use of some of his bookes; at last, some two or three yeares before his death, he bestowed the custodie of his whole library on him. And hee being a needy sharking companion, and very expensive, like olde Sir Ralph Starkie when he lived, let out, or lent out, Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for monie, to any that would bee his customers; which," says Sir Symonds, "I once made knowen to Sir Robert Cotton, before the said James's face." See the "History of Hinckley," p. 123—126.

out of his own library. This untrusty fellow, imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself, when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript fold away several copies; till at last one of them came into Wentworth's hands of the North*, now lord deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the lords and others of the privy-council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon, in the beginning of November, in the same year 1629, Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others, one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. St. John himself was appeached, and, being conceived to have been the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet† of that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wretched instrument of shortening the life of Sir Robert Corton; for he was presently thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me, "they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him." I easily

* At the period here spoken of, the great champion in the House of Commons for the liberties of the people. It is singular enough, that, shortly after he was beheaded, this very tract, having lain in his study from the year 1629, was turned against himself, he being charged as the author of it, in a treatise intituled, "Strafford's Plot discovered, and the Parliament vindicated in their Justice executed upon him; by the late Discovery of certain Propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, a little before his Trial, with this Inscription, *Propositions for the bridling of Parliaments, &c.*"

† This very curious pamphlet may be found in Rushworth's COLL. vol. I. Appendix, p. 12.

guessed

gueffed the reason, becaufe his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident; and his houfe, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable perfonages, as well as by learned men of all forts, remained now upon the matter defolate and empty. I understood, from himfelf and others, that Dr. Neale and Dr. Laud, two prelates that had been ftigmatized in the firft feffion of parliament in 1628, were his fore enemies. He was fo outworne within a few months, with anguifh and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured (fuch as the picture I have of him fhews) was wholly changed into a grim blackifh paleneff, near to the refemblance and hue of a dead viſage.

When I afterwards read, in the great and moft elegant Latine Hiftorie of Monf. James de Thou, of fome learned men who deceeded with greif after their libraries had been pillaged and ſpoiled by the violence of war; it made me call to my ſad remembrance the lofs the commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton; and it might well induce me often to pray, that if by tyranny or injuſtice my library ſhould be wrefted from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and ſo ſubmit to God's will in it with patience and humility.

I heard it certainly affirmed that the young fellow whom Sir Robert kept in his houfe, and had employed to tranſcribe the ſaid written tractate, was his baſtard; which fhews God's admirable juſtice, to cauſe the ſpurious iſſue of his fatal luſt to prove the inſtrument of his final ruin. I, at one time, adviſed him to look into himſelf, and ſeriouſly to conſider why God had ſent his chaſtiſement upon him; which, it is poſſible, he did; for I heard from Mr. Richard Houleſworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his laſt ſickneſs, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much confirmed in the faithful expectation of

H

a better

a better life*. He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious encreasing of his worldly wealth, and

* It may be necessary, in order to elucidate this matter still farther, to take notice, that one of the articles in the Attorney General's information, against Sir Robert Cotton, was, that the discourse or project was framed and contrived within five or six months past here in England; but Sir David Foulis testified upon oath, being thereunto required, that it was contrived at Florence, seventeen years before, by Sir Robert Dudley, son of the famous Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, by the lady Douglas Sheffield, widow of John lord Sheffield; who, at the time of his birth, in 1573, and for some years after, was considered as the earl's lawful son, though he was carefully concealed, as well to prevent the queen's knowledge of the earl's engagement with his mother, as to hide it from the countess dowager of Essex, to whom Leicester was then contracted, if not married. But when this son was about five years of age, his father married the countess openly, and thereupon Robert was no longer treated as his lawful child. The earl died while his son was at Oxford, in 1588; and at his leaving the university, he was deservedly looked upon as one of the most accomplished men in England, his parts being not only equal, but superior to those of any of his family. In 1594, he fitted out a small squadron at his own expence, and went on an expedition to the West Indies, where he sunk and took nine Spanish ships, and performed much more than could have been expected. An account of this voyage is published by Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. III. p. 574, to whom Mr. Dudley gave it. In 1595, he was knighted by the earl of Essex, for his gallant behaviour at the siege of Cadiz. In the beginning of king James reign, having some years before married Alice, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh, and gained by this marriage some powerful friends, he endeavoured to prove the legitimacy of his birth, which no doubt would have been authenticated, had not all proceedings been stopped, and the examinations locked up, by the influence of the countess dowager of Leicester. Upon this, Sir Robert in disgust left the kingdom; and as he inherited some of the vices, as well as most of the great qualities of his ancestors*, he took with him, disguised as a page (his wife being living), a young lady of distinguished beauty, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Norfolk. This lady, by the pope's dispensation, he afterwards married, and in every other respect her conduct was irreproachable. She lived in honour and esteem, and died truly lamented by her husband, by whom she left a numerous issue, and who erected a noble tomb to her memory, in the church of St. Pancrace, in Florence†. His other wife Alice, and four daughters, remained in England. Though he had a licence to travel for three years, yet, under a pretence of his assuming in foreign countries the title of earl of Warwick, he was in a short time commanded to return home; and, on his refusing to obey, his whole estate was seized during his life, by the

* His grandfather was the Great duke of Northumberland, beheaded in 1553, and his great grandfather was king Henry VIIIth's favourite, Edmund Dudley, beheaded in 1510.

† So his son informed Anthony Wood.

and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father left.

crown. A few years after, his magnificent castle of Kenelworth, with the manors adjoining, was purchased by Henry prince of Wales, for 14,500*l.* of which, though much less than its value, but 3000*l.* was ever paid, and that to a merchant, who soon after failed. Sir Robert was so well received at Florence, that he resided there for the remainder of his life, though, to ingratiate himself with king James, and to facilitate his return, he drew up the scheme above-mentioned. But though he failed in this, foreign princes saw and rewarded his merits. The arch-duchess Magdalen of Austria, then regent of Tuscany, made him her great chamberlain. In 1620, her brother, the emperor Ferdinand II. at her desire, gave him that rank to which he was entitled, by creating him a duke of the Holy Roman Empire, upon which he assumed his grandfather's title of Northumberland; and in 1630, he was enrolled by pope Urban VIII. amongst the Roman nobility. Under the reign of the grand duke Ferdinand II. he became still more famous by his useful projects for improving shipping, manufactures, and commerce, and particularly by his schemes for draining the great morasses between Pisa and the sea, for building a mole at Leghorn, making it a free port, and settling an English factory there; for which great services the Grand Duke gave him a pension of 2000 sequins *per annum*. In short, by his practical skill in philosophy, chemistry, physic, navigation, architecture, and the mathematics, his exile was a public benefit to Italy, a public loss to England. But with a prince who could sacrifice a Raleigh, how could a Dudley find esteem! At length, after building a noble palace at Florence, this duke died at his castle of Carbello, which the Grand Duke had given him for a country seat, in 1649, aged 66. His wife Alice was afterwards created by king Charles I. duchess Dudley, Sir Robert's legitimacy being acknowledged in her potent. She lived till 1668, and was as distinguished for her charities, as her husband was for his learning and abilities.

Sir Robert Dudley's principal work, which is now very scarce, is intitled "*Dell Arcano del Mare di Roberto Dudleo, Duca di Nortumbria, e Conte Warwick, con mult. fig. Fioren. 1646—47,*" 3 tomes folio. It abounds with schemes, plans, useful projects, &c. A copy of it was sold, among Dr. Campbell's books, a few years ago; and another remains in the Bodleian library. The little tractate that occasioned this detail, though Wood supposes it to have remained a manuscript*, was published by Rushworth†, and though neither king James I. nor king Charles I. nor their ministers made use of it, yet it was turned to their prejudice, as has been already mentioned in p. 48. See *Gent. Mag.* 1767, pp. 336. 402.

* *Ath. Oxon.* vol. II. col. 128.

† See above, p. 48.

XXVII.

SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, DURING HIS RESIDENCE AT ISLINGTON,
MADE LARGE EXTRACTS FROM DOMESDAY-BOOK.

1631. Oct. 7. We came safe to Islington, where we found all that wee had left well and safe. Oct. 12. I began my search in that august and rare recorde called DOMESDEI in the tallie-office of the Exchequer, which I had continued till I had extracted a large volume out of it of all the shires excepting Norfolke onlie and part of Suffolke, of which I gathered a great part out of an exact transcript. I went each morning to the same tallie-office from my house at Islington, as I had often done in October foregoing, to view and search in the verie autograph itselfe of DOMESDEI aforesaid.

XXVIII.

LETTER FROM SIR SIMONDS D'EWES TO THE SON OF THUANUS,
RELATING TO HIS HISTORY.

Tuesday, July 9, 1633, I dined at Cambridge, and went the same night to Barkway, and the next day to London, whither the business of the administration of my father's estate called me. During my stay there at this time, amongst other books I bought the whole Latine historie in folio of James Augustus de Thou, a Frenchman, which I caused to be bound up in five volumes. I am of opinion it is the rarest humane worke the Christian world now enjoys, being replenished with invaluable truth, and penned in a most loftie and elegant stile.

I have

I have read it all over with admiration and delight, and do lament that some parte of it is yet suppressed, as too full of truth and plainness for this corrupt age to endure; and did therefore latelie write to his son at Paris for the publishing it, as also to have a picture of the same Thuanus copied out; which latter request I obtained, though the same picture be not yet* come to my handes; the copie of which letter I have heere inserted, though I wrote it above foure yeares after.

“ Vir clarissime,

Ne mireris ab ignoto te compellari, cum ex illo incomparabili historico Jacobo Augusto Thuano oriundus sis, cujus memoria posteritati omni jam erit sacra; ut ipsius sobolem, nepotes, pronepotes, abnepotes, summâ cum veneratione suscipiat. Alios inter innumeros qui historicum Thuani opus raro judicio candore & eloquio eliminatum recoluerunt, summum sanè mihi ipsi deberi locum faciliè contenderem, nisi quod plus admiratione rapior quam diligentia profeci. Nec me parum angit sacras istius operis reliquias publico etiamnum subduci. Meliora sane de hoc sibi ipsi seculo pollicitus est vir ille magnus, dum de propria, in libro suo sexto, vitâ sic lufit,

Causa perorata est; suffragia libera de me

Posteritas, præsens nam vetat hora, feret.

Et tamen nec alios de vitâ suâ libros ab A° MDCL. ad annum usque MDCXVII. quo inter vivos esse desiit; neque de universali historiâ suâ, ultra annum MDCVII. aliquid impræsentiarum typis vulgatum, etsi a bonis omnibus desideratum, vidimus. Ego sanè ipse novam de rebus Britannicis ex archivis ipsis ultra decennium jam elapsam molitus sum instaurationem. Mallem tamen ut reliqua Thuaniana lucem aspicerent, quàm ut ultimam propriis molitionibus manum apponerem. Et si temporum iniquitas hoc non feret, sis, vir clarissime, exoratus, ut meis

* I received the same picture verie safelie in the yeare 1639.

impensis apographum mihi exscribatur ex incomparabilis illius viri autographo. Curam rei ageret charissimus ut unicus meus frater, qui jam Parisiis per aliquod spatium hæsurus sit. Cavendum tamen ne ab indocto opus peragatur librario, et ut ad invicem postea ectypum cum archetypo examinetur. Sit postremo D. tua exorata, ut copiam dicto fratri nostro faciat picturæ elegantioris ejusdem Thuani postquam canitie decorus fuit, ut inde mihi exemplar depingatur, cum insignibus sive decoris familiæ tuæ ibidem figendis, propediem mihi in Angliam transmittendum. Vale, vir clarissime, et me semper fruiere."

It was dated at Stow-hall, my mansion-house in Suffolk, Dec. 26, 1637. And whereas in this letter I also requested, if the remainder of M. de Thou's workes, either of the historie of his owne life, or touching his public historie, might not be published, yet that I might have a private copie transcribed of it, I could not obtaine that neither; although I no way believed the answere that was given, "that all he had written was published in the last edition, which I had;" but I rather suspected they feared I should make it publike, and so durst not yeild to my desire therein.

XXIX.

DESCRIPTION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S PERSON.

Nov. . . 1633.

An heavie losse alsoe had our English church by the decease of Dr. George Abbot, archbishop of Canterburie, on the [fifth] day of [August] last past. Dr. William Laud, bishop of London, a little low redd-faced man, of meane parentage, succeeded him. I shall need to say no more of him heere, because his owne speech, made in the starre-chamber, June 14, Wednesday,

day, 1637, at the censure of some godlie men, being since printed, shewes sufficientlie his allowance and practice of the adoring or bowing to and towards the altar, with other tenets, which made me even tremble when I read it.

XXX.

SIR SIMONDS D'EWE'S CHARACTER OF PRINNE, WHOM HE VISITS
IN HIS DISTRESS.

May 8, 1634. I departed from Stowhall towards London, and lay at Malden in Essex that night, and the next day in the afternoon came safe thither. As soon as I lighted I heard a particular newes, which much enladdened my heart, touching William Prinne, esquire, that had been an utter barrister of Lincolnes Inne, and a graduate in the universitie of Oxforde, who had lost one eare already in the pillorie, or a parte of it, and was to lose a parte of the other to-morrow. He was a most learned religious gentleman, had written manie acute, solid, and elaborate treatises, not only against the blasphemous Anabaptists in the defence of God's grace and providence, but against the vices of the clergie and the abuses of the times. He had been censured in the Starre-chamber a few months before, for some passages in a booke hee wrote against stage-plaies, called *Histrion-mastix*, as if he had in them let slippe some wordes tending to the queene's dishonour, because hee spoke against the unlawfulness of men wearing women's apparell, and women men's. Notwithstanding this censure, which most men were affrighted at, to see that neither his academicall nor barrister's gowne could free him from the infamous losse of his eares, yet all good men generallie conceived it would have been remitted; and manie reported it was, till the
faded

sadd and fatall execution of it this Midsummer terme. I went to visit him a while after in the Fleet, and to comforte him; and found in him the rare effects of an upright heart and a good conscience, by his serenitie of spirit and chearefull patience.

XXXI.

NEW ENGLAND AND ITS INHABITANTS DESCRIBED.

New England is the Easterne coast of the North parte of America upon the South West adjoining to Virginea, and parte of that continent, large, and capable of innumerable people. It is in the same height with the North of Spaine, and South part of France, and the temper not much unlike; as pleasant and fertile as either, if managed by industrious handes. It was at first discovered to our nation by the meere providence of God; for a shippe in the year 1620, being bound with some English for Virginea, and being cutt shorte for want of winde and by hardnes of the winter, weere forced for shelter to putt in ther, without anie thought or imagination of setling a plantacion ther. They or some of them at ther returne discovered soe much of the cuntrie, as some Westerne marchants, and afterwardes some Londoners, sent over some small colonies to settle and inhabit ther; yet these cheifelie then aimed at trade and gaine, till in the year 1630, in the spring, John Winthrop, esquire, a Suffolke man, and manie other godlie and well-disposed Christians, with the maine of their estates, and manie of them with ther entire families, to avoid the burthens and snares weere heere laied for their consciences, departed thither; where they having in the first place taken care for the honour and service of God, and next for ther owne safetie and subsistence, have beyond the
hopes

hopes of their freinds, and to the astonishment of their enemies ; raised such fortes, built so manie townes, brought into culture soe much ground, and soe dispersed and enriched themselves, as all men may see, whom malice blindeth not, nor impietie transverfeth, that the verie finger of God hath hitherto gone with them, and guided them. I cannot denie but that I thinke they goe a little too farre on the right hande, and might some of them be too scrupulous when they lived heere, and that ther are crept in amongst them some that hold strange and dangerous opinions ; but this I am confident, they doe most of them in the maine aime sincerlie at God's glorie, and to reduce the publike service of God to that power and puritie which it enjoied in the primitive times. Vices and finnes are so severelie punished amongst them, and the godlie soe countenanced and advanced, as in that respect it seemes to be a true type of heaven itselke ; whereas in other partes of the worlde, where the Protestant religion is in shew professed, the most honest and pious men are, for the most part, maligned, scoffed, and disgraced. Great is the honour alsoe the king has acquired, by this extent of his name and empire into America itselke ; and yet such is the devilish and unparalleled malice of some against them, as they would neither suffer them to live quietlie heere, nor yet to enjoy a voluntarie exilement abroad ; but, exceeding the malice of the Papists themselves, discover plainlie, that nothing but the blood and destruction of these innocent men and women can satisfie them ; for, from the year 1630 to the present year 1638, when in the spring-time divers thousands have each yeare prepared themselves for ther passage into New England, solde ther estates, shipped ther goods, and weer even readie to put to sea ; such secret wayes and meanes have been used, as they have been staid for a time, and often been in danger of being prevented f ther journie, to ther utter undoing ; but God, that protesteth his,

hath still by one meanes or other disappointed the malicious and merciles plots and designes of their enemies, and opened them a seasonable libertie of departure, and a safe passage thither: nay great benefactors are ther enemies to them, in urging ther ecclesiastical censures against tender consciences moore then ever, for by this they have driven manye thousands over to them, who else had not now been ther; as alsoe in making the passage soe difficult, because by that meanes none almost will hazard the putting of ther estates and fortunes to bee in possibilitie of being undone if they should be staied, but such onlie as goe for conscience sake; so as ther numbers ther doe now amount to some fiftie thousand, and most of them trulie pious; and everie parish supplied with such able painfull preaching ministers, as noe place under heaven enjoies the like. Verie carefull they are alsoe to preserve amongst themselves the unitie of doctrine, having banished divers *famalijs** and other schismatiques out of ther church, of which some finding no harbour ther, returned backe into England. Ther enemies alsoe heere have at severall times given out reportes, that a bishopp and a governour should be sent amongst them, to force upon them the yooke of our ceremonies and intermixtures, soe to deterre others from going. And indeed at this time the same report was moore likely to be fulfilled, then ever before or since; for one Sir Ferdinando Georget was nominated for governor, and there was consultation had to send him thither with 1000 souldiers. A shipp was now in building, and neare finished, to transporte him by sea; and much feare ther was amongst the godlie, least that infant commonwealth and church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy shippes safe thither, soe

* Sic. Q. familists, i. e. the disciples of Henry Nicholas, the founder of the sect called the *Family of Love*. EDIT.

† Q. Gorges. EDIT.

provided it, that this strong new-built shipp, in the verie launching, fell all in peices, noe man knew how, this spring ensuing, and soe preserved his deare children ther at this present from that fatall danger, nor hath since suffered them as yet to come under the like feare. Happie it weere ther enemies would remember wife Gamaliel's counsell at last, and no longer fight against God himselfe; or what would have become of thirtie or fortie thousand of those pious Christians now in New England, whose tender consciences stumbled at the old ceremonies which were practised amongst us before, if they should now see the fatall burthens which weere added to them since this yeare 1634! Ther ecclesiastical prisons could not have held a thirde parte of them. Never certainlie was ther anie new plantacion at soe remote a distance soe farre advanced in soe few yeares, by private men, against soe continual and soe strong opposition; and my constant praier and hope is, that God will perpetuate a glorious church there to the worldes end, which his owne right hand hath soe wonderfully planted, and that he will lead them into all truth, and not suffer them to erre or dissent in the least particulars.

XXXII. *

THE PRINCE'S JOURNEY INTO SPAIN.

Ther happened on Monday the 17th day of this moneth [of February 1622-3] so strange an accident as after-ages will scarce believe it. For Charles Prince of Wales begann his journey from London into Spaine on Monday the 17th day of February, with

* This article should have been inserted in p. 29, between N° XVII. and N° XVIII. It was communicated too late to come in the proper order.

the beloved marquisse of Buckingham, Sir Francis Cottington *, and Mr. Endimion Porter onlie in his companie, who besides the king himselfe weere the alone men acquainted with the prince's resolution. Ther going was so secretlie carried, as none I believe knew of it in England till they were in France; through which kingdom they passed by post-horse into Spaine. The journie was thought soe dangerous, being above 1100 English miles by land, besides the crossing of the seas between Dover and Callies, as all men were generallie ensaddled at the adventure, often wishing it had been better advised upon: although all knew the Spaniardes durst doe the prince noe harme soe long as his roiall sister and her illustrious offspring survived. Soon after followed the lorde Hayes earle of Carlile, and passed into France, to excuse to that king the prince's sudder and secrett passing through his kingdome without giving him a visitt. All men now tooke it for granted that the prince's marriage with the Infanta Maria, the king of Spaine's sister, was concluded on, and that hee went over onlie to consummate it; noe man imagining that he would take upp such a resolution upon uncertaintie: especiallie occasioning soe vast an unnecessarie expence, at a time when the king's wants pressed him much. But God, whose decree bindes princes as well as peasants, had otherwise disposed; soe as our roiall futour arriving at Madrid in Spaine on Friday the $\frac{7}{17}$ of March, about three weekes after his departure from London, and taking shipp for his return into England on the $\frac{18}{28}$ of September then next ensuing, staid in Spaine about seven moneths: in all which time he seldom saw or spake with the Spanish prin-

* Mr. Le Neve shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1721, a copy of a release from the prince to Sir Francis Cottington for 50027 *l.* the expences of his journey into Spain.

A briefe relation of this journey, by Sir Richard Wynne of Gwydir, bart. one of the gentlemen of the privie chamber to the prince, afterwards treasurer to his queen, was printed at the end of Hearne's *Historia Ric. II.* Oxf. 1729, p. 299.

ceffe, nor could ever receive a faire and sincere deniall from her brother, although her marriage had been absolutelie offe by her father's laft will and testament, hee bequeathing her to Ferdinand, fonne and heire of Ferdinand the Second the emperour of Germanie, who afterwarde did accordinglie espoufe her.

XXXIII*.

THE MISCHIEFS OCCASIONED BY GEORGE VILLARS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The greateft part of this December [1627] alfoe I fpend verie ftudiouflic in fearching out feveral antiquities of the ancient Brittons, ther originall, manners, and religion. But my dailie and continuall greife for the miferies and defolacions of true religion in Germanie, France, and Denmarke, made my foul foe fadd and cogitabundous, as it efpeciallie interrupted my very ftudies this moneth. In Bohemia, where for about the fpace of 300 yeares the Gofpell had been moore or leffe profefled, the bloudie emperour Ferdinand the Second commanded all men to embrace and praftice the popifh fuperftitions, idolatries, and errors, banifhing in June laft paft all fuch as refused who were of the nobilitie and gentrye. Albert Wallenftein, duke of Friedland, in the meane, purfuing the begunne warre againft the king of Denmark, made him everie where flie before him, and to burne upp and fpoile his owne dominion, and by the end of this December had made an abfolute conquest of all Holfatia and Jutland, being the greateft parte of the Danifh kingdome. Had hee been affifted from England with thofe confiderable forces which George Villars, duke of Buckingham, carried to the ifland of Ree, neare Rochel, this fum-

* This article fhould have followed N^o XXIV. in p. 38.

mer, hee might in humane reason have overthrowen the lord of Freedland, or at least have preserved his kingdom of Denmark from ravage and spoile. By this meanes alsoe foe great a number of the gentrie of England had been preserved from butcherie, or at least died more honourable; and that impregnable towne of Rochel might have continued to this day a place of retreat and safetie to the French Protestants. That the king of Great Britain intended princelie and roiallie in that expedition to deliver the French church from apparent ruine I make no question; but that the want of accomplishing his lust with some French ladie, and other by ends of private revenge, drew on the duke of Buckingham to undertake that vciage, is too apparent, as the same motives had a little before induced him upon satisfaction of his lascivious desires to assist the duke of Momorancie with certain shippes against the poore Rochellers, in which alsoe his majestie of Great Britain was most innocent, and never imagined or intended that his brother of France should have turned that aid and assistance of his against the professors of the Gospell, but against the bloody and tyrannous Spaniard. The duke unmoored about the beginning of August at the isle of Ree with a brave fleete, and divers thousands of land forces, where, by the duke's want of skill and valour, a great parte of the armie had been routed upon their first landing, had not Sir John Boroughs, knt. an old souldier, and a brave gentleman, by his skill and assistance repulsed the French horse that came down upon them. For the duke having at first leapt on shore amongst the forwardedst assoon as he had notice of the neare approaching of the French, gott into a boate, and ther stood farre enough offe from danger, with his sworde drawn in a ridiculous manner, and encouraged his souldiers to fight. The island of Rees had nothing of strength in it except two castles, so as the duke being master of the felde, was consequently master of the island, and might also within a moneth or two have taken the

I

castles,

castles, had he followed the grave and judicious advice of the said Sir John Boroughs. But he being proud and selfe-opiniated, tooke his owne way, and having spent the rest of the summer in a fruitless siege of the bigger of the castles, and wasted a world of treasure, was compelled at last (by reason of divers French forces, foote and horse, which, notwithstanding the Brittish navie, were gotten into the island), to retreat to his shippes in such a disorderlie and undisciplined a way and manner, as the French forces settling upon the reere, slew and tooke prisoners about 3000, and manye of them leaders, captaines, and gentlemen of good families; so as one way, in the landing, siege, and retreat, ther weere lost at least 6000 men, which fatall blow and dishonour happened to the English nation on the day of last past*. The valiant Sir John Boroughs was before slaine during the siege (but whether by the duke's secret procurement or not I am not able to affirm), or else hee would doubtless have prevented this laste slaughter by his wisdome, experience, and foresight. The duke himselfe gott safe into his fleete long before the danger, and it was an even hazard that the French had not likewise overslipped the advantage given them. The duke had forces sufficient to have fought with his enemies upon even termes, which they themselves knowing, had no intent or meaning to hazard a battle, soe as if hee had had anie the least skill or consideration, he might have brought offe his men without the losse of one of them. During his stay in the isle alsoe he had sent for such abundance of corne, bread, and other provision from Rochel, as disfurnished them so farre, that noe supplies thereof being sent them out of England as they expected, it was the occasion afterwards of the king of France taking the towne, the extremitie of famine causing them to yeild it upp to his mercie, soe as the king of Great Britain, contrarie to his owne sinceere and reall intent to have succoured the French Pro-

* Nov. 9, 1626.

testants and the towne of Rochel, was the maine cause through the duke of Buckingham's miscarriage, if not through his treacherie, of ruining them. These considerations drew some to suspect and feare that the duke never intended good by this journie from the beginning, but carried those forces to a premeditated ruine. I know the man had soe fatall a share in the sinns of his lust, as it was impossible for anie religion to settle at his heart, soe as it is most likelie hee had litle regard to the maintenance of that. I beleve also the French weere at this time mortallie hated by him ; but I cannot beleive that he intended to ruine the forces he carried with him, although hee did dissuade some of his neare freinds from going with him, but had strong hopes to have atcheved such victories, and to have done soe much good service, as to have again ingratiated himself with the nobilitie and gentrie of England. This journie then proving soe fatall and succeffeles, and that by reason of suche grosse precipitation and miscarriage as were palpable to the meanest apprehensions, augmented the mislike of all men soe extreamelie against him, as his coming safe home occasioned almost as much sorrow as the slaughter and perishing of all the rest. The French king had good intelligence of the wants of Rochel, and instantlie besieged it towards the later end of this summer, with a mightie armie, and soe blocked upp the mightie channell before it, by the sinking of shippes and other provisions hee made, that when afterwards the king of Great Britain sent his roiall navie to releive the towne, it proved ineffectuall. All these fatall accidents happening in some few moneths foregoing (with other lesser ones I passe over in silence), gave occasion to all men that trulie loved God's honour and gospele, to partake of our greife and sadnes amidst the Christmas cheere. The greatest parte of this month I spent in studying for the Conqueror's raigne, whom I usuallie call William the First.

XXXIV.

OBSERVATIONS ON AIDS TO BE LEVIED BY THE KING OF
ENGLAND ; ON OCCASION OF THE SHIP MONEY.

There are onlie three cases in which, by the ancient law of England, the kings of that realme may require aid of their subjects without public consent of the kingdome. 1. In case the soveraigne be taken prisoner, to redeeme him. 2. For the knighting of his eldest sonne. 3. For the marriage of his eldest daughter once onlie. But yet these aides are not, like this shipp-monie, without bounds or limitts, to be levied of all men, and in what proportion the king shall please ; for they can only be levied of knights fees, and of such as hold their lands by that tenure ; and the uttermost that can be required is but forty shillings upon each knight's fee. It is true, besides these three aids, which could onlie bee exacted of the freemen of this kingdome, there were also tallages, which the king might levy upon all his tenants in ancient demesne, as other lords of manours might tallagize their villaines and customarie tenants. But the other three aides remaine onlie at this day, the roial tallages being for ever abolished by act of parliament.

LETTERS TO AND FROM SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

I.

TO MY WORTHY BROTHER SIR SYMMONDS D'EWES, KNIGHT, BE
THESE PRESENT.

MY GOOD BROTHER,

Busbridge,
August 19, 1628.

The manifest testimonies of your love testified by your former and frequent writing, as they are the pledge of your noble disposition, so must they increase my debte in the slacknes and remissnes thereof. I lately received both our lineall and paternall pedigrees industriously collected by you, which I have carefully laid up as a relique for posteritye. Your late visitacyo. we took very kindly; and were it more usual I should say the better a welcome, althoughe I love not to beg it: my good sifter shall be as welcome as yourself; and although my occasions will not favour our defyred journey to Stowe this summer, yet I hope we shall shortlye meete either at London or Busbridge, where both you and your sweet ladye shall be lovingly welcommed by your ever trulye well wishing brother,

WILLIAM ELYOTT.

II.

TO MY WORTHY BROTHER SIR SYMMONDS D'EWES, KNIGHT, BE
THESE PRESENT.

GOOD BROTHER,

Busbridge,
Dec. 15, 1628.

I know you to be such a favourer of antiquities, as that I shall not be troublesome unto you in desiring your remembrance of that inscription which I spake unto you of concerning my father,
with

with a touch of myself and my matches in the clofe ; and if you have any acquaintance with a poett that might comprehend in fowre Englifh verfes, or fixe at the moft, the fubftance of this following, befydesh the infcription, viz. that he fpent part of his younger time in Drake's great voyage Eaft and Weft over the world, and his elder time in the place of a juftice of the peace in his countrye, and being afcended, defpyfeth thefe fublunary vanities. Thefe at your fitteft occafion ; defiring my boldnefs may herein be excufed, wifhing your good company and my fifter's, together with my wife's and my beft remembrance unto you both, and from my wife am willed to let her know that if her cookes hand had not beene to heavye, fhe had fent her a pudding breakfast. And fo in hafte I reft your very loving brother,

WILLIAM ELYOTT.

III.

SIR SYMONDS D'EWES TO HIS FATHER.

Islington, Sept. 23,
1630.

On Friday night, the 17th of this instant moneth, between feven and eight of the clocke, two of your letters were delivered unto mee ; which coming to my hands fo long after the carrier's departure, anfweers muft of neceffity ftay till this returne.

I will begin with the lighteft matters firft, and thefe concern Mr. Cocks's* frivolous excufes, whose felfe-conceit was foe ftrong and paffion fo hott, as none of my familie durft deale plainlie with him but myfelfe, who ever faw from his firft unlikely draught, that a rotten foundation could never promife a found fuperftruction: it is well if my loffe doe but humble him, as all men's opinions may whoe fee this daubed piece as they call it, where not only the face hath no fimilitude, but the very cloaths are rough-cast, and the old picture is only graced to hang by it: if he cannot mend it, I muft precioufly efteeme of my firft.

* This painter has efaped Mr. Walpole.

For my brother's fees, I shall wish him hereafter (if he question the payment) to employ a wiser man, whose perhaps cannot do more warily than I did; for I examined the new role, with my own discharge, which I still have; and for every particular raised, Mr. Leonard assured me that it is by virtue of the king's letters patents and prerogative, which you will not question I am sure; my brother may, but I say no more.

For the epitaph, seeing you abnegate, I shall conceal the draught; only give me leave humbly to justify my cousin's right, which my perusal of his evidence can conceal and rectify your judgment. Sir John Engayne, knight. (whose coat you have quartered with others at Stow) did build the chapel temp. Ed. I. and appropriated it to his manour of Gains. After him the manour of Gains coming to De la Felde, that family enjoyed it with the manour. So did the Deincourts, and there only buried: as have the Lathams since; and there is (I believe by my direction) ere this set up over the east window, "*Sacellum beatæ Mariæ manerio de Gains appendens.*" And by what right was my grand-father there buried, but as he had been, and you were *pro tempore dominus*? I can assure you, my cousin Latham is as jealous of his right to the chapel as the royalty. We have the examples of Abraham's and Saul's care for a burying-place; and for the known obscurity you mention, it needs not be stumbled at, if it were engraven on the wall, as Latham's is on the tomb-stone, he was a goldsmith; for Caffaneus, the great civilian, assures us, that the blood is restored upon the desertion of mechanics and employments. I have been since your going down furnished, by one who was a stranger to me, with three descents of our own male line above the first Gerardt; and through the means of my lord ambassador's nephew, lately knighted in England, and gone into the Low Countries, I shall have what Gant or Brussels can afford; and if the peace ensue in the Low Countries,

Countries, not leave one Kessel unfought; and there are now two escuchions burning in glasse, wherein my uncle Clarke is at the cost to set up your coat-armour in two severall empalements in the chappell. For my cousen Smith, 'tis true, my wife is pleased out of her annuitie to afford her some small yearlie reliefe; and I am forrie she should in any manner give you offence, who have dealt always so lovinglie with her; you may seale this enclosed, and send it her. But for Rowe's wife, her refusing to levie a fine, I understand not what you are pleased to intend, supposing you took her fine long since at Dalham, and have an absolute sale: but whosoever told you she had yearly from me 1*l*. told an arrant L. For Mr. Claydon, I hold him to be Davus, not Œdipus, more ready to speak what he thinks, than to revolve what he speaks: he owes my wife a kind of homage, under whose ancestors his progenitors were for many score yeares past tenants at Newenham. My petition shall be made up with the soonest, hoping Mr. Tompson (whoe seemes to admire all mine) will be a faithful remembrancer: hee assures me my frequent coming is most acceptable to my lord; and to say truth, my ladie Coventrie* is a woman of so masculine a wit and free converse, as I am justlie highly opinionated of her; and the rather because herself and my lord's daughter-in-law doe respect my wife according to her severall noble extractions, and not as referring to a ministeriall officer of the lord's court, for as yet I conceive you account your owne familie short of full restitution; which if you live not to perfect better by embracing that life your nearest so much persuades, a divided estate after your decease cann skarcely hope it. For Coxden, I must acknowledge my daily charges there enforce me to dispose some way of it, which being assured on mee for

* Probably Elizabeth, second wife of the lord keeper Coventry, daughter of Sir John Aldersey, of Spurstow, in the county of Chester, and widow of William Pitchford, esq.

100l. per annum, fkarce yeilds 80l. deducting the certain and uncertain reprises, for which I have no allowance; yet if Churchill or any other had bought it on my former survey, Coxe's tenement, with my land at Forde, had passed it, being particularlie surveyed by my grandfather, and set down by him in it. A second and greater cause of my desire to raise some money, is to perfect those executorie agreements with yourselfe, being willing to do anye thing neare anie equalitie to avoid all future differences, and to pay some part of the somme in present, and then to rest satisfied with what of mine will be left, and Newenham, although it will come shorte of what you ever intended to allow mee; and yet I suppose you will conceive my ladie Tracie, in course of nature, is likelie to overlive yow, and may hold out long after with mee, unles wee may have some good overture to buy her out, and save that faire feate from ruining.

I am of opinion, and foe are others (the sicknes rather encreasing than decreasing, especiallie at Westminster) that terme must either be kept elfewhere, or spent in abridgments; and thus, with both our humble duties to yourselfe and humble respects to my ladie, and kind loves to my brother and sister Elizabeth, I rest your humble sonne,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

IV.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND HIS MOST RESPECTED FATHER
PAULE D'EWES, ESQUIER, DWELLING IN CHANCERY LANE, AT
THE SIX CLARKS OFFICE, LONDON, GIVE THES.

Februarii 9, 1630.

Patri suo dignissimo præstantissimoque viro domino Paulo D'Ewseo,
armigero, mille mille salutes exoptat Richardus filius.

Cum quidem tua universa beneficia amoremque tuum non simulatum in memoriam reduco, stupefactus sum, reverendissime prudentissimeque pater; nulla vero in me vis est neque animi præstantia,

stantia, sed qua tua benignitas in me reperire potest : maximam vero habeo tibi gratiam, ut me Minervæ arte collocabas, & ubi literarum monumenta superant. Quam ob causam Platonis eloquentiâ, Aristotelis ingenio, & Ciceronis consilio te imbutum esse semper præjudiciam. Consilium tale & tam magnum igitur in me est quale Apollinis oracula olim inter vulgos. Sum igitur (prudentissime pater) obligatus, et naturæ obedientiæque obstrictus vinculis. Quot micantes enim stellæ cælo vasto tot tua sunt universa beneficia quotidiana in me collocata: quæ omnia si lancis judicii perpendi maximam in te (doctissime genitor) gratiam proponi debeo. Æqui enim bonique consulo tuam in me benignitatem. Hoc igitur animi mei propositum est : quod omnibus rebus te (dignissime pater) prosequi possem ; aliter vero, et oleum et operam perdo. Nunc igitur (lectissime pater) te oro atque obsecro, ut hanc meam indoctam impolitamque epistolam, æqui bonique facies. Jam igitur precibus Deum obtestor ut sua subtutela te servisset. Jam (jucundissime pater) ne tuis studiis et negotiis impedirem, ferrum fatis callidum ex igne detraham. Quum desint vires, tamen est laudenda voluntas. Tuus obedientissimus (dum vita manet) filius,

RICARDUS D'EWES.

V.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL MY WORTHY BROTHER SIR SYMMONDS
D'EWES, KNIGHT, AT HIS HOUSE IN ST. EDMUNDS BURYE,
SUFFOLK, BE THESE DELIVERED.

S I R,

London, March 2,
1632.

Being at London at our affizes, I there intercepted your letter, whereby I understand of your purpose to be in London upon the 14th day of this present, and then to make payment of the legacye given by your father's will to my younger son. I shall not
fayle

faile either to be in London at that time myself, or else, if other occasions may hinder it, to take order for the receiving of that money, and to send you a sufficient acquittance for your discharge; and desyre that, when you are so neare us, we may see you at Busbridge. I was the day before the writing hereof at the lord viscount Wimpledon, who asked for you, and told me that he had the leager booke of Waltham Abbey, which you had spoken to him for, so that I doubt not but that you will wayte upon him at your coming up. I heartily wish your good lady a happy and safe deliverance, which we shall be as glad to heare of as any poore freinds you have, unto whom I desyre you to present my best service. So, with my best affections to yourself rests your loving brother,

WILLIAM ELYOTT.

VI.

TO MY VERY LOVING BROTHER SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, AT HIS HOUSE IN STOW LANGTOFT, NEAR BURY ST. EDMONDS, THESE.

DEARE BROTHER,

Paris, Feb. 2,
St. Vet. 1637.

Your letters dated the 16th of December came to my hands the 18th of Januaryould stile. I was not forgetfull of my engadgment to you for the pictures of Monf. de Thou and Gasper de Colligniæ. Your letter I gott superscribed as you directed, and went with my lord of Leicester's secretary to deliver it to his owne hands; him I found not at home, but I delivered it to his tooe brothers in law, to them it seemes most of Thuanus his owne sonns dispatches are addrest; they read your letter, and ware most ready to gratifie your desier; theay tould me of pictures of him in his house, but that in his study chamber was the best and latest; they tould me they would sende it to one of the best workmen

men in Paris to have it copied out, and then they would give it me, which I assured them I would not receive if not licenced to pay for it. I have inquired where the painter lives, and doe intend to pay for it beforehande, and sende them woord after. They both tould me there was not any of his manuscripts or general history of his life, but such as were bound up with the rest of his works in the last edition printed tenn yeers since *, which it is possible you may not heatherto have seen. The picture neere finished I doe intend to make a seconde visit unto him to thanke him for his favors. He himself is but feldom in Paris, he is *entendant de la justice en l'armie du Roy*, a place of great honour and revenneu. I have found so much civility from the brothers, that I am confident I shall send you back an answer to your letter. I am promist by a gentleman, whom Mad. Chastelioune much favours, the best peice she hath of her grand-father's. I shall make all haste possible to send them you.

If your history of Thuanus be of the 30 or 20 years, pray let me heare, and whether I shall send you what hath binn printed more than was formerly in this last ten years since. If in any thing else I may serve you, pray command your brother and servant,

RICHARD D'EWES.

Since my abode in Paris, I have written twice or thrice to yourself and sister.

* Q. Edition of Geneva, 1620, or 1630, fol.

VII.

TO MY VERY LOVING BROTHER SIR SIMONDS D'EWES, AT STOW
HALL, IN SUFFOLK, THESE.

MY DEARE BROTHER,

Paris, Feb. 16, Stil. Vet.
1637.

The reporte you heard of my being cast away at sea had a probable original ; for the same day I came to Rey a barke sett out of the haven, the winde being then contrary, for France ; the passengers were so negligent, that they omitted to carry provision with them to sea. They all suffered extreamly by hunger, the barke being 5 days at taking about care they could discover the French lande. In it was the earle of Castlehaven, Sir Henry Nuton's uncle, and many more of my acquaintance. I shall be so much more careful of myself, that I may live to act my desires to serve you. For the descent, I found it was as you had sent me word, which I presently mended by your direction. 'Tis no small joy to me to hear of my sister Pollie's safe delivery, and of my little cozen's health. Pray remember me most affectionately to her. When you have received the money of my brother Bowes, I shall then order it to be payed. If they require it, you may please to order one of your servants aire those things in the trunke.

The letter and box is yet in Wotton's keeping ; he expects nothing but a safe messenger to send them by. When you have received the rent at Lavingham, pray be pleased to keep it for me. Sir, I received your letter, and in it that inclosed to M. de Thou. I got my lord of Leiceſter's ſecretary to ſuperſcribe it for me, and went preſently to deliver it. I found not him at his howſe, but delivered it to his brother in law ; they read your letter, and ſeemed moſt ready to ſerve you in anie thinge.

Thuanus

Thuanus was this man's father now living*. I have binn twice or thrice to find him at home, but heatherto have missed; to-morrow I intend to go againe. The superscription thus :

“ A Monfier

“ Monfier de Thow, Intendant à la Justice, &c.

“ A Pare.”

The word signifies the government, oversight, or charge of any thing, as he is, and hath of one of the king's armies. His titles it seemes are more, which I know not. The name of the street I know not. He is a man of that note in France, your letter cannot miscarry. If I receive any letter from him, I shall speedily send it to you. The picture of Thuanus hath binn in my chamber more then a weeke, and the other will be done within tooe or three days. They are both drawne by tooe principals I found in Thuanus his study. I shall by the next trusty messenger sende them you: theare armes on the right corner. I believe the age of eyther (when they were drawne) was 70 years; but I can assure you they were the latest. In all I followed the direction of your first letter, which I make no question you will receive. Mr. Wotton advises me request you make your letter in this moddle, for otherwise they cannot so conveniently be sent. This papire is not large enough for newes, had we any. Present my trew affection to my friends in Suffolk and Essex. My ever constant love and service to yourself and my noble sister.

I remaine ever ready to love and serve you,

RICH. D'EWES.

* Francis Augustus de Thou was eldest son of the historian. He was beheaded at Lyons, 1642, for not discovering a conspiracy against cardinal Richelieu, who died within two months after his execution. Breval relates that the sister of Mons. de Thou, going to see the Cardinal lie in state, broke out into this passionate exclamation of Martha: “ Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.” Travels, II. 281.

VIII.

TO MY VERY LOVING BROTHER SIR SIMONDS DEWES, THESE,
AT STOW HALL, NEAR BURY ST. EDMUNDS, SUFFOLK.

March 15, Stil. Vet. 1637,
from Orleans.

In my letter from Paris to you I specified the sending of the two pictures, viz. Thuanus and Mr. Colignie; which I hope you have already received from Mr. Wotton, to whom they were directed. I have bin since the date of my last at Monsieur de Thou's sonn's house, but 'twas not my fortune to find him at his lodging. I was at that time presented with Thuanus his picture by his nefues, which they would give me, made by another workman, both, as I conceive, exceeding like; which I had sent you, but that my merchant before dispatched them for England sooner then I thought, and my sudden departure from Paris would not permit me to send it after. I have left it in my trunke at Paris till my coming to towne next; and when it shall please God I come for England, you may there make choice of which you best fancie. His tooe kinsmen, which had the command and use of all his bookes, shewed me his severall libraries, beautified with many pictures of such late men as have binn fam'd eyther for learning or valour; and in one presse which they shewed me, as a thing more rare than the rest, was eight hundred manuscripts, the most of them originals. I must confes I then wished you with me: for all sorts of learning, for thear alike curiositie in binding, and the contrivance in placing them, I never yet saw the like.

I am

I am now taking my journey from Orleans toward Rochell, and so making the great round of France: if in any I may theare pleasure you, you may commande me. My best love and service to my sifter D'Ewes.

Your brother and servant,

RICH. D'EWEES.

IX.

TO MY VERY LOVING BROTHER SIR SIMONDS D'EWEES, AT
STOW HALL, SUFFOLK.

DEARE BROTHER,

Paris, Dec. 6-16,
1639.

In my last I gave you notice of delivering your letter to M. du Chesne, who promised me his answer should be ready against the end of this month; I shall to-morrow or next day make a visit to him to hasten his dispatch; I also wrott you word that Chronicon de Bec was never printed, giving you an account of each particular. I have from Paris sent you three letters, and as yet not received answer to any. My voyadge for Flanders (with God's helpe) I am resolved to undertake. In all the rest of youre commands I shall shew my love and care, my ends being to approve myself to you and my noble sifter,

Your most affectionate loving brother,

RICH. D'EWEES.

X.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL AND NOBLE SIR SIMONDS D'EWES,
AT THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT, THESE, WITH MY MOST
RESPECTFUL AND HUMBLE SERVICE.

Martii 30,
1640.

Noblissime domine, unde mihi excusatio pro tam diuturno silentio à summo candore pectoris vestri integerrimi, et tantarum rerum publicarum (quibus admirabilis vestra eruditio non deerit) procuratione? Typographus noster [Rogerus Daniel] vir probus et vester συμπολίτης, ni fallar, Suffolciensis, salutationes meas et literas quoque officiocissime vobis detulisse voluit. Quæsitivæ sæpe mansionem vestram idque in Templo juridicorum, sed exquirere, aut alloqui præcellentiam vestram haud potuit. Ille jam naviter adlaborat monumentis Saxonice imprimendis. Characteres jam Londini, et politi ut spero, aut ornantur, aut in ornatu sunt. Rex Aluredus carceres injustos archivorum exuet: nonnulla me torquent in regia mente explicanda, utpote Lexico carentem Liceat impetrare a vobis imprimendum Lexicon vestrum, ita ut animadversiones meas ex autoribus non contempnendis selectis adjungam. Sic et honori vestro & publico commodo consultum erit.

Stat mihi quoque in lucem edere Dunelmensem de regibus et episcopis. Pars prior hic in collegio Ben. de carcere conqueritur, altera apud vos, aut a vobis, aut a me custode suo libertatem foras prodeundi expectat. Jam fervet studium et meum et typographi quoque tantas moles superandi: solum deest exemplar Dunelmensis. Gaudeo egregiam notitiam antiquitatis vestram et proinde nunquam emorituram gloriam, quam in senatu eloquentiâ, et historiis

enucleandis nacti estis, posse in immensum promovere incepta nostra. Testimonium vestrum, et si quas excogitastis, animadversiones, licet paucissimas in Bedam, ante mensem Octobris humilis rogo. Spondeo me redditurum vobis exemplar Dunelmensis modo jam in usum dominæ tuæ academix restitatur: nec non publicas grates ob tale beneficium præcellentia vestra, impressas quoque a Wheloco vestro meritò accipiet. Stowæ si adhuc fuerit liber ille, veniâ a vobis datâ lubens repetam. Si quid in senatu (nobilissimè domine) de prædiis ecclesiasticis agatur, hortor clementiam vestram, ut si mentio fiat de favendis academicis litteris, meis quoque, hoc est, Orientalibus et Britannicis faverent. Beneficium meum (sic vocant) perexiguum quidem si dematur, ostiatim unde ego et familia mea vivemus? si quid sit, unde in celeberrimo cœtu defensionem litterarum & rerum nostrarum promoveat autoritas vestra, supplex peto, ut id consequar. Perge obsecro amico meo viro optimo domino Lowreo gratificari. Honoris vestri studiosissimus,

ABRAHAMUS WHELOCUS..

XII.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS EVER HONOURED FRIEND AND
ADVANCER OF LEARNING SIR SIMONDS D'EWEES, AT STOW-
HALL, THESE.

Right worshipfull, with my homble service, I was glad to heare from you; forrie to put your worship to charge; I watch for opportunitie to return this 5 s. in a way suiting to your worth. I humbly thank you for transferring the cause of stop on reverend Armachanus, who trulie loves and honours you. I feare Leslie will set fire on these rare monuments, far more precious than all
the

the treasure he (I hope) shall get in England. Yet we must look to the hand that strikes, and, saying little, even kiss the rod. Scots care not for antiquitie : I ever loved their zeale to truth, and, as I thought, well-grounded ; but of late they have lost their credit in the mindes of men, more learned and wise and holie men than ordinarie. I know you will interpret me well. I beseech you forget the Scots as much as you may. Let's pray for peace and truth. I would hast beyond seas if I could if troubles increase. Newcastle is much abused by them, and we here already quake for want of coles. I humbly crave of you, that if you heare that they come this way, to direct us wheare to hide under ground these reverend Saxon sermons, &c. for their good and ours, and our posteritie, if peace return. I desire you may keepe this booke til Easter ; if not, that your worship would hasten it hither, except with leave we hide it with the rest.

From your worship's poore servant,

ABR. WHELOCK.

XII.

Illustriſſimo Celsissimoq' Principi Carolo Duci Lotharingæ, &c.
Bruxellis in Flandriâ.

Celsissime Princeps,

Vifimonaſterii,
Kal. Jun. 1646.

Literæ tuæ humaniſſimæ omnino inexpectatæ Gallicam ſpirantes facundiam nuper ad manus meas pervenerunt ; nec tam diu reſponſum hoc noſtrum, debitum gratitudinis arrham & ſymbolum diſtuliffem niſi rei magnitudo, quod a tanto principi iteratis compellarer codicillis, mihi ſilentium et tacitum animi ſtuporem impoſuiſſet. Tandem vero ne ſupinæ labem & maculam oblivionis promorerer, intempeſtivis pudore et verecundiâ procul ablegatis

ablegatis, æternum me C. T. obstrictum esse agnosco, quod inter armorum strepitum et tubarum lituorumque clangorem mei memor esse humanissimè dignata sit : et utinam miserrima inter nos rerum facies tuis uti pridem non in posterum officeret desideriis ; quin ut omnia inter nos debitæ benevolentiae officia tuus experiretur Fortescuus, et volo nunc affatim tuæ inscribendorum militiae hinc in Flandriam transfretaret. Hoc summo promoturus est nifu,

C. T. deditissimus,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

XIII.

Epistola nepoti suo sincerè dilecto summæque spei Juveni Gulielmo Ellyotto filio primogenito Gulielmi Elyotti equitis aurati, Godelemingæ in provincia Surreienfi.

Vilmonasterii, idus Septembris
Juliani, 1646.

Literas tuas, nepos charissime, vernaculas Busbrigiae in agro Surreienfi Sextili ultimo scriptas accepi, in quibus eximium pietatis erga lectissimam matrem tuam Joannam defunctam sororem meam primogenitam edidisti specimen dum ejus memoriam tam sancte recolis, ejusque jacturam impense adeo luges. Gratissimae fuere illae mihi, non eam duntaxat ob causam, sed quia uberiores solito ea etiam conclamata erga me affectum testatus es ; nec dubites quin a me vicissim debita omnia tibi fratribus tuis germanis, teneræque forori Siffilliae exolvantur officia. Id sane animum meum non puram pupugit, quod matri tuæ in extremis nec ore nec calamo solamini vel minimo suppeditaverim adminicula. Mea tamen omnino non evenit culpa, cum enim pregnans erat uxor dilectissima, et binæ quæ solae mihi ex maribus quinque totidemque femellis prima conjuge fatis liberis, filiae supersunt te-

M

neræ,

neræ, illum exanthematis laborantem invifere non ausus fum nec prius me Sonorius de illius morte appropinquante monuit, quam fagax illius anima ex morbi violentia et acerrimum iudicium fuas omnes pene vires amiferant. Imo etfi horis aliquot ante mortem codicillis ad eam miffis confolatoriis, in fupremo illi non defuiffe officio meritò dicar (quos etiamnum penes fe habet tuus genitor); fruftra tamen fuit, cum morbi atrocitas intellectus ei ufum ademerat. Id unice ergo jam refat ut nos humiles illos quibus apprimè gavifa eft illa fpiritus, et omnibus benefaciendi conatus, quos in illa agnofcunt fuiffe omnes amici, agniti, vicini, imitemur, et in nobis experiamur. Nata fuit Wellefhalæ paterno in prædio ad parœciam Mildengam in provincia Suffolcienci pertinente die Dominica ipfis Februarii Juliani kalendis horam circiter fecundam matutinam A° Dⁿⁱ $\frac{1600}{1601}$. Eam pater tuis tertius fuis in uxorem duxit hymenæis Londini die Mercurii feptima menfis ejufdem anno reparatæ falutis $\frac{1620}{1621}$. Et poftquam fanctiffime caftiffimeque cum ipfo totos annos viginti quinque mēfes duos & dies bis feptem vixerat, eumque numerosa utriufque fexus fobolè ditaverat animam fuam Deo Patri et Creatori reddidit, die Martis poft ridie idus Aprilis Juliani anni currentis horam circiter octavam nocturnam: et ex parte aquilonari Divi Egidii in campis (in qua decefferat parœcia) non procul ab ipfa Orientali feneftra diei fequentis fub vefperam inhumata erat, cujus exequiis ut fuprema illi iufta perfolverem ego ipfe cum aliis interfui. Ut patrem tuum meo nomine perhumaniter falutes vellem. Teque cum fratribus tuis et forore falvum eſſe cupio.

Tui ftudiotiffimus avunculus,

SIMONDS D'EWES.



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B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A.

N° XXXI.

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P. 34, add, *After this Number was ready for publication,*

Oliver, only son of Mr. Oliver Cromwell, attorney, in Essex-street, died suddenly, April 18th, 1785.

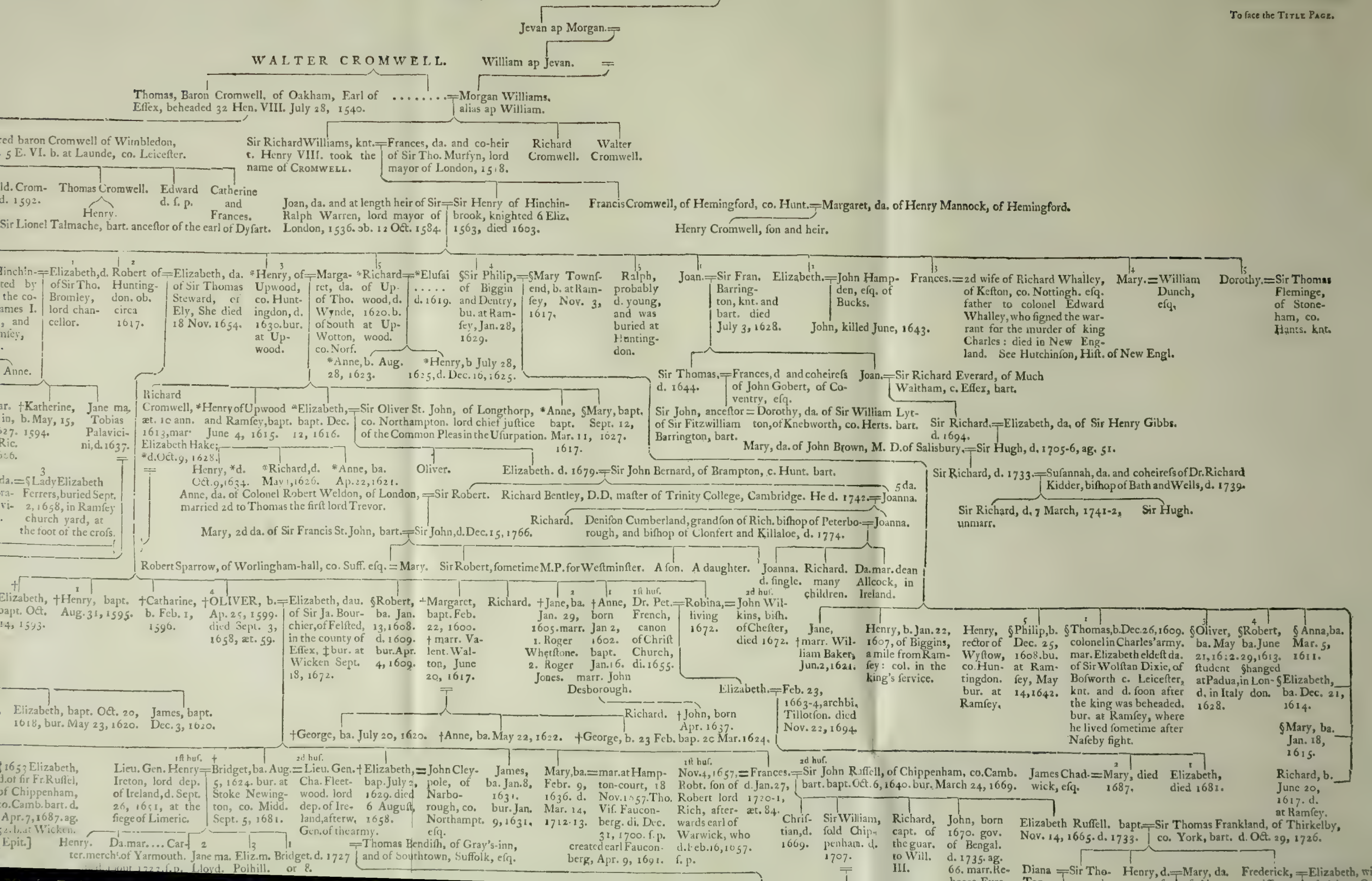
* * The Binder will place the large Pedigree immediately *before* the Preface; and that of the Ruffels to face p. xvi.

P E D I G R E E O F O L I V E R C R O M W E L L .

Morgan ap Hode. Vide H. 8. 58. b. in Coll. Armor.

BIBL. TOP. BRIT. N° XXXI.

To face the TITLE PAGE.



PEDIGREE of OLIVER CROMWELL.

Morgan ap Hode. Vide H. 8. 58. b. in Coll. Armor.

Jevan ap Morgan.

WALTER CROMWELL.

William ap Jevan.

Thomas, Baron Cromwell, of Oakham, Earl of Essex, beheaded 32 Hen. VIII. July 28, 1540.

Morgan Williams, alias ap William.

Elizabeth, da. of Sir John Seymour, fitter to Edward duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England.

Gregory, created baron Cromwell of Wimbledon, 32 H. VIII. d. 5 E. VI. b. at Launde, co. Leicester.

Sir Richard Williams, knt. t. Henry VIII. took the name of CROMWELL.

Frances, da. and co-heir of Sir Tho. Murfyn, lord mayor of London, 1518.

Richard Cromwell.

Walter Cromwell.

Frances, wife of Rich. Strode of Newenham, co. Devon.— Another daughter the wife of John Strode of Carneham in Dorset.

Mary, eldest da. of John marquis of Winchester, b. at Launde.

Henry, 1d. Cromwell, d. 1592.

Thomas Cromwell.

Edward d. f. p.

Catherine and Frances.

Joan, da. and at length heir of Sir Ralph Warren, lord mayor of London, 1536. ob. 12 Oct. 1584.

Sir Henry of Hinchinbrook, knighted 6 Eliz. 1563, died 1603.

Francis Cromwell, of Hemingford, co. Hunt.—Marg Henry Cromwell, son and heir.

Frances Rugge.—Edward, died and bur. in Down Patrick, in Ireland. Sold Oakham to Harrington.

Sir Gregory.

Catherine, = Sir Lionel Talmache, bart. ancestor of the earl of Dyfart.

Joan, da. and at length heir of Sir Ralph Warren, lord mayor of London, 1536. ob. 12 Oct. 1584.

Sir Henry of Hinchinbrook, knighted 6 Eliz. 1563, died 1603.

Francis Cromwell, of Hemingford, co. Hunt.—Marg Henry Cromwell, son and heir.

Thomas, Visc. Le-cale, Earl of Ardglafe, in Ireland.

Elizabeth Meverell, died 1653. b. at Tinkencote.

Elizabeth, marr. Sir John Shelton, of Shelton, c. of Norfolk.

Frances, mar. Sir John Wingfield, knt. of Tinkencote.

Anne, marr. dow of Sir Edward Horatio Palavicini, vicini, of Bamberham, co. Camb. marr. July 7, 1601.

Elizabeth, d. Robert of Huntingdon, ob. circa 1617.

Elizabeth, da. of Sir Thomas Steward, of Ely, She died 18 Nov. 1654.

*Henry, of Upwood, co. Huntingdon, d. 1630. bur. at Upwood.

*Margaret, da. of Tho. Wynde, 1620. b. of South Wotton, co. Norf.

*Elufai, of Biggin and Dentry, bu. at Ramsey, Jan. 28, 1629.

*Mary Townfend, b. at Ramsey, Nov. 3, 1617.

Ralph, probably d. young, and was buried at Huntingdon.

Joan. = Sir Fran. Barrington, knt. and bart. died July 3, 1628.

John, k. Bu.

Vere Effex, lord Cromwell, earl of Ardglafe, succeeded his nephew Thomas.

Wingfield, marr. Mary, da. of Sir William Rufsham, co. Worcester. d. 1608.

Mary, marr. William Fitzherbert, esq. of Tiffington, co. Derby.

† John, bap. May 14, 1589. a colonel in Holland.

† Colonel William, carver to the queen of Bohemia, died Feb. 23, 1665-6.

† Hannah, mar. John Baldwin, b. May, 15, Sept. 11, 1627. 1594.

† Katherine, Eliz. mar. fir Ric. Ingoldeby, d. 1606.

Jane ma. Tobias Palavicini, d. 1637.

Richard Cromwell, *Henry of Upwood and Ramsey, bap. Dec. 1613, mar. June 4, 1615.

*Elizabeth, = Sir Oliver St. John, of Longthorp, co. Northampton. lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in the Ufurpation. Mar. 11, 1627.

*Anne, b. Aug. 28, 1623.

*Henry, b. July 28, 1625, d. Dec. 16, 1625.

Sir Thomas, d. 1644.

Frances, d. and coheirs of John Gobert, of Coventry, esq.

Frances and Jane, died young.

Mary.

Thomas, lord Cromwell, earl of Ardglafe, marr. Honour, da. of Dr. Michael Boyle, archb. of Armagh, ob. f. p.

Lucy, da. of Sir Edward Carr, of Sleaford, co. Linc. relict of fir Richard Dyer, of Stoughton, co. Hunt. knt. died Jan. 1639, bur. at Ramsey.

† Henry, born Aug. 25, 1585, of Sir Horatio Pallavicini, knt. died Sept. 18, 1657. bat Ramsey. A da. died young.

† Lady Elizabeth Ferrers, buried Sept. 2, 1658, in Ramsey church yard, at the foot of the cross.

† Anne, only da. and heiress of Richard Cromwell, son of Henry, uncle to the Protector.

† Catharine, b. Feb. 1, 1596.

† OLIVER, b. Ap. 25, 1599. died Sept. 3, 1658, at. 59.

† Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Ja. Bourchier, of Felsted, in the county of Essex, † bur. at Wicken Sept. 18, 1672.

† Robert, ba. Jan. 13, 1608.

† Margaret, bap. Feb. 22, 1600.

† Richard, Jan. 29, 1605. marr. Jan 2, 1602. of Christ Church, di. 1655.

† Anne, born French, canon of Wicken, bur. at Wicken, Jan. 16, 1655.

Edward Southwell, of King's Weston, co. Glouc. esq.

Elizabeth Cromwell, da. and heir. d. 1709.

Anne, unmar. 1650.

§ Carina, ba. Sept. 1, 1622. marr. William Hedley, of Broughton, co. Hunt. Norfolk.

§ Elizabeth, bap. 6 Sept. 1626. marr. Hen. English, esq. of Norfolk.

James, colonel under Char. I. d. f. p.

Henry Williams, bap. June 22, 1625. d. Aug. 3, 1673; bur. at Ramsey.

† Elizabeth, bap. Oct. 14, 1593.

† Henry, bap. Aug. 31, 1595.

† Catharine, b. Feb. 1, 1596.

† OLIVER, b. Ap. 25, 1599. died Sept. 3, 1658, at. 59.

† Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Ja. Bourchier, of Felsted, in the county of Essex, † bur. at Wicken Sept. 18, 1672.

† Robert, ba. Jan. 13, 1608.

† Margaret, bap. Feb. 22, 1600.

Edward Southwell, of King's Weston, esq.

Sophia, da. of Samuel Campbell, of Mount Campbell, in Ireland, esq.

Three other sons.

Three daughters.

† Robert, b. Oct. 13, 1621. di. young.

† Oliver, ba. Febru. 6, 1622. di. young, of the small pox, during the civil war.

† RICHARD, b. Oct. 4, 1626. d. at Cheffunt, co. Herts, July 13, 1712. ag. 85.

May 1649, Dorothy = HENRY, b. 1653 Elizabeth, d. of fir Fr. Russell, of Chippenham, co. Camb. bart. d. † Apr. 7, 1687. ag. 52. b. at Wicken. [Epit.] Henry. Da. mar. ... Car. 2 3 1

Lieu. Gen. Henry Ireton, lord dep. of Ireland, d. Sept. 26, 1651, at the siege of Limeric.

Bridget, ba. Aug. 5, 1624. bur. at Stoke Newington, co. Midd. Sept. 5, 1681.

Lieu. Gen. † Elizabeth, = John Cley-pole, of ba. Jan. 8, 1631.

James, ba. Jan. 8, 1631.

Mary, ba. = mar. at Hamp-ton-court, 18 Nov. 1657. Tho. Rich. after-wards earl of Warwick, who d. Feb. 16, 1657. f. p.

Nov. 4, 1657. = Frances. Sir John, bart. bap. d. Jan. 27, 1720-1, at. 84. Chrif-tian, d. 1669. per-170

Edward Southwell Clifford, lord Clifford.

Three other sons.

Three daughters.

† Robert, b. Oct. 13, 1621. di. young.

† Oliver, ba. Febru. 6, 1622. di. young, of the small pox, during the civil war.

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† George, ba. July 20, 1620.

† Anne, ba. May 22, 1622.

† George, b. 23 Feb. bap. 20 Mar. 1624.

Edward Southwell Clifford, lord Clifford.

Three other sons.

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† George, b. 23 Feb. bap. 20 Mar. 1624.

Lady Elizabeth
 1658, in Ramfey
 urch yard, at
 foot of the cross.

Oct. 9, 1634. May 1, 1626. Ap. 22, 1621.
 Anne, da. of Colonel Robert Weldon, of London, married 2d to Thomas the first lord Trevor.

Richard. Denison Cumberland, grandson of Rich. bishop of Peterbo-rough, and bishop of Clonfert and Killaloe, d. 1774.

Mary, 2d da. of Sir Francis St. John, bart. Sir John, d. Dec. 15, 1766.

Robert Sparrow, of Worlingham-hall, co. Suff. esq. = Mary. Sir Robert, sometime M.P. for Westminster. A son. A daughter. Joanna. Richard. Da. mar. dean d. single. many Allcock, in children. Ireland.

th, +Henry, bapt. +Catharine, +OLIVER, b. = Elizabeth, dau. § Robert, +Margaret, Richard. +Jane, ba. +Anne, Dr. Pet. = Robina, = John Wil-
 ft. Aug. 31, 1595. b. Feb. 1, Ap. 25, 1599. of Sir Ja. Bour- ba. Jan. bapt. Feb. Jan. 29, born French, living kins, bish.
 3. 1596. died Sept. 3, 13, 1608. 22, 1600. 1605. marr. Jan 2, canon 1672. of Chester, died 1672.
 in the county of d. 1609. + marr. Va- 1. Roger 1602. of Christ 1663-4, archbi, Tillotson. died Nov. 22, 1694.
 Effex, +bur. at bur. Apr. lent. Wal- 2. Roger Jan. 16. di. 1655. Jones. marr. John Desborough. Elizabeth = Feb. 23, 1663-4, archbi, Tillotson. died Nov. 22, 1694.
 Wicken Sept. 4, 1609. ton, June 20, 1617.

abeth, bapt. Oct. 20, James, bapt. Dec. 3, 1620.

Elizabeth, R. Russell, penham, b. bart. d. 1687. ag. Wicken.

Henry. Da. mar. ... Car- ter. merch. of Yarmouth. died about 1723. f. p.

1st huf. +Lieu. Gen. Henry Ireton, lord dep. of Ireland, d. Sept. 26, 1651, at the siege of Limeric.

2d huf. = Bridget, ba. Aug. 5, 1624. bur. at Stoke Newington, co. Midd. Sept. 5, 1681.

1st huf. = Lieu. Gen. + Elizabeth, = John Cley- James, Mary, ba. = mar. at Hamp- Nov. 4, 1657, = Frances. Sir John Russell, of Chippenham, co. Camb. James Chad- = Mary, died Elizabeth, Richard, b. June 20, 1617. d. at Ramfey.

2d huf. = Thomas Bendish, of Gray's-inn, and of Southtown, Suffolk, esq.

1st huf. = Francis. Sir John Russell, of Chippenham, co. Camb. James Chad- = Mary, died Elizabeth, Richard, b. June 20, 1617. d. at Ramfey.

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2d huf

[illegible]

A
S H O R T
GENEALOGICAL VIEW
O F
T H E F A M I L Y
O F
OLIVER CROMWELL.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A C O P I O U S P E D I G R E E.

L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS,
PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,
MDCCLXXXV.

P R E F A C E.

THE following genealogical view of the family of a person who made such a distinguished figure on the Theatre of Europe, was first suggested by a desire of saying something about him in the new edition of Camden's Britannia, in the additions to the county where he was born, and supplying the unaccountable omission of this family by bishop Gibson, whose uncle Dr. Gibson married the Protector's grand-daughter. The materials are all the result of the Editor's own inquiry, and an actual search of the parochial registers of Ramsey, Upwood, St. John's Huntingdon, Wicken, and Chippenham. The first visit was paid to Ramsey 1783, at which time, and again the succeeding year, the friendly reception of its good vicar¹ must be gratefully acknowledged; nor less the very hospitable and polite reception of a stranger by lady Bickerton at Upwood; or the readiness with which Mr. Hodson of Huntingdon, and Mrs. Tookie, wife of the vicar of Chippenham, permitted extracts to be made from their respective registers.

The pedigree once formed was submitted to those persons in London best qualified to correct and improve it. Among these are to be remembered Mr. Brooke and Mr. Pingo of the Heralds college, Mr. John Field, apothecary, of Newgate-street, and last

¹ It is not easy to say why Mr. Noble always misspells his name *Weston* instead of *Whiston*; and p. 48, 83, calls him *late*, though still living. The author's distance from the press may be pleaded in excuse for many of its errors, but not for misnomers, of which Sir James Barrow, Mr. Grainger, Sir Peter Lilly, Spendhurst for Speldhurst, Baconsfield for Beconsfield, are too flagrant instances to pass unnoticed.

of all, the late Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. who communicated a different pedigree of his branch of the family.

Though no stranger to the labours of the Rev. Mr. Noble in the same harvest, the editor does not charge himself with any intention to prejudice that indefatigable inquirer's ample publication, which, as he did not anticipate, so neither has he borrowed from it a single material, but on the contrary has studiously thrown the particulars wherein they differ into this introduction, that he may not appear to neglect either to receive or give fuller information in any degree.

If the particulars respecting the *parishes* where the Cromwells had any concern are thought to convey any incidental matter, they will not be deemed absolutely foreign to the purpose.

Mr. Noble begins his account of the Cromwell family with a pedigree drawn up 1602, by order of Sir Henry Cromwell, deducing Morgan Williams by a long train of ancestors from *Glothian*, fifth lord of *Powis*, who died about the time of the Norman Conquest. But as there is no dependance to be placed on such monuments, so neither has Mr. Noble established it in his Appendix.

Mr. Noble says Morgan Williams was a gentleman of Glamorganshire, possessed of an estate of about 2 or 300*l.* a year, which has been long enjoyed by the Lewis's and Vaughans, and now lets for about 900*l.* a year. It is also said that he resided in Llan Newidel parish, near Caermarthen, and was in the service of Jasper duke of Bedford, and privy counsellor to his nephew Henry VIII.

Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, was born in the parish of *Llan Ishan* in Glamorganshire¹.

Mr. Noble contends² that the blacksmith was a *brewer*, and takes no notice of a younger son of his named *Richard*.

¹Lel. Itin. IV. 56.

² Appendix, p. 310.

Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew also Mr. Palmer in the tilting May 3, and obtained for his valour an annuity of 100 marks, with a house for him and his heirs to live in out of the dissolved Franciscan friary at Stamford¹.

Fuller adds, that the ring in the Cromwell crest was taken from the diamond ring given to Sir Richard Cromwell by Henry VIII. on this occasion. The father of Sir Richard Cromwell's lady was a native of Ely². The pedigree cited by Mr. Noble says she died at Stepney Feb. 20, 1533, and was there buried 25 Henry VIII.

Mr. Noble supposes *Thomas* Cromwell, whom the compilers of the *Magna Britannia* make sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire 1572, 14 Eliz. to have been a son of Sir Richard. But besides that that compilation is not always to be depended on, Fuller expressly puts down *Henry* Cromwell sheriff the year before, and Sir John Cutts that year. It is true *Thomas* Cromwell occurs as representative for Fowey, Bodmin, Grampound, and Leominster, 13, 28, 31, and 39 Eliz. and a leading man on parliamentary committees from 1572 to 1590; and is remarkable for moving the thanks of the House of Commons to Elizabeth³, for "doing justice upon the Scottish Queen at their petition;" which motion, though over-ruled, intitles him a claim of affinity to a family, who, says Mr. Noble, "made little account of the blood of sovereigns."

On the authority of *Magna Britannia*, Mr. Noble gives Sir Richard Cromwell a third son named Richard, and sheriff of the said counties. He adds, from Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, that *Francis*, fourth son of Richard, was knight of the shire for the county of Huntingdon 15 Eliz. and sheriff of the said counties 29 Eliz. in which last assertion he is supported by Fuller. Queen Elizabeth slept at Hinchbrook, then the seat of Sir Henry

¹ Fuller. See more of the tilting in Stowe, Hollinshed, and Hall.

² Fuller.

³ P. 25, from Journals of Parliament, and Carte's History of England.

Cromwell, on her return from Cambridge, August 18, 1564^x. He represented the county of Huntingdon in Parliament 1563, and was sheriff of the two counties 7, 13, 22, and 34 Eliz.².

In the bow window of the South front of Ramsey house are two beautiful portraits of Sir Henry Cromwell and his lady.

Mr. Noble says, p. 29, that Sir Robert Warren was lord mayor of London also 1543, and died July 16, 1552, 7 Eliz. and was buried in St. Swithin's church, London³. He married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of John Trilake, alias Davy, of Cornwall.

Mr. Noble⁴ supposes Sir Oliver entertained queen Elizabeth on her visit to Cambridge, and probably Charles I. James I. visited him 1603, 1616, 1617⁵. The first of these visits was on his accession; and on that occasion, among other improvements at Hinchinbrook, Sir Oliver built the bow window hereafter mentioned, with the family arms. Here the king received the heads of the university, and staid from April 27th to the 29th; and Sir Oliver presented him with a large elegant wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, doves, hawks of excellent wing, and at the remove gave 50*l*. among the royal officers⁶. The king created him and 59 more Knights of the Bath before his coronation⁷. Sir Oliver sat in parliament from 1604 to 1610, also 1614, 1623, 1624, and 1625. He is once or twice styled queen Anne's attorney, in which office he probably succeeded Sir Lawrence Tanfield about 1604, but did not hold it long. He was so hearty a royalist, that he raised men and furnished money for the cause, and obliged his sons to go into the king's army. His nephew and god-child Oliver, in a visit to him, disarmed him, and took away his plate for the public service. He was obliged to sell Hinchinbrook to Sir Sidney

¹ Peck's Def. Cur.

² Fuller.

³ Stowe's Survey.

⁴ P. 40.

⁵ Stowe. Willis, Buckingham,

⁶ Stowe.

⁷ Warwick's Memoirs.

Montague, whose lady there entertained Charles I. in his way to his captivity at Holdenby-house 1646. He retired to Ramsey, and there received another visit from his nephew, who threatened to burn the town if he did not redeem it by a sum of money. Sir Oliver desired a conference, and being unable to raise the sum demanded, furnished 40 horses to mount his cavalry. It is said that while the two Oliveres were sitting on the bridge, a woman offered the lieutenant general a cushion, which he refused as unbecoming a soldier¹. His estate was ordered to be sequestrated, but saved by the interposition of his nephew; and the parliament took off the sequestration April 17, 1648². The colours which he and his sons took from the parliament forces remained hanging in Ramsey church till within the last 50 years³.

See his settlement on his two wives, Noble, p. 51, 52.

Anne died at Hinchbrook, and was buried in St. John's church, Huntingdon, April 26, 1626⁴.

John, son of Sir Oliver, was captain in the first regiment of foot⁵, sent by James I. to recover the Palatinate⁶, afterwards colonel of an English regiment in the service of the States, by whom he was sent with letters, under the seal both of the king and prince of Wales, to intercede with the Protector for saving the king's life; but without success⁷. He was living in Holland 1653⁸. He appears to have been separated from his wife Abigail, for her extravagances, so early as 1646, when there was a cause depending between them and John Smith, esq; and John Amock, which the House of Commons, October 30, that year, referred to the court of Chancery⁹. By her he had issue a daughter, Joan, baptized at Upwood Sept. 28, 1624. See his letter to the Protector for recovery of his estate, in Mr. Noble's Appendix.

¹ Mr. Whiston.

² Journals.

³ Mr. Whiston.

⁴ Noble, p. 53.

⁵ Rushworth.

⁶ *Flagellum*, and other lives of Oliver Cromwell.

⁷ Thurloe's and Nicholls's State Papers.

⁸ Journals.

⁹ Nicholls's State Papers.

A little book, with J. C. in gold letters on the outside, was found in taking up the floor of a room at Upwood.

Henry, third son of Sir Henry, was educated at St. John's college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He proceeded LL.B. Feb. 14, 1588¹. His father granted to him by deed, dated July 8, 1584, the manor of Upwood, &c. for 500 years, which were afterwards released by Henry, son of his elder brother Sir Oliver, in consideration of money lent by him to his nephew, to whom he bequeathed this manor, &c. on payment of certain sums to his heirs. By his will he left 20*l.* to the poor of Upwood; 5*l.* a piece to Great Raveley and Ramsay; 20*s.* to Bury; 4*l.* to Allhallows, Huntingdon; 40*s.* to Boughton; 20*s.* to Raby; and desired to be buried in the chancel at Upwood, as he accordingly was October 29, 1630. To each of his two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, he left 2000*l.*; but they being under age at the time of his death, administration was given during their minorities to their relation, Mr. Valentine Walton. Elizabeth married William Hampden, father of the Patriot, and was buried in the Hampden family vault Feb. 21, 1664-5, having survived her husband 67 years. Anne was, 1638, at Sir William Masham's at Oates, in the county of Essex; and to her Oliver, afterwards Protector, desires his love. She married John Neale of Dean, in the county of Bedford, who distinguished himself in the parliament cause against Charles I. and from him are descended the family of Neale at Allesby, in the county of Warwick².

Mr. Noble³ expresses his surprize at two laureate terms of a man and woman supporting the chimney-piece at Upwood, calling them naked figures, with H. C. and M. C. under them; as if he thought they were portraits of Henry and Margaret Cromwell. He says⁴ Margaret Cromwell's maiden name was *Wyan*,

¹ Wood's Fasti I. 135.

² Noble, p. 31—33.

³ Ibid. p. 32.

⁴ Ibid.

but

but in the family Bible hereafter cited her family name is written *Winde*. According to the Upwood register *Elusai* was a former wife of this *Henry*, and died 1619; and her fourth son John Jones Cromwell, the same year. This should be corrected in the pedigree.

Mr. Noble thus describes the arms at Hinchinbrook :

Upon the compartments of the sides of the great bow window are a lion rampant impaling per pale a fefs indented between 4 lions passant guardant, and also the chevron with the mullet on the dexter point. Under the arms of England, on another bow window, is the shield, date, and motto of Cromwell described, p. 3, note §; and on the sides of it singly the lion rampant and the chevron ingrailed between 3 griffins heads. Above the arches, and between the seven pillars that support this bow, are the following 21 shields cut in stone, three over each arch, and generally a crest in the middle.

Three spear heads.

Chevron ingrailed between 3 griffins heads.

Lion rampant.

Per pale 3 fleurs de lis.

Bird on torse.

Chevron ingrailed between 3 heath-cocks.

Lion rampant.

Griffin's head on coronet.

Three chevrons.

Unicorn rampant between 7 crofs croflets.

Demi lion with 2 tails on a torse.

Fefs and billets between 3 martlets.

Three acorns slipped quartering a bull's head on a shield of pretence; twice.

A lion rampant crowned.

Wing on a torse.

Bend ermine between 6 annulets.

Bird on a wreath.

Chevron with mullet in point.

On bend 3 crosses croflets between 6 fleurs de lis.

Three spear heads.

Per pale a fefs indented.

Richard, fourth son of Sir Henry, was member for Huntingdon 39, and for Leftwithiel 43 Eliz.¹. Philip, fifth son of Sir Henry, was with his brother Oliver when king James visited him, and received the honour of knighthood at the same time. Mr. Noble imagines his wife was sister to Heywood Townsend, who was a member of parliament, and made historical collections of queen Elizabeth's four last parliaments, a complete journal of both houses from their original records.

Of Sir Philip Cromwell's sons, Henry is called the eldest in Mr. Henry Cromwell of Upwood's will. Philip, the second, was a major in his cousin Ingoldsby's regiment of foot in the parliament army, and was dangerously wounded September 11², 1645, at the storming of Bristol, of which he died soon after³. Colonel Thomas, third son, signed his name next to Lord Valentia Dec. 12, 1630, to the condemnation of Lord Mountmorres at Dublin castle⁴. Denton, his residence, was afterwards purchased by the Wildbores⁵. Oliver is supposed by Mr. Noble to have been a member of the long parliament. He was a major in their army 1698, when he was dispatched by col. Hammond with letters to the parliament, to inform them that he was detained at Windsor,

¹ Willis's Not. Parl.

² Fasti, I. 156.

³ Wood's Fasti ib. Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva. This however I take to be Philip, who in Ramsey register was buried May 12; 1642.

⁴ Sprigge.

⁵ Noble.

and that col. Ewers had charge of the king in the Isle of Wight; and the lords recommended him to the commons to be rewarded for his services about the king, which was referred to the committee of revenue¹. He was a colonel under his first cousin Oliver, after the Protector went into Ireland 1649², where he died the same year. A petition from his executrix to the House of Commons, Nov. 20, 1651, was referred to the committee of the army³.

Robert was hanged for poisoning his master, a lawyer in London, about 37 years before the date of Heath's Flagellum, or Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, 1663 and 1672. In the first case he would be 22, in the other only 13 years old.

Mr. Noble was informed some of Sir Philip Cromwell's descendants settled in Wilts, where Edmondson mentions a family who bore the same arms as Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, before the augmentation of the crest. A family at Bromesgrove came from the Devises: their grandfather was a schoolmaster, and their great grandfather a clergyman; and their father hated his name because of the Protector⁴.

Mr. Noble makes a different arrangement of the Protector's daughters:

He says Mr. Bendish's son Thomas was by his *first* wife.

Claypole had two sons and one daughter.

N° II. p. 241. Mr. Noble omits the second George, son of Valentine Walton, and differs from me in the date of the birth of the other son and daughter.

N° II. p. 253—255. We differ in the article Desborough.

—— p. 346. Mr. Noble does not appear to have seen the pedigree of Fleetwood, in the History of Stoke Newington, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, N° IX. which is somewhat different from his in the early branches, and fuller than his account

¹ Whitlock's Memorials.

² Journals of the House of Commons.

³ Wood's Fasti, ubi sup.

⁴ P. 38.

in the later ¹. He says it is certain Fleetwood had one or more children by the Protector's daughter; sed quære.

I have "Bibliotheca Cromwelleiana, or a Catalogue of Books of Ireton Cromwell, esq. deceased," fold, the price marked on each book, April 16, 1640, by L. Lawlor, bookseller, at the Parliamentary Warehouse, in St. Martin's Church-yard, near Charing-Cross.

Of William, whom Mr. Noble calls fourth son of Sir Oliver, see him, p. 58—63.

Mr. Noble, p. 65, makes Oliver, who died at Padua, a fifth son of Sir Oliver.

He omits Sir Oliver's third son, Thomas, and gives him a sixth son, Edward²; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Joan, more than I have.

Of Sir Oliver's eldest son Henry, see Mr. Noble, p. 67—70, who says he was buried in the chancel at Ramsey the day after he died, perhaps for the same reason as his father was said to be. His first wife Battina was buried in St. John's church, Huntingdon, April 10, 1618. By her he had a daughter Battina, baptized July 2, 1616, at All Saints there, and buried there June 7, 1618. His second wife, Mr. Noble³ says, was Mary, buried at Ramsey Jan. 12, 1629. He married his third lady, Elizabeth Ferrars, at Ramsey, May 4, 1642. The issue of the second wife are thus stated by Mr. Noble⁴, from registers.

James, born May 25, baptized June 7, 1620, in All Saints, Huntingdon; died young.

¹ In Little Berkhamsted church, Herts, are epitaphs for Cromwell Fleetwood, son of Charles Fleetwood, of Newington Green, 1688, and his wife Elizabeth, heiress of George Nevile, of Staple Inn and Little Berkhamsted, where she was buried 1693. Salmon's Herts, p. 26.

² See p. 66.

³ Ibid. p. 70. Mr. Whiston supposes her to be *Lucy*, daughter of Sir Edward Carr of Sleaford, relict of Sir Richard Dyer of Stoughton, co. Huntingdon, and buried at Ramsey 1639. This is confirmed by the name of *Carina*, given to one of their daughters.

⁴ Ibid. p. 72.

Anna, baptized at Upwood April 22, 1627.

Karina, baptized at Ramsey Sept. 5, 1622.

Pembroke, born Nov. 20, 1623; baptized Dec. 3.

Henry, baptized there June 22, 1625; died Aug. 3, 1673; buried there Aug. 6¹.

Mary, baptized Sept. 12, 1627; died an infant.

Mary, baptized Sept. 25, 1628.

We differ but little in our extracts from registers.

Huntingdon. P. 471, James, son of Oliver Cromwell, must have been baptized Jan. viii, not xv, for he died Jan. ix.

Ramsey. Mr. Noble, p. 473, adds,

Philip Cromwell, gent. buried May 12, 1642, but adds, "who he is is uncertain." See before, p. xii, note 3.

Upwood. The first entry, p. 474, he reads *Plyett*, I *Elyott*²; see p. 88; and he dates Elufai Cromwell's burial Jan. 27, and adds, "1619, John *Joanes* for *sonne*. Mrs. Elufai Cromwell wife to Mr. Henrie Cromwell, was buried." Q. Was Elufai widow of one Jones? Mr. Noble calls her *Elizabeth*.

Wicken. The burial of Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell is omitted, and the baptism of her son Oliver.

In return for the information here acknowledged from Mr. Noble, he may not be displeased to receive some concerning the Cromwells, about whom he is uninformed.

Catharine Cromwell, wife of Sir Henry Pallavicini, p. 88, may be the daughter of Sir Oliver, whose name is not mentioned in the pedigree; and Jane, wife of Tobias Pallavicini, was her sister. They married two brothers. Joan, and Mistress Oliver Cromwell, who both died 1600, may have been other daughters

¹ Noble, p. 73—79.

² Of the same family was Hugh *Playet* Cromwell, buried at Upwood Dec. 30, 1595. These were probably servants or tenants of the family, whose name they added to their own out of compliment. So also Robert Elyott *filius Cromwelli*, baptized there Nov. 6, 1597.

of Sir Oliver before he was knighted. The latter may have been the eldest child of Sir Oliver by his first wife. The name of the latter may furnish authority for giving a daughter the name of *Oliver*, which in a more recent instance was thought to require a feminine termination.

Mrs. Jane Cromwell, married to Mr. Baker, was eldest daughter of Sir Philip Cromwell of Biggin.

Philip Cromwell, buried at Ramfey May 12, 1642, was probably fifth son of Sir Philip, whom Mr. Noble¹ makes die 1645, of a wound at storming Bristol.

The true name of Mr. Henry Cromwell's second wife is *Elusai*, not Elizabeth. See the family Bible.

Mr. Henry Cromwell, the correspondent of Mr. Pope, seems likely to remain in obscurity to the last.

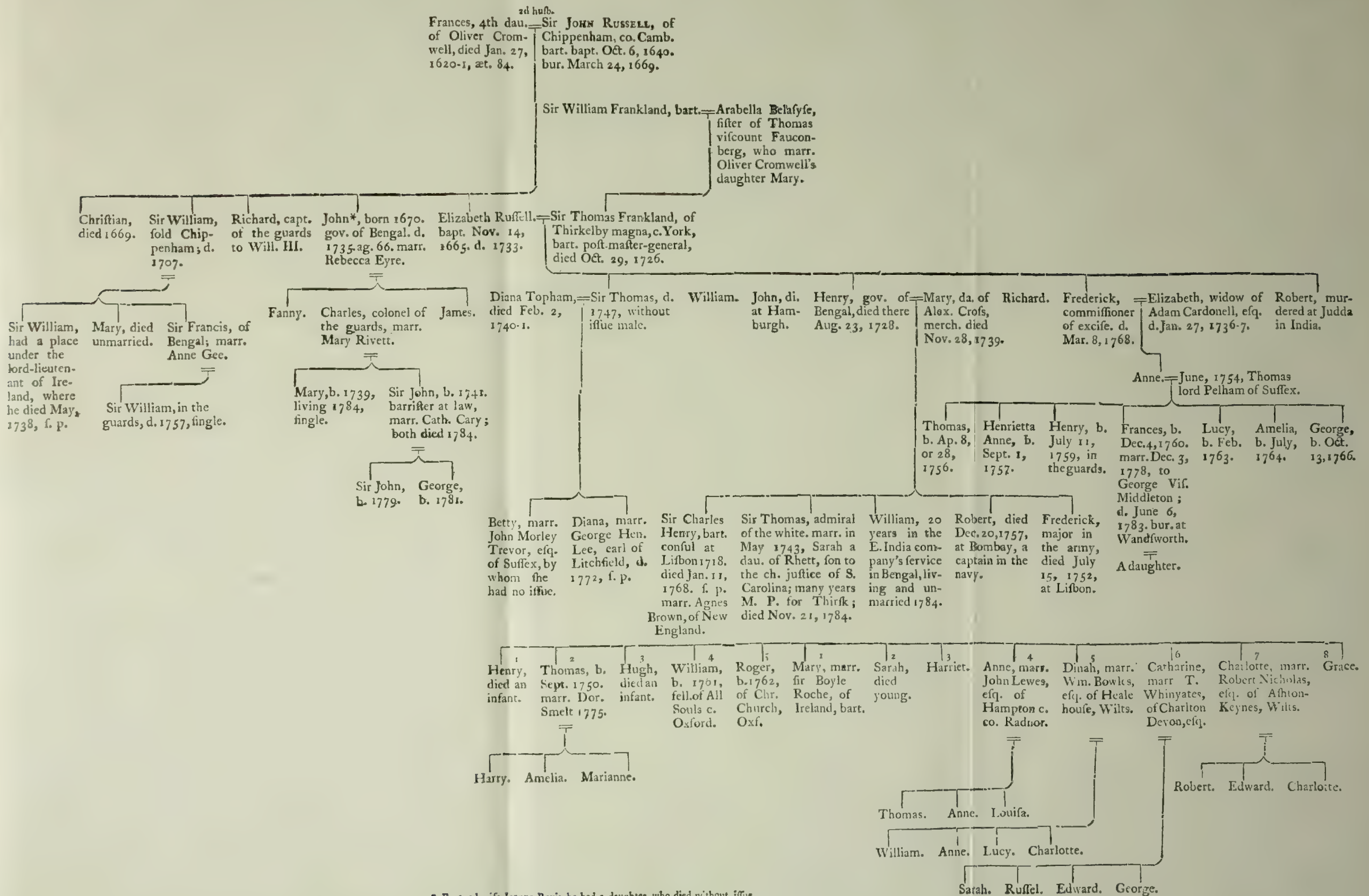
His namesake was apprentice to Mr. Rolleston, silk-mercator, but did not set up in this business; was some years a partner with his brother Edward, a wholesale grocer; and when he left off business, obtained a place in the Excise, which he held till his death; and was the same mentioned p. 294, who was the sixth son of the Protector's grandson Henry. His sister Mary (p. 295) died July 9, 1731, according to her epitaph in Bunhill-fields.

The house in which the Protector was born at Huntingdon was evidently made out of the priory, of which considerable remains are still to be found in the yard and offices. A note in a Harleian MS. N^o 7048, fol. 31, says the house of Oliver's birth is fairly rebuilt, but the chamber where he was born is kept entire. Mr. Noble has presumed to preserve an anecdote that conveys no mark of respect to the Protector's posteriors, which it seems were treated in a different manner when he was a school-boy from that in which the French ambassador treated them in the satirical medal. Milton may surely have received the same

¹ l. 35.

P E D I G R E E O F S I R J O H N R U S S E L L.

Bibli. Top. Brit.
No XXXI.



• By a 2d wife Joanna Revis he had a daughter who died without issue.

correction at the college which his master received at Huntingdon school. Will no zealous republican wipe off the reproach from the breach of the latter as well as from the former'?

The entry of the Protector's admission at Sidney college is given with two material faults, *at* for *ad* commentum, and *armorum* for *annorum*, I. 324. Mr. Noble (I. 338. 341.) in calling Cambridge a *city*, confers on it an honour which its own petition could not obtain from our kings.

To the testimonies of his being hanged after his death add a MS. of the time cited in the Gentleman's Magazine 1784, vol. LIV. p. 968.

In the account of the Protector's brothers and sisters *Richard* is omitted.

Mr. Valentine Walton spelling his name *Wauton* in the warrant for the king's execution, can hardly be admitted in evidence against all the registers and other evidences that spell it *Walton*.

The double burial of the Protector's wife is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of the Cromwell family. If we had not the express testimony of Heath that she died at Whitehall 1659, one would be tempted to believe she, being styled on the inscription at Wicken "Elizabeth Cromwell de Ely," was the party there buried. The entry in Northborough register bears no mark of interpolation; and Mr. Noble calls it a *political* death.

Notwithstanding Dr. Rawlinson's observation, that the great seal of Richard Cromwell was *altered* from his father's, and that in Vertue's prints of it there appear traces of such alteration on the lower part of the face, an attentive examination will shew variations in parts of the dress, armour, &c. which were by no means necessary for such accommodation.

* See the Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton, fabricated in the school of the *singular* Mr. Hollis.

The wife of Major Henry Cromwell, p. 289, was not *Elizabeth* but *Hannah* Hewling.

Major *Henry*, not *Richard* Cromwell, as said II. 450, 458, married Hannah Hewling.

Oliver, who died 1748, grandson of Henry lord deputy of Ireland, when he resigned his commission, returned from Ireland strongly impressed with the great respect paid him there, from the veneration retained in that country for his grandfather the great and good lord deputy of Ireland.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell did not marry the daughter of his partner, who was Mr. Harrison, solicitor to the million bank.

Richard Cromwell lived first in Bartlet's Building, but afterwards in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The name of his son was only *Robert*, not Robert Thornhill, as both Mr. Noble¹ and myself have asserted.

An entertaining and curious account of the wanderings and death of Whalley and Goffe is to be found in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, I. 213. They arrived there July 27, 1660. Whalley was supposed to die some time before 1679. Goffe lived some years longer.

In deducing the descendants of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, to the present century, Mr. Noble forgets that the husband of the heiress was a Southwell, not a Southall, grandfather of the late Edward Southwell, created lord Clifford 1776, who died 1777, leaving a son Edward, born 1767, now lord Clifford, and three other sons (three since dead) and three daughters, and all this though he refers to Rudder's (mispelt Scudder's) History of Gloucestershire, p. 491.

* * It is but justice to Mr. Noble to observe, that since this was compiled, I am informed he is engaged in a new and correct edition of his work, for which no inquiries nor collections will be spared.

THE family of CROMWELL made a considerable figure in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon during the latter half of the 16th, and the former half of the 17th century, and then sunk so suddenly into oblivion, that scarce any traces remain of them except in the registers of a few parish churches.

It has been generally conjectured that they derived their descent from one common ancestor in Thomas Cromwell*, created earl of Essex by Henry VIII. whose father is conjectured† to have been a blacksmith at Putney‡. A nameless daughter of his, married to *Morgan Williams*, is believed to be the first of the family that can be traced with certainty.

According to this account, their son RICHARD bore his paternal name of Williams till he assumed that of his mother, for reasons now unknown, as is also the precise time of this alteration. He was preferred to the king's service by his supposed uncle Thomas baron Okeham, obtained the honour of knighthood, May 2, 1540, 32 Henry VIII. for his achievements in tilting at Westminster, being one of the challengers, on the 5th day of which month he overthrew Mr. Culpeper in the field||. He was sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, 32 Henry VIII. § He had a grant

* Yet when Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, who turned papist, and was very desirous of making his court to the protector, dedicated a book of devotion to him, and presented to him a printed paper, whereby he pretended to claim kindred with him, as being himself some way related to Thomas Cromwell earl of Essex, Oliver, in some warmth, told him, that lord was not related to his family in any degree.

† Of whom see Dugdale's Baronetage, II. 370—314. The descendants of the earl's son, who was afterwards restored, and created baron Cromwell of Wimbledon, may be seen in the annexed pedigree. His great-grandson was created viscount Lecale, earl of Ardglass in Ireland, which titles became extinct in the third descent. Lord Clifford is descended from the second of these earls.

‡ Dugd. Bar. II. 370, & autores ibi citati.

|| Dugd. Bar. II. p. 374.

§ Fuller's Worthies, Cambridgehire.

of the following religious sites in the county of Huntingdon : Hinchbrook and Saltrey, 29 Henry VIII. Ramsey, 31 Henry VIII. St. Neot's, and Huntingdon priories, 33 Henry VIII. He was gentleman of the privy chamber 34 Henry VIII. 1543; 35 Henry VIII. constable of Berkley castle, and captain of the horse sent into France under Sir John Wallop. He built the manor-house at Ramsey*.

The books in the heralds' office rather incline to make Joan wife of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, sister to this Sir Richard Cromwell. A drawing of a seal of Sir Richard Cromwell is in MS. Vincent, 125—8.

Others with Fuller† suppose, perhaps with greater probability, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell was Thomas Cromwell, Esq; sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, 28 Henry VIII. and that the tradition of the alliance with the earl of Essex arose from the descent of the protector's wife from the Bouchiers, who bore that title‡.

That there was early an intermarriage with the family of *Williams* is plain from their name being assumed by the Cromwells after the Restoration §.

Sir Richard Williams married Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Murfyn, lord mayor of London 1518, and had issue by her HENRY of Hinchbrooke, and *Francis* of Hemingford in the same county, who married Margaret daughter of Henry Manock, of the same place, and left one son Harry.

* He probably converted the monastic apartments at Ramsey into a dwelling-house : the vaults of the cloister still remain as cellars; and on an iron ring of the stable are his initials H. C.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, Cambridgehire, p. 169.

‡ There seems not the least ground for deducing this family from the Cromwells of Tattenhall in the county of Lincoln.

§ Dugdale deduces John lord Williams of Tame from the same source with Sir Richard Williams above-mentioned. Bar. II. 393.

Ralph

Henry before-mentioned was knighted 6 Eliz. 1563, and died 1603, having married Joan, daughter and at length heir of Sir Ralph Warren, lord-mayor of London, 1536*. She died at her house at Hinchinbroke, Oct. 12, 1584, and was buried the 9th of November at Alhallows in the town of Huntingdon†. Their issue were six sons, *Oliver, Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip,* and *Ralph*; and five daughters, *Joan, Elizabeth, Frances, Mary,* and *Dorothy*. Of these in their order.

Sir Henry Cromwell, was seated at Hinchinbrook in winter, and in summer at Ramsay, which his eldest son sold to colonel Titus. He had the name of the *Golden Knight* from his great liberality to the people, who, whenever he came from Hinchinbrook to Ramsay, were constantly collected in the High-street to welcome him, and receive his bounty: for he always threw money out of his coach till he reached the abbey-house behind the church. Here his nephew and godson, afterwards the protector, visited him, and plundered him of all his plate‡. Hinchinbrook descended to his son

OLIVER, who made it his summer residence for some time§, and had the honour of entertaining there king James I. 1603, who created him a knight of the Bath. His majesty at his departure said to him, "Morry mon, thou hast entertained me the "best of any man since I left Edinburgh." He afterwards sold it to Sir Sidney Montague, father of Edward first earl of Sandwich.

He

* He died possessed of the manor and rectory of Layton, in the county of Essex, 11 July, 1553, leaving Richard his eldest son, then 11 years old, seized of the same. Oliver Cromwell, Esq; of Hinchinbroke, son of the lady Joane his sister, 35 years old, lies buried in the church there. Salmon's Essex, p. 4. Morant II. 22.

† Book marked I. 10. fol. 70 Coll. Arm.

‡ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251.

§ In the bow window of the great room at Hinchinbroke were the following quarterings, destroyed within these twelve years by some officers from Huntingdon in a drunken frolic:

1. S. a lion rampant A.
2. O. a lion rampant S.

He held Efton and Newport * in Effex in right of his mother †, and fold the former, 1597, to Henry Maynard. He alfo fold Warboife, in the county of Huntingdon, to Sir John Leman, lord-mayor of London 1616 ‡, the laft of whose lineal defcendants, John Leman, efq; was buried there 1781.

Fuller fays, this Sir Oliver is remarkable to pofterity on a four-fold account. Firft, for his hospitality and prodigious entertainment of king James and his court; fecondly, for his upright dealing in bargain and fale with all chapmen, fo that no man whofoever purchafed land of him was put to the charge of three-pence to make good his title; yet he fold excellent pennyworths, inſomuch, that Sir John Lemon, once lord-mayor of London, who

3. Per pale Az. and S. three fleurs de lis counterchanged.

4. S. three ſpear heads A.

5. S. a chevron A. between three fleurs de lis A.

6. G. three chevronels A.

7. O. a chevron S. in dexter point a mullet.

8. O. a chevron engrailed between three griffins heads S.

9. S. a bend ermine between fix annulets O.

10. G. on a fefs A between three martlets A. three billets A.

11. A on a chevron engrailed S between three heath-cocks S. a mullet O.

Impaling quarterly 1. 4. G. 3 acorns ſlip O. 2. 3. A. a bull's head S. On a ſhield of pretence A. a lion rampant V. crowned O.

The former 11 quarterings impaling theſe quarterings; 1. 4. Per pale per fefs indented G and O; 2. G in a bordure engrailed A. a chevron G charged with five beſants; 3. G on a fefs S. between three fleurs de lis G. three crofs crofslets S. Creſt of this impalement a peacock; of the other a demi-lion holding a ring; and of his impalement a wing.

Theſe are replaced by the arms of the Montague family, executed by Mr. Peckitt of York.

On the outside of this window is cut in ſtone,

C

O. C.

E. A.

1602.

SVDORE NON SOPORE.

* Morant, Effex, II. 585.

† lb. II. 434.

‡ His portrait in his mayor's robes was over the door of the gallery of Nynball at Northaw, before that noble manſion of the Dudleys was pulled down by the late Mr. Leman. There were alſo ſeveral portraits of the Pheafaunt family, who were allied to the Lemans.

bought

bought the fair manor of Warboise in this county of him, affirmed, that it was the cheapest land that ever he bought, and yet the dearest that ever Sir Oliver Cromwell sold. Thirdly, for his loyalty, always beholding the usurpation and tyranny of his nephew, godson, and namesake, with hatred and contempt. Lastly, for his vivacity, who survived to be the oldest gentleman in England who was a knight, though not the oldest knight who was a gentleman. It seems Sir George Dalton, younger in years, though still alive, was knighted some days before him*.

He married two wives, Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor of England; and Anne, daughter of Housman, or Hufman widow of Sir Horace Pallavicini, knight, of Babraham in the county of Cambridge. He died 1655, aged 93, and was buried at Ramsey August 28 that year.

By the last of these ladies, to whom he was married July 7, 1607 †, he had two sons, *Oliver* and *Giles*, and two daughters, *Mary* and *Anne*.

By Elizabeth his first wife he had

Henry, born Aug. 25, 1585; died Sept. 18, 1657; buried at Ramsey.

John, baptized May 14, 1589, a colonel in Holland.

William, a colonel, carver to the queen of Bohemia, who died Feb. 23, 1665-6, at nine in the morning, and was buried at nine the next night, being the first that died of the plague.

Thomas.

Hannah, married to John Baldwin, Sept. 11, 1627.

Katharine, born May 15, 1594.

Jane, married to Tobias Pallavicini, died March 29, 1637, aged 43, and was buried at Cheping Ongar, Essex; where upon a black marble slab within the rails are the arms of Pallavicini impaling Cromwell, and this inscription ‡:

* Worthies, Huntingdon. p. 54.

† Babraham Register. Pedigree of Pallavicini. Salmon's Essex, p. 56.

‡ Essex Mon. vol. III. p. 110. in Coll. Arm. Salmon's Essex, p. 56.

"Hic jacet Jana D. Oliveri Cromwellii, Hinchinbrochienfis e fedibus Huntindonienfis Equitis Balnienfis filia, uxor Tobiaë Pallavicini armigeri ex illuftri nominis illius in agro Cantabrigienfi familia oriundi, ad quadragefimum etatis ann. et ferme tertium pertingens quod mortale fuit in illa officio vitæque functa in hoc pulvere depofuit Martii 24, annoq. Chrifti 1637."

Babraham register has this entry: "Horatio Pallavicini, the fon of Sir Toby Pallavicini and Mrs. Jane his wife, was baptized the 1st of Sept. 1611." I fuppofe to him belongs the following epitaph in Cheping Ongar church, clofe to his mother's:

"Here lies the body of that truly noble and religious gentleman Horatio Pallavicini, efq. who died May 6, 1648, aged 36*."

His younger brother Tobias was baptized at Babraham July 14, 1612, and buried November 6, the fame year.

His fifter Elizabeth was baptized there, October 20, 1618, and buried May 23, 1620.

Their youngeft brother James was baptized there Dec. 3, 1620.

These are all the entries of the Cromwell or Palavicini family in Babraham register.

Elizabeth, another daughter of Sir Oliver, was married to Sir Richard Ingoldfby, of Bucks; and buried at Buckingham, May 2, 1666 †.

Another daughter is mentioned by Salmon ‡ to have married Sir Henry Pallavicini, knt.

ROBERT, fecond fon of Sir Henry, was feated at Huntingdon, and had four fons, including the Protector, and feven daughters, of whom hereafter. By the intereft of his elder brother he was made a juftice of peace for this county, having inherited from his father the eftate in Huntingdon, valued at about £500 a year, as were alfo the eftates of his brothers at Hinchinbrook, Ramfey, and Upwood; his younger brother having the fmalleft income.

* Hift. of Effex, III. 323. 8vo.

† Effex, fol. 86.

‡ Willis's Buckingham, p. 35.

Robert married a daughter of Sir Thomas Stewart, of Rothsyth in Fifeshire*, and sister to Sir Robert Stewart of the city of Ely, knight†, who left his nephew, afterwards protector, an estate of £500 per annum in the isle of Ely, chiefly managed by his wife, he having, by his youthful extravagances, nearly dissipated his paternal fortune. She was buried in Westminster abbey‡. Perhaps the only epitaph extant upon her is preserved in the Registry at Merchant Taylors School, London, in the handwriting of Dr. Dugard.

Ἐπὶ τῆς μητέρος τῆς Ὀλβέρου Κρομγουέλλου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ὀυεσμοναστερίας κειμένης.
Μήτηρ τῆς τέκνης καταράτῃς ἐνθάδε κείται,
Ὅς δύο μὲν βασιλεῖς τῇ καὶ ὥλεσε τρεῖς βασιλείας.

i. e. In Matrem Oliveri Cromwelli in Ecclesia Westmonasteriensis sepultam.
Mater nati execrabilis hic jacet
Qui duos reges, triaque regna perdidit.

HENRY, third son of Sir Henry, was lord of the manor of Upwood, and probably built of timber the mansion-house now standing there, which was cased with brick by Mr. Phefaunt. The arms of Cromwell with impalements and quarterings were on each side of a chimney-piece in the great room§ till the house was modernized by

* Rothsyth castle is almost opposite to Hopeton house on a rock near the sea. It is supposed the family went into England with James VI. The barony of Rothsyth is now the property of the earl of Hopeton, and worth £500 per annum.

† Short view of the troubles in England. Gent. Mag. XXXIV. 208. Mrs. Cromwell's great uncle Robert Steward, last prior and first dean of Ely, deduced the pedigree printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, I. 686.

‡ Seymour's Survey of London, vol. I. p. 166.

§ Over the arms were H. M. C. (*Henry and Mary Cromwell*) 1602. The motto under the arms was *Sudore non Sepore*. The arms are a lion rampant holding a ring in his right paw, an addition given by Henry VIII. on account of Mr. Richard Williams, who at the grand jousting overthrew two foreign knights. According to the constant tradition of this place the king knighted him on the spot, gave him his ring from his finger, and said, "Henceforth you shall be my knight." The quarterings on this chimney-piece were eleven: 1. A lion rampant. 2. A lion rampant looking back. 3. Three fleurs de lis. 4. Three spear heads. 5. A chevron voided between three fleurs de lis. 6. Three chevronels. 7. A chevron, in the dexter point a mullet. 8. A chevron ingrailed between 3 griffins heads. 9. A bend

by Sir Richard Bickerton, bart. present possessor. It was sold by Henry Cromwell's nephew to Stephen Pheasant of Gray's-inn Esq; 1640, father of Peter *, chief justice of the King's Bench. The

Ermine between 6 annulets. 10. On a bend between 3 martlets 3 billets. 11. A chevron engrailed between three heath-cocks. These were in the bow window at Hinchinbrook, and some of them are thus blazoned in an achievement in the house of Mr. Far of Ramsey. 1. G. a lion rampant S. 2. G. three spear heads A. 3. Az. a chevron between three fleurs de lis G. 4. A. three chevronels G. 5. A. a lion rampant G. 6. O on a chevron G. a mullet A. A. an unicorn rampant between 8 crosses crosslets A. 8. A chevron engrailed between three griffins heads G. 9. G. a bend between six annulets O. 10. G. on a fess between three martlets A. three billets G. 11. A. on a chevron engrailed G. between three heath-cocks S. a mullet O. 12. G. a lion rampant A. Crest on a helmet, a demi lion rampant A. holding a ring O. On a shield of pretence, a dolphin naiant embowed impaling a lion rampant A. Motto as above. The two other coats on the chimney at Upwood were a fess between three squares voided, quartering a chevron between three griffins heads, and impaling a chevron charged with three roses slip between three spear heads.

Of these coats 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. make up Oliver's sign manual to a writ of summons 1653, prefixed to Milton's second Panegyric published by Peck.

* Against the north wall of Upwood chancel is this inscription for judge Pheasant, in Roman capitals on a large brass plate in a stone frame:

M. S.

Petri Pheasant modo senioris (bis folius)
justitiarum de banco; pietate erga Deum,
probitate erga homines, Christiani felicitas,
natus & moribus verè generosus, juris
scientia, equitatis conscientia, lenitate
erga bonos, severitate in malos, justitia
ad omnes judicis eximii, inconcussa denique
in patriam (etiam in periculis) constantia

propagaculi fidelis.

Necnon Mariæ (ab antiqua familia de Bruges
in com. Glocestriæ ortæ) uxoris ejus matrisque
liberorum charissimæ.

Qui post quadraginta annos conjugii & amoris
illæsi sub hoc lapide simul quiescunt,
adventum ejus expectantis qui caput est
anguli, lapis excisus e monte sine manibus.

Arms. Az. a bend indented O and Az. a chief O. single, and impaling, A. a cross S. charged with a leopard's head caboshed, O. and quartering, Az. three crescents, G. or S. a chief, Erm. Crest a Pheasant. Though no date is on this epitaph, he is entered in the register of funerals, 1682, May 20, Peter Pheasant armig. In the house are two portraits of this family on board: one represents lady Pheasant three quarters, in ruff and handkerchief, slashed sleeves, black gown, watch at right side, feather fan in left hand; from a small string round her neck hangs the pheasant, the crest of the family, her right hand is on a girl's head super-scribed *Margareta Pheasant æt. 4.* No inscription over the mother. The other picture exhibits whole lengths of a boy and girl, with red hair and in ruffs: the boy holds a whip in his right hand, under which is a small top: his left hand holds the right hand of his sister, who has a modern fan in her left. Over him *Natus 22 Maii, 1617.* Over her *Nata 7 Jan. 1615.* Between them *Silo Angliæ pict. 7 Jan.*

conveyance, dated Oct. 20, 1648, runs thus: "Sir Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, Esq; son and heir apparent to Sir Oliver, and Elizabeth his wife, and Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, son and heir apparent of the said Henry, and Anne his wife, daughter and heir of Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, deceased, son and heir apparent, in her life time, of Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, late of Upwood, Esq; deceased, brother of the said Sir Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, of the first part, and Stephen Pheasant, of Gray's-inn, Esq; of the second *."

He married Margaret daughter of Thomas Wynde, of South Wotton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq; by whom he had two sons and three daughters, of whom by and by.

According to Upwood register he had a former wife Eluzai, who died 1619, and her fourth son John James Cromwell the same year. Some make her the wife of

RICHARD, youngest son of Sir Henry Cromwell, who lived at Ramsey after the Restoration. He died and was buried at Upwood.

Sir PHILIP was the fourth son of Sir Henry, and seated at Biggins, about a mile cross the field North from Upwood †, belonging to Ramsey parish, though entirely separated and inclosed by itself, where he died and was buried Jan. 28, 1629. Not many years since a very handsome house moated round stood in the middle of it, but has been lately taken down ‡. Sir Philip was probably knighted 1603 when he met James I. as sheriff of the county §. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Townsend, justice of Chester: she was buried at Ramsey Nov. 3, 1617. Their issue were,

* In the burial register we have Sarah, wife of Stephen Pheasant, Esq; May 6, 1654, and Stephen Pheasant, Esq; May 31, 1657. These were probably buried under the chancel: but where the Cromwell family buried is totally uncertain, unless under the manor pew, where some small bones have been taken up in opening a vault for some of the present family.

† The estate at Upwood was with three others bequeathed to Lemon Hutchins, Esq; cousin to the last Mr. Pheasant, who it is believed was a Turkey merchant. Mr. Hutchins died 1738, leaving all his estates to his widow, who in 1745. remarried Vere Warner, Esq; attorney at law, who dying 1756, left Upwood to her. Mrs. Warner settled the estate 1758 on the present possessor, then a lieutenant in the royal navy, who married her niece Maria Anna Hufsey. She gave up the estate during her life, and died July 1771. The tithes of Raveley magna were given with the estate, the common fields joining.

‡ Oxford Mag.

§ Ibid.

Jane,

Jane, born March 6, 1605, married William Baker, June 2, 1621.

Henry, born Jan. 22, 1607, settled at Biggins, a mile from Ramsfey. He was a colonel in the king's service, in which he was probably killed. His wife, whose name is not known, was buried at Ramsfey.

Henry, rector of Wyftow, in the county of Huntingdon, is called Sir Philip's first son. Sir Philip himself was possessed of the manor of Wyftow 1616, now the property of Stanhope Pedley, Esq; 1784.

Philip, born Dec. 25, 1608; buried at Ramsfey, May 14, 1642. Quere, if he was not killed at Bristol fighting for the parliament.

Thomas, born Dec. 26, 1609, major and afterwards colonel in the king's army, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Woolstan Dixie, of Bosworth, in the county of Leicester, knight, and died at Dentry house, in the county of Huntingdon, soon after the king was beheaded. He was buried at Ramsfey, where he lived some time after the battle of Naseby*.

Anna, born March 5, 1611.

Oliver, born May 21, 1612. This Oliver was a colonel under his kinsman Oliver; was living about 1646, and died in Ireland. Papadopoli, in his *Historia Gymnasii Patavini*, Ven. 1726, II. p. 306, 507, having asserted that Oliver Cromwell (the Protector) was student there 1618, and that his arms were painted in the cloister there; Sir James Burroughs, in anonymous "Anecdotes of the Cromwell family, 1763," attempted, but without success, to clear up this difficulty, which our pedigree easily clears. Sir Oliver Cromwell marrying for his second wife the lady Anne, widow of Sir Horace Pallavicini, who was of Italian extraction, one of her sons by her first husband took this Oliver Cromwell, son of Sir Oliver's brother Sir Philip, when young, into Italy, and entered him at the university of Padua. He never returned into England, but died, according to report, by a fall from a tower at Rome.

* See K. 2. 134. Coll. Armor. In a book marked "Benefactors," Vol. II. Coll. Armor. he is styled son and heir of Sir William Cromwell of Hinchinbrook.

Robert,

Robert, born June 19, 1613. This Robert was hanged in London.

Elizabeth, born Dec. 11, 1614.

Mary, born Jan. 10, 1615.

Richard, born June 20, 1617. He lived till after the Restoration, when the family re-assumed the name of *Williams*, and his death was entered in Ramfay register by the name of *Richard Williams, Gent.* He had a good estate at Upwood or Ramfay, but was not lord of any manor.

March 22, 1743-4, the late rev. Mr. Cole being at the house of his friend Thomas Porter, Esq; at Hemingford Grays, in Huntingdonshire, was there shewn a folio Bible belonging to one Mrs. Elmes, of that place, in a spare leaf of which were entered the births of the children of Sir Philip and Mary Cromwell, which he transcribed, as follows :

“ 1. Joan Cromwell, born on Thursday the 6th of March, 1605, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon.—My nephew Henry Cromwell, godfather. My sister Hampden and sister Fleming, godmothers.

“ 2. Henry Cromwell, born on Friday the 22d of January, between eleven and twelve at noon, 1607.—My father Towneshend, my brother Henry Cromwell, godfathers. My sister R. Cromwell, godmother.

“ 3. Philip Cromwell, born on Christmas-day, 1608, between twelve and one at noon, being Sunday.—Sir Ant. Forest, and brother Richard Cromwell, godfather. Mrs. Anne Winde, godmother.

“ 4. Thomas Cromwell, born on St. Stephen's day, Tuesday, 1609, between ten and eleven at night.—My brother Robert, Mr. Bestney Bettes, godfathers. Mrs. Martha Knowles, godmother.

“ 5. Anna Cromwell *, born the 3d of March, being Sunday,
1610,

* In the catalogue of Harleian MSS. now in the British Museum, is a MS. book thus described by Mr. Humfrey Wanley, the learned Librarian to the earl of Oxford, the then possessor of this noble collection of MSS.

N^o 2311. “ A book in 8vo. written by the hand of a pious gentlewoman, Mrs. Anne Cromwell, who, at the beginning hath put her name in it thus; “ Anna Cromwell, 1656 : ” and lower, “ now Anna Williams, 1660.”

Mr. Wanley making some enquiries after her, received the following account from her husband’s kinsman, Henry Cromwell, esq. who died 1769.

“ Ann Cromwell, was the wife of Henry Cromwell, esq. of Ramsay, who was the son of Colonel Henry Cromwell, the son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, who were, all three, royalists : and in the year 1660, Henry Cromwell of Ramsay changed his name to Williams, being a courtier : and from thence she wrote her name Ann Williams. They died without issue, and the estate of Ramsay was sold to Colonel Titus. Sir Oliver was the head of the family. Oliver, the Protector, was a nephew of Sir Oliver. Mr. Cromwell’s father was a nephew to Sir Oliver. He (I suppose meaning himself) has seen this Mrs. Ann Williams. She was an excellent lady.”

In the front she has prefixed this title :

“ A booke of severall devotions collected from good men by the worst of sinners, Anna Cromwell, 1656, &c.

Article 16, is this,

“ Upon the translation of Upwood feast or wake from Sunday to another day, by Mr. Henry Cromwell, the third son of Sir Henry Cromwell.” p. 31.

The 20th article is,

“ My aunt Cromwell’s verses, which she made on my mother, and all our children : ” otherwise intitled, “ The Sister’s New Year’s Gift, from Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, to Mrs. Mary Price, a happy Mother of good Children.” p. 34.

These are out of measure, but well meant.

Article 23 is,

“ Verses made by Mrs. Battina Cromwell, wife to Henry Cromwell, esq. Sir Oliver Cromwell’s son.” p. 36.

This Battina was daughter to Sir Horatio Pallavicino, and mother-in-law to the pious writer of this book.

Article 24, is

“ Verses made upon the death of the aforesaid Mrs. Battina Cromwell.”

Article 45, 46, and 47, are

“ A sermon preached by Mr. Olofernes Hunt, upon the first article of the Apostles’ creed.” p. 15.

“ A sermon preached by Mr. John Robins, upon Jeremiah vi. 16.” p. 143.

“ Mr. John Robins his opinion and resolution upon his being called to take the Covenant ” p. 190. Directly against it, and proving it undeniably to be most abominably wicked and sinful.

Article

1610, between twelve and one at night.—My sifter lady Anna Cromwell, my niece Battina Cromwell, godmothers. My nephew Sir Henry Pallavicini, godfather.

“ 6. Oliver Cromwell, born the 10th of May, being Sunday, between nine and ten of the clock in the morning, 1612.—My brother Cromwell, Mr. Edmund Winde, godfathers. My niece Elizabeth Cromwell, senior, godmother.

“ 7. Robert Cromwell, born on Saturday the 19th of June, 1613, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon.—My brother Robert Cromwell, Mr. Thomas Chalner, godfathers. My niece Baker, godmother.

“ 8. Elizabeth Cromwell, born on Monday the 11th of December, between nine and ten of the clock in the morning, anno 1614.—My sifter Hampden, Mrs. Mary Bette, godmothers. My nephew Tobie Pallavicine, godfather.

“ 9. Mary Cromwell, born on Wednesday the 10th of January, 1615, between eight and nine of the clock in the morning.—

Article 68 is

“ A Sermon preached by my worthy friend Mr. Simon Gunton, upon Christmas-day, 1658, upon Matthew xi. 28.” p. 290.

(Probably the author of Peterborough Antiquities.)

It seems from the prayers on her being childless in pages 265 and 266 of this MS. that this devout and religious lady, as well as her husband, was desirous of issue: which God did not grant unto them. Who can say, that if they had had children, they would not have proved rebellious, wicked, and great afflictions? All from page 367, chiefly devotional pieces, seem to have been written by some female hand different from Mrs. Cromwell's. Thus far Mr. Wanley.

Mr. Robins here mentioned was minister of Ramfay many years, a man of considerable learning, a great royalist, and favorite of the Cromwell family, who resided there. He never would submit to the ruling powers at the time, and did not resume his function till the king's restoration, 1660. He ushers in this auspicious year in the following words, in his register: “ Anno Dom. 1660, et regis Caroli II. “ reg. 12. et in Anglia reditus sui auspiciatissimi, et mensis Maii die 29.” He was buried there near the chancel door 1675, soon after his great friend and patron Henry Williams, esq. who died in 1673. It is thus entered in the Register, “ John Robins, M. A. prebendary of Lincoln, and curate of Ramfay, was buried “ May 29, 1675.” By his successor Mr. Gibbs' account, it appears that he was ill, and not able to do duty here above a year before his death. There is a small piece of black marble worked into the wall, with this single word, “ Resurgam.”

My

My sister Elufay Cromwell, Mrs. Dorothy Goode, godmothers.
My nephew William Baker, godfather.

“ 10. Richard Cromwell, born on Friday the 20th of June, 1617.—My brother Richard Cromwell, Mr. William Crumoton, godfathers. My niece Battina Cromwell, godmother.

RALPH, a sixth son of Sir Henry Cromwell, probably died young, and was buried at Huntingdon.

Of Sir Henry's five daughters

Joan married Sir Francis Barrington, knight and baronet, and died July 3, 1628. From this lady are descended the baronet families of the Barringtons and Everards of Effex.

From his second daughter *Elizabeth*, wife of John Hampden, Esq; of Bucks, descended the Hampdens of Hampden, in the county of Bucks, and the present earl of Buckinghamshire. Her son John was the famous patriot killed in Chalgrave field 1643.

Frances was second wife of Richard Whalley, of Keston, in the county of Nottingham, Esq; father to colonel Edward Whalley, who signed the warrant for the execution of Charles I.

Mary married William Dunch, Esq; afterwards Sir William Dunch, of Little Wittenham, in the county of Berks, knight. He died Jan. 22, 1611, aged 33, and lies buried with his lady under an elegant monument in Little Wittenham-church. The epitaph may be seen in Ashmole's Berks, II. 10. and in a book marked Monumental Inscriptions, C. 12. fo. 43 and 48. Coll. Arm.

Dorothy, married Sir Thomas Fleminge, of Stoneham, in the county of Hants, knight.

Sir Oliver before-named of Hinchinbrook had issue by his first wife Elizabeth Bromley,

HENRY, born August 25, 1586, baptized the 28th of the same month, died Sept. 18, 1657, buried at Ramsay, who by his first wife Battina, daughter of Sir Horatio Pallavicini, knt. had issue

only one daughter, whose name is not recorded, and who died young.

By his second wife Lucy, daughter of Sir Edward Car, of Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln, relict of Sir Richard Dyer, of Stoughton, in the county of Huntingdon, who died Jan. 1639, and was buried at Ramsey, he had issue,

Anna, living unmarried 1650.

Carina, baptized Sept. 1, 1622, married to William Hedley, of Boughton, in the county of Huntingdon*.

Elizabeth, baptized 1626, married to Henry English, Esq; of Norfolk.

James, a colonel in Charles the First's army, died without issue.

Henry† Williams of Ramsey, bapt. Aug. 27, 1625||.

Henry married to his 3d wife Lady Elizabeth Ferrars§, who was buried Sept. 2, 1658, in Ramsey church-yard at the foot of the cross.

Henry, second son of Henry before-named, was the last of the family that lived at Ramsey, and was buried there Aug. 6, 1673. He died at Huntingdon Aug. 3, 1673, at an election, where he had put up for candidate, in opposition to the earl of Manchester, — — Apreece, Esq; of Washingley, a relation of his wife's. He was defeated in his point, and dropt down dead from his chair while drinking with his friends after the election was

* Oxford Mag.

Mr. Whiston, on enquiry at Boughton, finds the family of Hedley settled there about 120 years ago, the name frequently occurring in old writings. A person of considerable estate of his name was lately resident at Allwalton, or Allerton, near Stilton.

† Henry was a favourite name in the family out of compliment to king Henry VIII. There were seven Henry Cromwells living at one time at Ramsey and Upwood, as marked in the pedigree. In 1663 there are two Henry Cromwells, Esqrs. parties to an amicable bill in chancery for inclosing and dividing the commons of Ramsey, in the beginning of which they are thus entered: "Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, Esq; the elder," and "Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, Esq; the younger." || Huntingdon Register.

§ Mr. Pingo has it, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Smyth, widow of Sir John Tyrwhitt, 3d wife of Henry Cromwell, of Ramsey.

over. Having no issue, he sold the reversion of his estate to colonel Titus. He married Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Richard Cromwell, son of Henry uncle to the Protector. She died Jan. 10, 1687, and was buried at Ramsey, having survived her husband 14 years, and, at his death, removed to a house at the bottom of Mr. Whiston's garden, which, with all her jointure lands, is still called *Dame Williams's*. The register of Ramsey is interrupted from 1642 to 1653, when the marriage ceremony was performed by justice Pheasant of Upwood, or justice Lloyd of St. Ives. This elder branch of the family were in great measure ruined by the civil war. After Mrs. Williams's death, colonel Titus took possession of the whole estate.

Titus was author of the famous pamphlet against Oliver Cromwell, intituled, "Killing no murder," published under the name of William Allen, in which was plainly shewn, that one who had violated all laws could derive protection from no law. Cromwell got intelligence of this, and determined to destroy him. The royalists used to meet at a certain tavern in London, and Cromwell knew it. He sent a trusty officer with a party of soldiers to seize Titus and Firebrace of Suffolk. The officer ordered his men to halt at the door till he went in for information. He privately asked the master of the house whether they were there, telling him, that he came not to take away, but to save their lives. The master went with him to the room; the officer entered, but took care first to throw his red cloak over his head. His speech was very concise. "If Titus or Firebrace are in the room, let them escape for their lives this instant." He directly retired, and called in his soldiers to take them. The two gentlemen escaped out of the window, mounted their horses that night, and made the best of their way to general Monk in Scotland. With him they returned at the Restoration. They advertised this affair in all the public papers, and desired the officer to apply to them, with promise of ample reward for his kindness. But neither of them

them could ever hear of him, and Titus always supposed that Cromwell found or suspected the officer had deceived him, and therefore hanged him up in their stead. The colonel was strongly attached to the protestant religion, and brought the Exclusion Bill into the house. Part of his speech in verse on that occasion was long remembered in Ramsay.

I hear a lion in the lobby roar ;

Say, gentlemen, shall we shut the door ?

Or do you rather chuse to let him in ?

But how then shall we get him out again ?

He was a knight of the shire for this county many years ; and when he was an old man the earl of Manchester proposed his brother for a candidate, offering, in order to strengthen his interest, his sister with £10,000 in marriage to Anthony Hammond, Esq; of Somersham, who was a lively, sensible young gentleman, and called *Silver-tongued* Hammond. However he refused the earl's offer, and joined with colonel Titus to oppose the earl's brother. When the election approached it was generally believed that the earl's brother would be the first upon the poll. This induced Hammond to act a very ungenerous part by Titus. On the election morning Titus took all the votes from this side of the county, and honestly polled them for Titus and Hammond. Hammond rested his votes in the pocket of Somersham till the afternoon, when he polled them for Hammond only, by which means he secured a majority over Titus. When the colonel saw the dirty part Hammond was acting, he took his hat from the peg, and withdrew, saying to his friends, who pressed him to stay, " No-thing vexes me in the affair but to be outwitted by a boy." He was one of the wits and buffoons of Charles II's court, and constantly mimicked and ridiculed the speech, looks, and gestures, of the great lord Clarendon. Whenever he saw the minister coming to do business with the king, he cried out, " Here comes your ma-

D

" jolly's

“jefty’s schoolmaster.” Happy would it have been both for the king and the nation had he continued in so good a school many years longer. The colonel died at his other seat at Bushy, in Hertfordshire, where his family had resided early in that century. He left three daughters who were never married. The last, however, Mrs. Catharine, was lady of the manor of Ramfay many years, and left it to her man and maid servants; the latter, whose name was Smith, sold it for £37,000 to the late Coulson Fellowes, Esq; whose eldest son and heir, William Fellowes, now enjoys it.

We come now to the issue of HENRY Cromwell, of Upwood, second brother of Sir Oliver, who by his wife Margaret Wynde, had

Richard, aged 10, 1613, consequently born 1603. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Hake, of Peterborough, at St. Giles’, Cripplegate, Nov. 11, 1622, and by her had issue an only daughter and heiress Anne, married, as we have before seen, to her cousin Henry Williams, of Ramsey.

Henry Cromwell, of Upwood and Ramfay, baptized June 4, 1615. Whom he married does not appear; but he had a son *Henry*, and a daughter *Anne*, born 1621.

Elizabeth, baptized Dec. 1, 1615, married to Sir Oliver St. John, of Longthorp, in the county of Northampton, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in the Usurpation, by whom she had *Oliver* and *Elizabeth*. From the latter descended the Barnards, baronets, of Brampton in the county of Huntingdon: the wife and son of the late learned Dr. Bentley, and the late rev. Denison Cumberland, bishop of Clonfert and Killaloe, who died 1774, grandson of Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough.

Anne, baptized Mar. 11, 1617.

Mary, baptized Sept. 12, 1627.

ROBERT,

ROBERT, second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, had issue

Elizabeth, born Oct. 14, 1593.

Henry, baptized Aug. 31, 1595.

Catharine, baptized Feb. 7, 1596.

OLIVER, born April 25, 1599.

Robert, baptized Jan. 8, 1613; buried April 4, 1609.

Margaret, baptized Feb. 22, 1600; married June 20, 1617, to Valentine Walton *, by whom she had two sons successively named George; the elder baptized July 20, 1620; the younger baptized Feb. 23, 1624; and one daughter Anne, baptized May 22, 1622.

Richard.

Anne, born Jan. 2, 1602, baptized Jan. 22; married to John Desborough of Eltisly, in the county of Cambridge †, by whom she had two sons Richard and John; the latter, born April 1637.

Jane, baptized Jan. 29, 1605-6; married, first, to Roger Whetstone; secondly, to Roger Jones of Wales, one of king Charles' judges; who, at the Restoration, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Charing-cross, Oct. 7, 1660 ‡.

Robina, married, first, to Dr. Peter French, canon of Christ church, who died 1655; secondly, to John Wilkins, afterwards

* Valentine Walton was of Stoughton, co. Huntingdon. He retired to Flanders, and there died, in 1661. (London Mag. 1774.) He had a grant of the manor of Croyland, and part of that of Spalding, being parcel of the queen mother's jointure, and restored to her by parliament 1660. He was one of the regicides, and his name, spelt Wauton, is to the warrant for the king's execution.

† He died about 1680. (Herald's Coll. K. 7. f. 118.) Several of the name of Desboro, or Disborow, as it is spelt under the major general's print by Stent, (Granger, II. 45.) occur in Wicken register; where are entries of Benjamin and Ann Disbrow, and their daughter. He and his wife died the same year, 1693, and were buried there.

‡ The pedigree in the hands of Miss Cromwell marries Robert Cromwell's second daughter to Jones, and his 3d daughter to ——— Jewster.

bishop of Chester, who died 1672, leaving her surviving. Her only daughter by her first husband was married Feb. 23, 166 $\frac{3}{4}$, to Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

OLIVER was born in the most antient or back part of the priory house at Huntingdon, which had been granted to his grandfather, and was then in the occupation of his father Robert, now in that of the reverend Mr. Trollop. It has a brick casemented front, probably of the last century; but two or three rooms remain behind nearly in their original state; and part of the old walls are incorporated with the newer body. In the yard are old stone walls with arched doors and windows.

The protector's birth is thus entered in the register of St. John Baptist's church in Huntingdon. "Anno Domini 1599. Oliverus filius Roberti Cromwell gener. et Elizabeth ux. ejus natus vicefimo quinto die Aprilis, et baptifatus vicefimo nono ejusdem mensis."

He died Sept. 3, 1658, aged 59; and was buried Nov. 23, 1658. The form of his lying in state may be seen in the Appendix. The fate of his corpse after his decease is variously reported. The Thames, Naseby-field, and Westminster-abbey, are all severally assigned as its repository. Dr. Cromwell Mortimer had the mason's receipt for taking it up at the Restoration; and the *Gesta Britannorum*, at the end of Warton's *Almanack* for 1663, records the event, as does Seymour's *Survey of London*, 1735. *Gent. Mag.* 1783, p. 846. Whether Cromwell had the vanity to rank among kings in his death, no apology can be made for the mean revenge taken on his putrid carcase five years after its commitment to its peaceful mansion.

The following inscription was taken from the impression of a copper-plate, gilt, found in a leaden canister, lying on the breast of the corpse, when the grave and coffin of Oliver Cromwell was broken open by order of government, after the Restoration, in order

to

to have his body hanged at Tyburn*. Tradition says, the plate was intended to be *gold*, but changed by the knavery of the workmen. Near Oliver's tomb was found the body of his daughter Claypole, with a silver plate of her name, titles, &c. but the workmen quarrelling, this last was thrown in again. These bodies were discovered in the North transept of Westminster-abbey, near where the Duke of Newcastle's monument stands, near the steps of Henry the Seventh's tomb. The plate and canister were preserved by serjeant Norfolk, then serjeant at arms to the House of Commons, who left it to his daughter Mary, the wife of Hope Gifford, esq; at Colchester, whose daughter Mary married Sir Anthony Abdy, of Felix-hall, Essex, bart. who left it to his third wife, by whose permission Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Sec. R. S. obtained the impression in the year 1739 from the original plate, which was in 1773 in possession of the Honourable George Hobart, of Nocton, in the county of Lincoln, and shewn to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Willes †, F. A. S. March 1737-8.

Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ
Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ,
Natus 25to Aprilis, Anno 1599.
Inauguratus 16º Decembris,
1653.
Mortuus 3º Septembris,
Anno 1658º, hic situs est ‡.

* The mason's receipt, copied from the original, by Dr. C. Mortimer:

"May the 4th day, 1661. Received then in full of the worshipful Serjeant
"Norfolke, fifteen shillings, for taking up the bodies of Cromwell, and Ireton,
"and Bradshaw."

† Essex Mon. vol. III. p. 110. Coll. Arm. Universal Museum, 1763.

‡ In 1751 Dr. Mortimer shewed the Society of Antiquaries one of the original escutcheons used at Oliver's funeral, from Mr. Anstis, garter king at arms. It was painted on satin; the arms the same as on the reverse of his money, impaling S. 3 leopards passant O. spotted S. langued and ongleed G. under the imperial crown of England consisting of 2 arches and a pearl between each fleur-de-lis resting on the point.

He

He married, Aug. 22, 1620, at St. Giles's church, Criplegate *, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bourcher, of Felsted, in the county of Essex, knt.

She survived the Protector 14 years, and died Sept. 16, 1672, aged 74. Her remains were deposited in the chancel of Wicken church, next to her son Henry, where is this inscription on a blue slab:

ELIZABETHA CROMWELL, de Ely
Obiit xvi die Septembris,
Anno Christi MDCLXXII, Annoque
Ætatis LXXIII:

The following entry in Northborough register, near Peterborough, which I transcribed July 15, 1783, would insinuate that she was buried there, and accounts for the contradictory tradition of the place, that her husband and her daughter Elizabeth were buried there.

“ Elizabeth, the relict of Oliver Cromwell, sometime Protector of England, was buried Nov. 16, 1665.”

Dr. Zachary Grey lent Mr. Cole Mr. Thomas Baker's copy of a curious little book, intituled, “ The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell, the wife of the late Ufurper, truly described and represented,” printed at London, 1664, in 12mo. Before it is a neat print of Mrs. Cromwell, who appears to have been a jolly and comely woman, in a little black hood, and white handkerchief. On one side of her face is a monkey making mouths at her, and under her are these four verses:

From feigned glory and usurped throne,
And all the greatness to me falsely shewn,
And from the arts of government set free,
See how Protectress and a drudge agree?

Mr. Thomas Baker had made the following MS. note on the blank of the book, “ Liber rarus, et præterea nihil.”

* Ex MS. Register Coll. Arm. Lond.

The

The only original portrait of her is supposed to be that in the possession of the Miss Cromwells, descendants of her son Henry.

In the sale of the late Lady Frankland's effects, at Christie's, April 19, 20, 1784, was a three-quarters length portrait of her in her weeds; her arms crost, and long cadaverous puritanical countenance, and a pillar behind her.

The pedigree of Bouchier, C. 21—88. Coll. Arm. says Thomas Boucher, brother to the Protector's lady, married the widow of Henry Cromwell.

In a MS. of the Suffolk gentry during the Ufurpation, in the hands of the Rev. Sir John Cullum, bart. is this entry:

"In 1655. . . . Bouchier, esq; and . . . Bouchier, gent. brothers of Oliver Cromwell's wife, and sons of Sir James Bouchier, knt. in the parish of Whepsted, within about four miles of Bury." On searching the register of that parish, Sir John found the two following entries:

"Mr. James Bouchier buried the 15th of March, 1656."

"Mr. Henry Young and Mrs. Susan Bouchier were married the 8th of April, 1656."

The issue of the Protector and his lady were five sons and six daughters, all born and baptized at St. John's church, Huntingdon.

Robert, born Oct. 13, 1621, died young.

Oliver, baptized Feb. 6, 1622, died young of the small pox during the civil war.

RICHARD, born Oct. 4, 1626, baptized the 19th of the same month; died at Chesshunt *, in the county of Herts, July 13, or

* E. Veryard, in his Travels, p. 28. 1701. Fol. says,

"Several creditable persons of this city [Leige] assured me, that Richard Cromwell, son to the Ufurper, died here seven or eight years before my being in the place; where he lived unknown, and well supplied with money. That after his death he was discovered by his papers." This probably relates to some of the family who concealed themselves abroad.

Some particulars concerning O. Cromwell, see class O. O. 7. 32. Bibl. Coll. Johan. Cantab.

August

August 9, 1712, aged 85. He was buried at Hursley, in the county of Southampton.

He married, May 1, 1649, Dorothy, daughter and coheirefs of Richard Major, of Hursley aforefaid, esq; born 1626; she died Jan. 5, 1675, aged 49 *.

Richard had Hursley by marriage. Both the house and church were re-built by Sir William Heathcote, bart. (father of Sir Thomas) who bought the estate from Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell and Mrs. Gibson, coheireffes of Richard Cromwell. A three-quarter portrait of Oliver Cromwell hangs in the hall. Mr. Major's other daughter, who married John Dunch of Pusey, in the county of Berks, esq; had Badgely, in the county of Hants, late the property of Thomas Dummer, esq; who left it by will to his widow for her life, and afterwards to William Chamberlayne, esq; an estate of 6 or 700l. per annum. Richard Cromwell left his fortune to serjeant, afterwards lord chief baron Pengelly, who left the house at Chesshunt, in which Richard died, to his clerk, Mr. Webb; whose widow sold it to Mr. John Delamare, present possessor.

Oliver, Richard, and Henry, sons of the Protector, were educated in Felsted school, which had been founded by their aunt's husband's father, about eighty years before †.

* This estate at Hursley, the only one which the government did not seize, being settled in jointure on Richard Cromwell's wife, was sold to the late Sir William Heathcote, who, it is pretended, made a vow, that not a stone or brick of Oliver Cromwell's house should stand even in the foundations, and actually pulled it intirely down; and in part of the wall the dye of a seal was found by a workman, who brought it to him at Winchester, where he then lived. He sold it for a Roman weight, it being very rusty; but, on being cleaned, it was discovered by the inscription to be the seal of the parliament of the common-wealth of England, by which Mr. Vertue, who found it in 1741 among the medals of a Mrs. Roberts, supposed it to be the very seal which Oliver Cromwell took from the parliament. Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries in Simon's Medals by Vertue, 2nd Edit. 1780, p. 13, n.

† Lives of Illustrious Persons who died in 1712, p. 283. Morant, Essex, II. 421.

HENRY, born at Huntingdon, Jan. 20, 1627; died March 23, 1673-4, aged 47; and was buried the 25th at Wicken, in the county of Cambridge. His epitaph there on a blue slab within the rails next to his mother, is

HENRICUS CROMWELL,
de Spinney, obiit, xxiii
Die Martii Anno Christi MDCLXXIII.
Annoque ætatis xivii.

He married, 1653, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Ruffel, of Chippenham, in the county of Cambridge, bart. She died April 7, 1687, aged 52, and was buried at Wicken. Wicken register styles her, "*the good lady Cromwell, Elizabeth Cromwell.*" Her epitaph, on a white stone, is

ELIZABETHA UXOR HENRICI CROMWELL,
Obiit 7^o die Aprilis, Anno 1687,
Annoque ætatis fuæ 52.

Of their issue by and by.

Bridget, born Aug. 1, baptized at St. John's church, in Huntingdon, August 5, 1624; buried at Stoke Newington, in the county of Middlesex, Sept. 1681; married first Lieutenant General Henry Ireton, lord deputy of Ireland, who died Sept. 26, 1651. Mr. Pingo has a funeral book (called Goff's Notes) where is a sketch of his arms, and which says he was buried in Westminster-abbey in February, 1651, where he had a monument, with the effigies of himself and lady. By him she had three daughters, of whom by and by. Her second husband was Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood, lord deputy of Ireland, afterwards general of the army.

Elizabeth, baptized July 2, 1629; married John Cleypole, of Narborough, in the county of Northampton, esq; died at Hampton-Court, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, Aug. 7, 1658, with this inscription on her coffin:

E

Depositum

Depositum
 Illustrissimæ Dominæ D. Elizabethæ,
 nuper Uxoris Honoratissimi Domini
 Domini Johannis Claypoole,
 Magistri Equitis,
 nec non Filiæ secundæ
 Serenissimi et Celsissimi
 Principis,
 Oliveri, Dei Gratia,
 Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ,
 &c.
 Protectoris.
 Obiit
 apud aedes Hamptonenses
 Sexto Die Augusti,
 Anno Ætatis suæ Vicesimo octavo,
 Annoq; Domini
 1658.

This inscription was given to the earl of Oxford, May 1, 1731, by bishop Wilcox, of Westminster.

In the *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 89. Edit. 1721, it is said that she died on the 7th of August, 1658. But the date is fixed by Carrington.

This lady's body was the only one not taken up at the Restoration.

The other children of the Protector were,

James, baptized Jan. 8, 1631; buried Jan. 9, 1631.

Mary, baptized Feb. 9, 1636; died March 14, 1712-13; married Nov. 18, 1657, Thomas Viscount Fauconberg, who was created earl Fauconberg, April 9, 1691, and died Dec. 31, 1700, without issue.

Frances, married, Nov. 4, 1657, first, Robert, son of Robert Lord Rich, afterwards earl of Warwick, who died Feb. 16, 1657, s. p.; secondly, Sir John Ruffel, of Chippenham, in the county of Cambridge, bart. buried March 24, 1699. At the sale of Lady Frankland's effects beforementioned was a three-quarter portrait

portrait of her sitting, in flowing robe and hair, her right arm leaning on a table or chair. Mr. Hollis had another portrait of her, by Walker, sitting with pigeons on a table. She died Jan. 27, 1720-1, aged 84 *.

Mary, married James Chadwick, esq; died 1687.

Elizabeth, died 1681.

As many of these branches of the Protector's family figured either in their own persons, or of those of their descendants, it will be proper to enlarge a little upon them.

By the inscriptions in Hursley church †, it appears that RICHARD had two sons and seven daughters, of whom only one son and three daughters lived to maturity.

Elizabeth, born March 26, 1650; died unmarried in Bedford row, April 8, 1731, aged 81. She was buried at Hursley, where she directed the epitaphial history of her branch of the family given in the Appendix to be put up in the church. In her the elder branch of the Protector's family failed.

Anne, born March 14, died July 15, 1651.

—— a son, born in November; died December 15, 1652.

Mary, born February 28, 1653; died September 24, 1654.

Oliver, born July 11, 1656; died single May 11, 1705, aged 49, at Hursley, which his father had made over to him with Merdon farm, and where he resided. He is said to have been a man of spirit and some abilities, and was buried with his father at Hursley.

A daughter, born May 17; died May 27, 1655.

Dorothy, born September 15, 1657; died December 13, 1658.

* Pointer's Chronological Historian sub anno.

† Gent. Mag. 1777, p. 266.

Anne, born March 27, 1659; died Oct. 7, 1727, aged 69, f. p. married Thomas Gibson, M. D. physician general to the army, who died July 10, 1722, and lies buried with his wife, under a handsome marble monument with a pediment, enclosed with iron rails, in the burial ground belonging to St. George the Martyr, Queen Square, with this epitaph:

Hic jacet
 Thomas Gibson, M. D.
 Peritus simul et pius.
 Bamptoniæ in agro Westmorlandiæ natus,
 Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium Socius;
 Exercitui Regio Medicus Generalis
 Et
 Libro de Anatomia Corporum Humanorum
 Quem summo judicio conscriptum juvenis edidit
 Notus.
 Obiit 16 die Julii 1722, ætatis 75.
 Hic jacet
 Anna Gibson,
 Ricardi Cromwell Filia,
 et Thomæ Gibson, M. D. Uxor
 Prudens, pia, casta.
 Obiit VII die Decembris 1727,
 Ætatis 69.

He was uncle to Bishop Gibson, who inherited his fortune after his wife's death.

Dorothy, born August 1, 1660; married John Mortimer, esq; of Somersetshire; and died in child-bed, May 14, 1681, aged 41, leaving no living issue. Mr. Mortimer, by a second wife, daughter of Samuel Sanders, of Derbyshire, was father of Cromwell Mortimer, M. D. secretary to the Royal Society.

HENRY (second surviving son of the Protector) had issue,

Elizabeth, born at Whitehall, September 1654; died July 17, 1659; buried at Chippenham.

Oliver, born at Cork house, Dublin, April 18, 1656; died at Spinney Abbey, April 1685, aged 29; buried at Wicken close to his grandmother. His epitaph, on a white stone, is as follows:

OLIVER

OLIVER CROMWELL, filius HENRICI
CROMWELL, obiit Apr. 1685,
Annoque Ætatis suæ 29.

Henry, born in Dublin Castle, March 3, 1658; major in the army; died at Lisbon, September 11, 1711, aged 53, and was buried there. He married, May 28, 1686, Hannah, eldest daughter of Benjamin Hewling, Turkey-merchant, who died 1731; she died March 26, 1732, and was buried in Bunhill Fields; where see her epitaph *. Of their issue presently.

Elizabeth, born at Chippenham, June 3, 1660; married William Ruffel, esq; of Fordham, and died in London, 1711, with her two daughters, Frances and Jane, of the small-pox. Her youngest daughter married Mr. Day of Soham.

Mrs. Day of Fordham, in the county of Cambridge, is maternal grand-daughter of Henry Cromwell. One of her nieces married Mr. Addison, of Soham; the other Mr. Saunders.

Francis, born at Chippenham, June 7, 1663; died 1719, aged 56.

Richard, born at Spinney, Aug. 13, 1665; died at London, February 18, 1687, aged 21.

William, born at Spinney, April 29, 1667; died in the East Indies, Jan. 9, 1691, aged 24.

The issue of Bridget Cromwell and Henry Ireton were

Henry.

Bridget, who married Thomas Bendish, of Gray's Inn, and of Southtown, in the county of Suffolk, esq; descended from the ancient family of Bendish, of Bendish-hall, in Radwinter, and of Steeple Bumsted, in the county of Essex, of whom was Sir Thomas, ambassador from Charles I. to the Grand Seignior. Mr. Bendish died 1707, and has the following epitaph in Yarmouth church:

Here rests the body of
THOMAS BENDISH, of Gray's-inn, in the

county

* Her sister married Luson.

county of Middlesex, esq. descended
 from the ancient family of Sir
THOMAS BENDISH, of Essex, baronet, who
 was ambassador from king Charles
 the First to the Grand Seignior.
 ' He married Bridget, the daughter
 of Henry Ireton, of Ireton, in the
 county of Derby, esq. sometime
 lord lieutenant of Ireland.
 Obiit 27 Apr. 1707, Ætat. 61*.

She died 1727, or 1728. Her character, drawn by the Rev. Mr. Say, the Rev. Mr. John Brooke of Norwich, and Mr. Hewling Luson, was printed in Appendix to Hughes's Letters, vol. II. The first of these was reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine, XXXV. 357. 1765; and Additions to it by B. J. in Vol. XLIV. 251, 1774.

Jane, married Richard Lloyd, esq;

Elizabeth, third daughter of Henry Ireton, married Thomas Polhill, of Otford, in Kent, esq; grandfather of Charles Polhill, esq; of Chipstead, in the same county †.

A fourth daughter married Mr. John Carter, merchant, of Yarmouth, and died about 1723 ‡.

Return we now to the issue of Henry, son of Henry Cromwell, and grandson of the Protector, by Hannah Hewling.

Oliver, born at Spinney, Oct. 18, 1687, bapt. Nov. 17, 1687; died at Gray's Inn, March 31, 1703, aged 15.

Benjamin Hewling, born at Spinney, Nov. 18, 1689; died at York, Aug. 25, 1694.

Mary, born at Newington Green, April 11, 1691; died unmarried July 9, 1731, aged 41; buried in Bunhill Fields §.

Henry, born at Spinney Abbey, March 13, 1692; died there June 4, 1692 ||.

William, born in Cripplegate parish, April 24, 1693; died

* Swindon's Hist. of Yarmouth, 879. Le Neve, Mon. Ang. IV. 217.

† Thorpe's Reg. Roffense, p. 1009.

‡ Mr. Luson ubi sup.

§ Epit.

|| Epit.

July 9, 1772, aged 79, f. p. in Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden; buried in Bunhill Fields *. He married, 1750, Mary, daughter of William Sherwill, of London, merchant, and relict of Thomas Westby, esq; of Linton, in the county of Cambridge, who died November 19, 1747. After his death she lived at Bocking in Essex. In the year 1750, before her marriage with Mr. Cromwell, she, in conjunction with her sister, Mrs. Bromfale, erected and endowed ten alms-houses on Hoxton Causeway, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, for ten poor women, either widows or maidens, being protestant dissenters, of the three several denominations of Presbyterians, Independents, and Antipædobaptists; and invested the trust and government thereof in nine trustees, three out of each congregation, impowered to elect others in the room of such as may die or withdraw. These are generally known by the name of the Old Maids Alms-houses. She died at Bocking in Essex, March 4, 1752, aged 62 years. See her Epitaph in Bunhill Fields, where she lies buried.

Richard, born at Hackney, May 11, 1695, attorney, first of Clement's, afterwards of Lincoln's Inn, died at Hamstead, Dec. 3, 1759, aged 64. He was married, at Whitehall, by bishop Gibson, September 3, 1723, to Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Gatton, grocer, in Southwark, niece and one of the coheiresses of Sir Richard Thornhill †, and had by her,

Robert

* Epit.

† Sir Robert Thornhill was an eminent lawyer, and by mortgages, &c. acquired a large estate, which he left to his son Robert, and in default of his heirs, to his daughter Letitia and her heirs, directing by his will a purchase, whereby 22000l. was laid out in the purchase of the manor of Cheshunt park of the duke of Portland 1729, and 2000l. reserved for repairs. Robert married a daughter of — Smith, of Battersea, to whom he left a jointure of 1000l. per ann. clear, and 6000l. in money, and died without issue. She afterwards became second wife of Peter Hinde, esq; brewer, in Leather-lane, who lived and died at Theobalds. Sir Robert had another daughter Frances, to whom he left a considerable annuity: she died single before her sister Letitia, who also died single, in Red-Lion-square, April 1759, possessed of Cheshunt-park, one moiety of which manor, on her death, devolved

devolved to Robert Cromwell, in right of his mother, daughter of Sir Robert Thornhill's elder sister, and on his death to his sisters; the other moiety to his cousin Richard Hinde, eldest son of his mother's sister Eleanor, by Peter Hinde, esq; of Turner's-hill, Cheshunt, nephew to Peter Hinde aforesaid, and on his untimely death, 1760, being drowned as he was watering his mule on Galley-wood common, past, by marriage of his widow, to . . . Moreland, esq. who now enjoys it in jointure; and after whose death it reverts to the representative of the other sister.

Of Sir Robert Thornhill's two sisters, the eldest married Sir Bartholomew Gracedieu, knt. the other, Eleanor, Ebenezer Gatton.

On a black slab on an altar tomb of stone on the south side of Bunhill-fields burying-ground is this inscription :

This monument was erected by
 Mr. Richard Cromwell, to the memory of
 Mrs. Eleanor Gatton, widdow, his mother
 in law, who died 27th day of Sept. 1727,
 In the 60th year of her age.
 Eleanor Cromwell, his third daughter,
 Who died 24th day of Feb. 1727, aged two months;
 Mrs. Mary Cromwell, spinster, his sister,
 who died 9th day of July, 1731, in the
 41st year of her age;
 Mrs. Hannah Cromwell, his mother,
 who died 26th day of March, 1732,
 In the 70th year of her age;
 Henry Cromwell, esq. his father,
 who was major in the army, died at
 Lisbon, 11th day of Sept. 1711, aged 53, and
 was buried there.
 Here lies the body of
 Mrs. Eleanor Gracedieu, spinster,
 Daughter of
 Sir Bartholomew Gracedieu, knt.
 who departed this life on the 26th
 Day of February, Anno Domini 1737,
 In the 53d year of her age.
 On the north side of the tomb :
 Here rests the body of Mrs. Mary Cromwell, the beloved
 wife of William Cromwell, esq. and daughter
 of Mr. William Sherwill, late of London, merchant, who died
 at Bocking, in Essex, the 4th of March, 1752, aged 62 years.
 On the south side :
 Here lies the body of William Cromwell, esq.
 (Husband of Mrs. Mary Cromwell,
 mentioned on the other side this monument).
 He died the 9th of July, 1772, aged 79 years.

Robert,

Robert, died February 17, 1762, f. p. at Cheshunt.

Oliver, died very young.

Elizabeth, *Ann*, *Letitia*, and *Eleanor*; of whom *Eleanor* died February 24, 1727, aged 2 months. and was buried in Bunhill-fields; as was her sister *Ann*, who died unmarried at Little Berkhamstead, 1777; the other two are now living (1784) in their late father's house at Hampstead, unmarried.

The other children of Henry Cromwell and Hannah Helling were,

Hannah, born at Hackney January 10, 1697, married. — *Cressy*.

Henry, born May 16, 1698; died January 4, 1769, single. He had a place in the Excise Office.

Thomas, born at Hackney, Aug. 19, 1699, grocer; died in Bridgewater-square, Oct. 2, 1748, aged 49; married, 1st, *Frances*, daughter of John Tidman, by whom he had, *Henry*, who died 1771, *Thomas*; *Elizabeth*; and *Anne*, living 1784, at Stoke Newington, Middlesex, married at Edmonton Oct. 1, 1753, to John Field, apothecary, in Newgate-street, descended from a family of that name who resided for several generations at Cockenhoe, in the county of Herts. Their issue is a son *Henry*, born 1755, partner with his father, married, Sept. 2, 1748, to Miss Baron; *John*, born Aug. 15, 1760, and died Jan. 31, 1762; *Oliver*, born Dec. 6, 1761; *John*, born Oct. 1, 1764; *William*, born Jan. 10, 1768; *Thomas*, born Oct. 30, 1770, and died Jan. 24, 1771; another son, born Dec. 21, 1773, died the next day; *Anne*; *Elizabeth*, who died unmarried at Stoke Newington, Dec. 9, 1781, aged 23, and was buried at Cheshunt; *Sophia*; *Mary*; and *Letitia*.

Thomas Cromwell married, 2dly, *Mary*, daughter of Nicholas Skinner, of London, merchant, by whom he had,

Elizabeth, who died single.

F

Thomas,

Thomas, apprentice to the late Mr. Buttal, ironmonger; went a lieutenant in the Company's service to the East Indies; and died there single.

Richard and *Hannab* both died young.

Oliver, attorney, in Effex-street, Strand, clerk to St. Thomas's hospital; married, August 8, 1771, Mary, daughter of Morgan Morfe, attorney, by whom he has a daughter named *Elizabeth Oliveria*, and a son *Oliver*, born September 24, 1782, in Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street.

Susannab, living 1783, with her mother in Hatton-garden.

Oliver, the youngest son of Henry Cromwell and Hannah Hewling, was born in Gray's Inn, Sept. 23, 1704. He was an ensign in the army, but retired, and died single in August, 1748.

A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

R A M S A Y R E G I S T E R.

Sir OLIVER CROMWELL.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1627 Hannah Cromwell, married John Baldwin. | 1622 Carlina, baptized Sept. 1. |
| 1629 Sir Philip, baptized Jan. 28. | 1623 Pembroke, born Nov. 21. |
| 1607 Henry, baptized | 1625 Henry, baptized June 22. |
| 1617 Mary, buried Nov. 3. | 1626 Elizabeth, baptized Sept. 6. |
| 1608 Philip, baptized Dec. 25. | 1627 Mary, baptized Sept. 12. |
| 1609 Thomas, baptized Jan. 4. | 1627 Elizabeth, buried Nov. 11. |
| 1611 Anne, baptized March 5. | 1628 Mary, baptized Sept. 25. |
| 1612 Oliver, baptized May 21. | |
| 1613 Robert, baptized June 29. | Ministers. |
| 1614 Elizabeth, Dec. 21. | —— Sampson. |
| 1615 Mary, baptized Jan. 18. | George Sterk. |
| | William Harvey, 1620. |

- 1629 { Mrs. Mary Cromwell, buried Jan. 12.
 Sir Philip, buried Jan. 28.
- 1642 Henry Cromwell, esq; and Lady Elizabeth Feres [*Ferars*] married May 4.
- 1655 Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, aged about 93, buried Aug. 28.
- 1657 Henry Cromwell, died Sept. 18, buried in the chancel Sept. 19.
- 1658 Lady Ferrers, buried Sept. 2, at the foot of the cross in the church yard.
- 1665 Col. William Cromwell, younger son of Sir Oliver, died Feb. 23, at nine in the morning, and buried Feb. 24, at nine at night.
- 1673 Henry Williams, esq; died at Huntingdon, Aug. 3, buried the 6th at Ramsay.
- 1687 Mary Anna Williams, buried Jan. 10.

N° II. From the Register of St. John Baptist's Church, Huntingdon.

Henrie, the sonne of Oliver Cromwell, esq; borne the xxvth day of August, and baptized the xxviiith, Anno supradict. [1585.]

John, the sonne of Oliver Cromwell, esq; and Elizabeth his wife, baptized 14 May, 1589.

Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Cromwell, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, baptized Oct. 14, 1593.

Katherine, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, esq; and Elizabeth his wife, baptized 15 May, 1594.

Henry, son of Robert Cromwell, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, baptized 31 Aug. 1595.

Katharine, daughter of Robert Cromwell, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, baptized Feb. 1, 1596.

Anno Domini 1599.

Oliverius, filius Roberti Cromwell, gener. & Elizabeth. ux. ejus natus vicefimo quinto die Aprilis, & baptisatus vicefimo nono ejusdem mensis.

Margaret, daughter of Robert Cromwell, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, baptized 22 Feb. 1600.

Anna, the daughter of Robert Cromwell, gent. and Elizabeth his wife, born 2 Jan. and baptized the 16th of the same month, 1602.

Jane, daughter of Robert Cromwell, esq; and Elizabeth his wife, baptized 29 Jan. 1605.

Robert, son of Robert Cromwell, esq; and Elizabeth his wife, baptized Jan. 13, 1608.

Robert Cromwell was buried 4 April, 1609.

Mr. William Baker and Mrs. Joan Cromwell, married 7 June, 1611.

Mr. Valentine Walton and Mrs. Margaret Cromwell, married 20 June, 1617.

George, son of Valentine Walton, gent. baptized 20 July, 1620.

Robert, son of Oliver Cromwell, esq; baptized Oct. 13, 1621.

Anna, daughter of Valentine Walton, gent. baptized 22 May, 1622.

Oliver, son of Oliver Cromwell, gent. baptized 6 Feb. 1622.

Bridget, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, esq; baptized Aug. 5, 1624.

George, son of Valentine Walton, born 23 Feb. and baptized 10 March, 1624.

Richard, son of Mr. Oliver Cromwell, born 4 Oct. and baptized 12 Oct. 1626.

Henry, son of Oliver Cromwell, esq; born 20 Jan. baptized 29, 1627.

Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, esq; baptized 2 July, 1629.

James, son of Oliver Cromwell, esq; baptixed Jan. 8, 1631.

James, son of Oliver Cromwell, esq; buried Jan. 9, 1631.

Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, gent. baptized Feb. 9, 1636.

John, son of John Desborough, baptized 27 April, 1637.

John Tomlinson, minister of St. John the Baptist, in Huntingdon, died 19 Feb. 1641, and buried 21 Feb.

Damam, daughter of John Tomlinson, parson of St. John the Baptist, born 13, and baptized 26 April, 1630.

The Queen of Scots' corpe brought into this church [All Saints] Feb. 6, 1612.

N° III.

UPWOOD REGISTERS.

The Baptisms begin 1558.

Fortunatus Sanders, minister.

- 1597 Nov. 6, Robert Elyott, filius Cromwelli, baptized.
 1615 June 4, Henry Cromwell, son of Henry Cromwell, armiger.
 1616 Dec. 12, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Cromwell, armiger.
 1617 March 11, Anna Cromwell, daughter of Henry Cromwell, armiger.
 1621 April 22, Anna Cromwell, daughter of Mr. Henry Cromwell, esquire.
 1623 August 28, Anna, daughter of Richard Cromwell, gent.
 Christopher Ryley, minister.
 1625 July 28, Henricus Cromwell, son of Richard Cromwell.

Ministers. { Henry Evan, 1566.
 William Harby, 1633.
 John Young, 1654-5.
 John Pearson, 1684.
 John Hobnell, 1685.

- 1654 Susan } Phefaunt, daughters of Stephen Phefaunt.
 1655 Sarah }

- 1695 April 18, Sarah, fil. Cromwell Allen, baptized.
 Nathaniel Coddington, minister.
 March 1558 conjugati fuere.

Ministers { Robert Leeke, 1609.
 Richard Ruffel, 1630.
 William Harby, 1631.
 Henry Evans, 1566.

Burials.

- 1619 Nov. 29, Elufai Cromwell, the wife of Henry Cromwell, esq; of Upwood.
 1625 Dec. 16, Henric Cromwell, son of Richard Cromwell, gent.
 1626 May 1, Richard Cromwell, gent. the son of Mr. Henry Cromwell.
 1628 Oct. 29, Richard Cromwell, gent.
 1630 Oct. 29, Henry Cromwell, esq;
 1652 June 21, Mary, the wife of Judge Phefaunt.
 Oct. 16, Anne, daughter of Stephen Phefaunt, esq;
 1653 July 2, Sarah, daughter of Stephen Phefaunt, esq;
 1654 May 6, Sarah Phefaunt, wife of Stephen Phefaunt, esq;
 1657 May 31, Stephen Phefaunt, esq;
 1684 May 20, Peter Phefaunt, arminger, the judge.

WICKEN REGISTER.

The first began 1565; the second 1667.

Peter Jarvis, buried 1669, } Churchwardens.
Richard Joflinge,

Richard, son of Mr. Henry Cromwell and Elizabeth his wife, baptized Sept. 1, 1665.

William, son of Henry Cromwell, and Elizabeth his wife, baptized May 20, 1667.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, buried Sept. 18, 1672.

Mary, daughter of the Right Honourable the Earl of Thomond, and Sarah, his countess, buried 20 May, 1673.

Henry * Cromwell, esq; buried March 25, 1674.

Mary, daughter of Benjamin Desborow, and Anne his wife, 26 Dec. 1679.

Alice Desborow, widow, buried Nov. 8, 1680.

Oliver Cromwell, esq; buried April 10, 1685.

James, son of Benjamin and Anne Desborow, Oct. 25, 1684.

The good Lady Cromwell, Elizabeth Cromwell, buried April 11, 1687.

Oliver, son of Henry Cromwell, esq; and Hannah his wife, baptized Nov. 17, 1687.

Benjamin, son of Benjamin and Anne Desborow, baptized August 4, 1688.

Benjamin Hewling Cromwell, son of Henry and Hannah, baptized Nov. 23, 1689.

James, son of Benjamin and Anne Desborow, buried Dec. 8, 1690.

Henry, son of Henry and Hannah Cromwell, buried June 9, 1692.

Anne, wife of Benjamin Desborow, buried May 20, 1693.

Benjamin Desborow, buried Oct. 19, 1693.

1673	Brief for the town of Wem, in the county of Salop.	£	0	8	8
1683	Columpton, in the county of Devon.	o	3	4	
1683	Wapping, Whitechapel	—	1	1	9
	St. Katherine near the Tower		0	2	0½

“ Well near the stone wall next the house wherein John Ceater the blacksmith now dwelleth, 1677, is common to the town of Wicken, and the grounds to the said well, and is indictable to any to hinder or take it in. THOMAS CELLYN, gent.

“ Further, the said well is in the lord’s parchment roll, about the abutall of the lands belonging to Wicken manor. THOMAS CELLYN, gent.”

In the church, beside the Cromwell epitaphs already mentioned, is this on an altar-tomb, with a grey slab, under a surbass arch, in the wall of the south aisle, under a lady with a dog at her feet, and 4 shields gone.

*Hic jacet Margareta que fuit uxor Johis
Pepton milit' que obiit v die mens. Junii
Ao Dni M° cccc° xliii. cui' aie spiciet' d's. Amen.*

* Over him is written, *buried Henry Cromwell, esq; Mart. erased, and followed by 1674.*

The living is a curacy, in the gift of Mr. Steers, who is also vicar of Isleham, the patron whereof is the bishop of Rochester.

Curate, Mr. Thomas Jones from 1781.

Benefactions to Wicken.

William Jarvis left to the poor 10s. per annum, which was lost 11 years, and recovered 1699 by his majesty's commissioners authorized and appointed thereunto. Register.

Miss Talbot gave £10.

John Layton £10. which purchased two acres of land at Burwell, the yearly rent of which is given to the poor.

Christopher Jarvis £5. The interest distributed yearly by bond of William Jarvis.

£5. in the hands of Robert Grimer, by an unknown person, for repairs of the church.

The earl of Besborough holds a court leet and court baron every year, May 7.

The estate of Spinney came in partition between the late Marquis of Granby and Lord Aylesford, who married the daughter of the Duke of Somerset. It past from Cromwell to Ruffel and Lord Sondes, who sold it to the Duke. The old house, with a long front, pulled down 1775, had a chapel with pillars. Bodies in wood and stone coffins were dug up, the bones turned out, and the coffins converted into hog-troughs. Some coins, not well preserved, were also found. The farm is let to Mr. Martin.

N^o V.

CHIPPENHAM.

The Register begins 1559.

Baptisms.

- 1635 William, son of Mr. Francis Ruffel and Katherine, May 3.
- 1636 Sarah, daughter of Francis Ruffel, May 14.
- 1637 Richard, son of Samuel Ruffel, Feb. 24.
- 1639 Anne, daughter of Samuel Ruffel, Dec. 15.
- 1640 John, son of Francis and Catharine, Oct. 6.
- 1641 Catharine, daughter of Francis and Catharine, Dec. 23.
- 1643 Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth, Sept. 26.
- 1644 Robert, son of Francis and Katherine, Oct. 21.
- 1645 Gerrard, son of Francis and Katherine, Jan. 2.
- Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth, Dec. 27.
- 1647 Killophet, son of Francis and Catharine, April 21; buried April 16, 1650.
- 1648 Frances, daughter of Francis and Catharine, 18 Nov.
- 1654 Edward, son of Francis and Catharine, Oct. 12.
- 1665 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John and Francis Ruffell, Nov. 14.
- 1670 John, younger son of Sir John and Lady Frances, born in London after his father's death, Nov.
- 1684 Robert, son of Mr. Robert and Bridget, June 22.

Another mural monument.

H. S. E.

Hannah filia natu. major Talbot
Pepys de Impington in com.
Cantab. armigeri, uxor charis-
sima Samuelis Knight, S. T. P.
canonici Eliensis, hujus
ecclesie nuper vicarii, &
prænobilis Edwardi comitis de
Oxford a sacris, copula (felici
ac fragili) primum nempe
infantulum enixa tabe correpta
obiit Aprilis die XIV^o 1719,
ætatis suæ 39.

Arms: In a border ingrailed S. paly of 7 A. and G. on a canton G. a spur O. impaling S. on a bend O. 3 fleurs de lis, S. between 2 wolves heads A.

A slab for Samuel Barker, vicar, 19 June, 1707. 52.

Against the south wall of the south aisle, a painting on board of a lady kneeling to a desk in a point handkerchief and ruffles, close cap, and red girdle. The inscription gone, except

“ yee that use to see the dead.”

At the west end of the south aisle on a slab,

“ CLEMENT TOOKIE, L. LD. prebendary of Ely, rector of Worlington, and
“ vicar here, died June 27, 1748. 70. His wife Anne, March 12, 1754. 66.”

Arms: 3 taus impaling on a chevron 3 roses between 3 guns: crest, a demi horse rampant collared.

On lozenges round against the wall inscriptions for
Jane, 1728, infant.

Henry, 1727, infant.

Effex, 1726, infant.

Mrs. Mercy Haver, 1739.

Robert Tookie, 1730.

Samuel, 1732.

Anne, 1735.

Agatha, 1739.

Mrs. Mary Hopkins, 1766.

On a slab in the middle aisle.

Redeme in time while time thou have,

With almesdeeds and godly life,

As did two which lie here in grave,

John Harlet and Agnes his wife:

Which John in joy yields up the breath,

Since Christ was borne to make the acounte,

A thousand yeres and five hundredth

With fystie four fullie to amounte.

G .

After

After that his wife
 Chasse to remayne had much delight,
 But eight years past wel nigh and gone,
 To nature then she paid her right.

O mortal man bear well in mind
 The dreadful day which then must [pass]
 In space sum grace thereby to find
 E'er thou in dethe do crie alas.

*Quis situs est hic quaeris fuit hic corpora bina
 Quondam concordi con sociata thoro
 Pempe viri fuit hoc sed clare conjugis illud
 Atrisque en dignum pro pietate locum
 Mortua sub recubant nunc corpora busto
 Divinas animas sed paradisus habet.*

Benefactions.

- 1582 Sir Thomas Revet left £2. 13s. a year by the Mercers' company, for a dozen
 of bread to 12 poor people every Sunday.
 1597 James Scot, 40s.
 1607 Martin Howton, 50s.
 1606 William Maynard, 10s.
 1630 John Taylor, 10s.
 1632 William Rowning, 20s.
 1 Nicholas Chesilwright, £6.
 1639 Thomas Scot, £5.
 Unknown £20. 18s.
 1679 Thomas Delamare and John Francis 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres arable, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre meadow rent.
 1714 Edward Ruffel earl of Orford, in his life time, gave a silver cup and pat-
 ten, built the school seats in the church, erected the free school, and
 left £20. per annum to the schoolmaster, and £10. to poor house-keepers.

The school is a handsome brick building, slated, with a hall and school room,
 and on the pediment the arms of the founder.

The mansion house, built by the noble founder in a flat open country, is
 very spacious, and had a range of offices suitable to it. The riding house, &c.
 has been pulled down by the present proprietor, who put up the whole estate to
 sale, June, 1784, but was not so fortunate as to meet with a purchaser.

Among the pictures were the following:

A man, three quarter length, in a flowing garment; and behind him a battle
 and a cannonade.

Aboul Guabad, æt. 42, 1600. An Arab prince in a black cloak, linen vest,
 and red petticoat and shoes. with a sabre.

In the gallery :

A Turkish or Persian town and fortification.

A fair lady in black, with laced ruffles and handkerchief.

A lady with red hair and pearls, in red night gown, left arm leaning on casket, with a roll of silver lace and flowers by it.

A lady in black and lace, right hand on a scull, in left bay leaves, pearls in hair.

A man in laced slashed sleeves, and hair, blue garter and cross.

A lady in black and lace, pearls in hair, arms crossed, flower in left hand.

A lady three-quarters, in black ruff, and laced ruffles, with a book : on board.

A naval officer in armour.

Over library chimney, three-quarter length of the Right Honourable James Hayes, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, in gold barred sleeves, armour, buff, short flowing brown hair, in his right hand a truncheon, left hand on helmet and gauntlets.

A book case had E. R. under a great anchor, and escallops at the corners.

On the stair case, let into the wainscot, four whole length portraits of

Sir William Ruffel of Chippenham, in a laced black gown, ruff, picked band, his right hand on papers, in his left gloves.

Lady Ruffel, in worked apron, petticoat, and sleeves, black robe, ruff, in her right hand white gloves, and her left on an armed chair with a book.

A man in whiskers and hair, falling band, short coat, his right hand on his side, his left holds a letter.

A lady in red, laced apron and handkerchief and ruffles, round cuffs, love lock, ear-rings, standing ruff, pearl necklace, her right hand on a chair.

Over a chamber door a whole length of *Sir Francis Drake*, in diapered armour, white hose, breeches, and shoes, and sash, leaning his left hand on a laced carpet on a table, whereon is a helmet.

Two rooms hung with tapestry by *Stephen Demay*, the subject Turkish or Persian, and St. George's cross on it.

At the foot of the great staircase, a whole length of a young king in robes powdered, with fleurs de lis, and the cross of , holding out a laurel crown.

In the hall, whole lengths of Major General *Ireton*, *Oliver Cromwell*, Cardinal *Mazarine*, Admiral *Popham*, Major General *Lambert* ; and of the kings and queens from Edward VI. to George I. 23 in number, ascribed to Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller.

Two lads in shooting dresses, with gun, setting poles, and dog.

The staircase was fitted up with sea-pieces, fortifications and landscapes, the various scenes of Admiral Ruffel's actions.

Over the doors of the dining parlour, an old Hungarian Doctor from life, 1722 ; inscription in High Dutch, "*Petratsch Jortan*, a peasant at a village called *Kewarctch*, in the bannat of *Temfwar*, in the 185th year of his age. He died Jan. 3, 1723. His youngest son living aged 97."

Another picture of his son *John*, and *Sarak* his wife ; " he in the 172d year of his age, and she in the 164th. They have been married 147 years ; have two sons and two daughters, all living ; the youngest son 116." Dated Aug. 25, 1725.

N^o VI.

BABRAHAM.

Babraham-house was probably purchased by Sir Horace Palavicini of the Taylor family: for on one of the fronts were the initials R. T. for Robert Taylor; 1576. The constant tradition about Sir Horace at this place, is, that he was collector of the Pope's dues in England in Queen Mary's time; and on her death, and her sister's accession, took the opportunity of detaining the money, and staying in a country where, at that time, such a piece of dishonesty would not be looked upon in the light it deserved, or would be at least protected. The Palavicini family were all baptized and buried at Babraham, as appears by the following entries in the registers.

Toby, son of Sir Horatio Palavicini, born 20th May, and baptized the same day, 1593.

Baptina, daughter of Sir Horace Palavicini, baptized 22d September, 1594.

Horace Palavicini, son of Toby Palavicini, and Jane his wife, baptized 1st September, 1611.

Tobias, son of Toby Palavicini, baptized July 14, 1612.

James, son of Toby Palavicini, baptized 3d December, 1620.

Sir Horace Palavicini, died 6th July, 1600. His body was buried the 17th, and his funeral kept August 4, 1600.

Tobias Palavicini, buried 19th November, 1612.

Elizabeth, daughter of Toby Palavicini, buried the 23d May, 1620.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell, and the lady Anne Palavicini, married July 7th, 1601.

By the 1st entry it appears that Sir Horace's widow paid him the compliment not to marry again till a full year after the death of her husband; but one cannot help observing, that it was the very first day after the year was complete.

The following epitaph upon Sir Horace is remarkable for the oddity of it, and confirms what is said before of him, concerning his honesty and integrity:

Here lyes Horatio Palavazene,
Who robb'd the Pope to lend the Queene.
Hee was a Thiefe. A Thiefe! Thow lyeft.
For whie? Hee robb'd but Antichrist.
Him Death with besome swept from Babram
Into the bosome ofould Abraham:
But then came Hercules with his clubb,
And struck him down to Belzebub.

If we had not the aforefaid authorities from the Registers and this epitaph, for Sir Horace's living in Cambridgeshire, we were sufficiently informed of that circumstance, by that very ridiculous fellow, Tom Coryat, who tells us, p. 255. 259. of his Crudities, that he met at Mezolt one John Curtabatus of Chiavenna, who spoke pretty good English, having served Sir Horace Palavicini many years in Cambridgeshire. How long before 1593 Sir Horace settled himself at Baberham, I know not; but suppose only for a short time. That he was in some repute at court

court in 1596, is evident, I think, from Lord Arundel of Wardour, as he was afterwards created, referring his case (on his accepting the title of Count of the empire, for which he was put into confinement by the queen) to him among others, in these words, in his letter to one of the principal lords of queen Elizabeth's court *, "Neither doe I thinke England to be so unfurnished of experienced men, but that either Horatio Pallavicino, Sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Dyer, or some other, can witness a truth therein." That he was knighted before 1589, appears from a copy of verses addressed to him on that occasion, by Thomas Newton, in his *Illustrum aliquot Anglorum Encomia*, printed that year, and republished in the 2d edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, 1770, Vol. V. p. 174. In the *Acta Regia*, p. 504, it appears, that he was employed by the queen the year following, viz. 1590, to William Landgrave of Hesse; and at p. 508 of the same Collections, is "A patent for the veneration of Horace Palavicini, a Genoese, dated Nov. 2, 1586, at Westminster. The king makes denizens, and the parliament naturalizes. Horace Palavicini was employed by the queen in her Negotiations with the German princes."

The arms of Palavicini are thus blazoned according to father Menestrier: *Cinque Ports d'Or équipollez à quatre d'Azur, au Chef d'Or chargé d'une Estacade alaisée de Sable.*

The Palavicinis are still a Genoese family †. Sir Horace owned another estate two miles from Babraham, at Little Shelford, where he built a house in the Italian style, with a large piazza, or gallery, with pillars in the front of the second story, which was taken down, and a new one erected in the same delightful situation, on the banks of a pretty trout-stream, by Mr. William Finch, an opulent ironmonger of Cambridge, who purchased the estate.

The manor of Babraham came from the Pallavicinis between ——— Delamotte, a merchant, and the Benets. The latter's moiety was purchased by ——— Mitchell of Alexander Benet, who retired to Ongar in Essex, whither he carried the family pictures. Mitchell sold the estate and old mansion to ——— Jones, esq; M. P. for Huntingdon, who sold the house to one Austin, a carpenter, at Fulborn, for the materials, to be pulled down, which was done about twenty years ago. Austin sold the best chimney-piece in the hall, adorned with the history of Mutius Scævola and his arms, valued at £500. to a gentleman at Norfolk. Mr. Jones, died 1779, having built the present house at the extremity of the grounds, which were disparked and converted into fields; but the walls of the garden remain. It had a large aviary. The estate belongs at present to Colonel Adean, M. P. who married Mr. Jones's daughter and heir, by whom he has one son.

The following church notes were taken in 1783.

In the south aisle over a high raised family vault of the Benets are two figures, large as life, of white marble, of the two brothers commemorated in the following inscription:.

* Printed in Peck's *Desiderata curiosa*, vol. II. p. 52. Lib. 7.

† Reidesel, p. 13.

“ Here lie buried RICHARD and THOMAS BENET, two brothers, and both of
 “ them baronets. They lived together, and were brought up together at schoole,
 “ at the univerfity, and at inns of court : They married two fifters, the daughters
 “ and heirs of Levinus Munck, efq;

“ Sir Richard } died { 63.
 “ Sir Thomas } { 76.”

Arms : three demi lions rampant, impaling a bend, in chief 3 crofs crofslets
 fitché.

In a crown between them :

“ Hæce

Fratrum effigies

Levinus utriusque heres

Pietatis ergo

Posuit.

On a flab without the rails on the North fide :

“ H. S. E.

GULIELMUS COLE, gen.

Ashdoniæ com. Effexiæ

natus

fed hic vivere hic mori voluit.

Vir certe fuit

non tam ingenii fortuna

quam modicæ ufû celebrandus,

Nemine fane notus cui non itidem amandus

Charitate & humanitate potiffimum claruit ;

Nunc quidem primum quod mortuus fit

Pauperibus vicinifque fuis dolendi caufa.

In liberos

Paterni amoris pietatifque

exemplar haud vulgare

vivus dedit

moriens reliquit

Ob. xi. Jan. A. D. 1733. Æt. 63.

Haeres Gulielmus Cole aula de Clare Cantab.

hoc pietatis erga patrem monumentum

posuit

Μακάριοι οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ κοιμῶντες.

This gentleman was tenant under the Benets, who owned the estate for many generations, and lived in the farm-house contiguous to the part of the offices. He was father of the Rev. William Cole, of Milton, the great antiquarian collector, who died Dec. 16, 1782, aged 68, and bequeathed all his MS. volumes, amounting to upwards of 100, to the British Museum, not to be opened for 20 years from the time of his decease.

M. P. Q. S.

Ex

Suffolciæ ortus comitatu

THOMAS FELTHAM

vir probus, generosus, sciens,

amicisque fidelis,

bonis,

malis,

adjutor, obstes,

ubique colendus

bene vivens, moriensque

filios tres totidemque natas

superstites relinuens

x^o Martii scil. anno 1631,

sed militiæ suæ 61,

per natu filium minorem

hic

in vitam beatam

ad refurgendum

positus.

Arms: 2 bars Erm in chief 3 Lions rampant.

Before the steps the brassless figure of a priest.

N° VII.

The following Letter, sent to the Editors of the Oxford Magazine, May, 1769, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Whiston, of Ramfey, states the earlier branches of the Cromwell family.

GENTLEMEN,

I promised in my last to give you some private memoirs of the *Cromwell Family*; and since you are so obliging to think it will be acceptable to your readers, shall now perform it. I shall endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid making the same observations as have already been done by the writers of those times.

The first of this family who was either known to, or had any connection with, the county of Huntingdon, was Mr. Richard Williams, a gentleman of Welch extraction, who changed his name to Cromwell, upon account of his marriage into Lord Cromwell's family. He was a man in high repute for his bravery and valour, and a great favourite with King Henry the Eighth. At a grand tournament held at London, about the year 1539, to which all foreigners of bravery, and expertness in arms, were invited from different parts of Europe, Mr. Richard Williams defeated two of the bravest foreign champions. The king was so highly pleased with it, that he knighted him upon the spot, gave him his own ring from his finger, and said, "Henceforth you shall be called *my knight*." The memory of this transaction; so much to his honour, is still preserved in the arms of the family, where

where you may see the lion holding up a ring in his right paw. All the lands belonging to Ramsey-Abbey, in the county of Huntingdon, were granted by the same prince to this gentleman. You are sensible that the monks endeavoured, before the dissolution, to conceal the real value of their estates, and it would take up too much room to reckon up all the several estates, manors, fee-farm rents, &c. this gentleman became intitled to in this county.

His son, Sir Henry Cromwell, who had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by the same prince, by this grant became possessed of a very large estate, and must in consequence be one of the first rank in the county. It is very possible his father might first lay the foundation and begin to build the present manor house at Ramsey from the materials of the ruined Abbey; but, certain I am that his son, Sir Henry, had the greatest share in this work, and finished it. The pictures of him and his lady are still to be seen, in painted glass, in the large bow-window, on the south-front of the house. He was called, upon account of his great wealth, munificence, and hospitality, *The Golden Knight*. He spent the principal part of the summer in the manor house at Ramsey, and the winter at Hinchinbrook, the seat of the present Earl of Sandwich. His uncommon liberality is still talked of here among the old people, by tradition from their ancestors, and his throwing money out of his coach among the populace as he passed along the streets of Ramsey. He was named Henry in compliment to King Henry the Eighth, from whom his father had received so ample a fortune. And we shall soon find what a number of this family assumed the same christian name in honour of the same prince. He was in all respects a very worthy man, and left an excellent character, as well as six sons, behind him; but what daughters he had I know not. The names of his sons were as follow, Oliver the eldest, Robert, Henry, Philip, Ralph, and Richard.

Sir Henry left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Oliver, excepting some of the smaller manors and estates, which he divided among his younger sons. As near as I can guess, and from the present knowledge I have of the estates, I believe he left about 500l. per annum to each of his younger sons, except Ralph and Richard, but to Oliver several thousands.

Robert, the second son, and father of the *usurper* Oliver, was fixed at Huntingdon, and had a considerable estate in that neighbourhood. Henry had the lordship of Upwood, about two miles and an half from Ramsey, and built the present manor-house there. In a very large room on the west-front of the house, called *The Manor Room*, are still remaining, carved in stone, the statues of Henry Cromwell, Esq; and his lady, on each side of the chimney-piece, with the arms of the family above, and the date when the house was built. H. C. M. 1602. The motto, carved underneath the arms, very significantly expresses the bravery and activity of this family, *Sudore non sopore*. It very probably alludes to the famous combat between Sir Richard Williams and the two foreigners. Philip had for his share the Biggen estate, about a mile cross the field north of Upwood, and nearer to the town of Ramsey. This estate, though belonging to the parish of Ramsey, is entirely inclosed and separate to itself. Not many years since stood a very handsome house, moated round, near the middle of it, but has been lately taken down and demolished. This gentleman had the honour of knighthood conferred

ferred upon him. I shall endeavour to give a probable reason of this in the sequel of this little history. Of Ralph I can give no account; but it is likely, if I had the same opportunity of searching the old registers at Huntingdon, and they are as well preserved as those at Ramsey, I might be able to do it. The youngest son Richard lived at Upwood, the same village as his brother Henry. He was married, and had several children baptized there. He is entered in the old register at Upwood, by the title of Richard Cromwell, gentleman; but what estate he had, or what house he lived in there, I cannot learn.

Thus have I given you the best account in my power of all Sir Henry's sons, from whence the different branches of this family sprung, and most of them had a very numerous issue.

Oliver, the eldest, divided his time between Hinchinbrook and Ramsey, as his father had done before him, and lived in the most hospitable and splendid manner. He was both uncle and godfather to the *usurper* Oliver, and from him the latter derived his name. As I have not time at present to examine the old registers at Huntingdon, I can make out but five of his children, though I doubt not but he had several more. Henry the eldest, Edward, John, William, and Hannah. Edward was brought up to the law, and the only one of the family that I can find ever was of that profession. They were more fond of arms and military achievements. He was appointed a serjeant, if no more; for I have seen one of those broad gold rings, which serjeants at law usually give away at their first appointment to their friends, with this inscription upon it, *Edwardus Cromwell, servan tissimus aequi*; alluding to that famous passage in Virgil. Hannah was married to Mr. John Baldwin, a gentleman of this county, Sept. 11, 1627. You will soon have an account of the others. It was this very Oliver Cromwell, Esq; the father of the above-mentioned, who, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, entertained King James the First, in his Journey from Edinburgh to London, at his house at Hinchinbrook, and built the great hall there with the large bow-window and dining-room over it, purely for that purpose. He treated the king with the greatest magnificence; and it is still reported, that the king said to him, in the Scotch dialect, "Marry, mon, thou hast treated me the best of any mon since I left Edinburgh." Without doubt the king was highly pleased with his reception, because he not only conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, but made him knight of the Bath. Sir Oliver Cromwell, as I shall now call him, was born in the year 1562, and consequently in the spring of 1603, when the king came to London, was forty-one; a time of life that takes off from the fire of youth, and adds to the coolness of judgement.

It seems highly probable to me, that his brother Philip was high sheriff that year; met the king upon his progress with a train of attendants, and escorted him to Hinchinbrook. I conjecture this to be the case, because I find him a knight so early as four years afterward. An entry is made in the old register of Ramsey. "Henry, the son of Sir Philip Cromwell, knight, was baptized Feb. 5, 1607." He had four other sons and three daughters after this Henry. I have set them all down in the order they were baptized; Philip, Thomas, Anne, Oliver, Robert, Elizabeth, and Mary. In the year 1617, I find an entry exactly thus made;

H

"Marye

“ Marye the wyf of Sir Phelip Cromwell, knight, was buried the third day of “ November.”

Sir Philip did not live to see the civil war and the ruin of the church and monarchy; for he was buried here Jan. 28, 1629; but his elder brother Sir Oliver did. He lived to a very great age, as appears from the entry of his burial in this register. “ Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, aged ninety-three years, was “ buried August 28, 1655.” He lived to see his nephew declared Protector, and a military government, the worst of all governments in the world, established by arms and the point of the sword. His fortunes were greatly impaired at first by his magnificent way of living, and afterward by his contributing so largely to the support of the royal cause. It is an undoubted fact, that all the branches of this family, who resided in this neighbourhood, were royalists, except the descendants of Robert. It is still currently reported here, that Oliver Cromwell during the civil war had a conference with his uncle Sir Oliver upon the high bridge in Ramsey, obliged him to pay down 1000l. to save the town from military execution, and carried away forty of his saddle-horses. Several of his, and one at least of Sir Philip’s sons, were colonels in the king’s army. Colonel John Cromwell, one of Sir Oliver’s sons, was the very man sent over by prince Charles from the Hague, some days before the king was beheaded, to beg of Oliver to spare the life of his father, and offer him his own terms. Colonel William Cromwell, youngest son of Sir Oliver, as it is entered in the register here, died of the plague in the year 1666. Colonel Thomas Cromwell, third son of Sir Philip, was in the royal army, and married about that time a daughter of Sir Wolstone Dixie, Bart. I think of Leicestershire, as may be seen in Collins’s Baronetage. He mistakes his pedigree, and calls him the son of Sir Oliver. This gentleman retired to a farm of his in the fenny part of this parish, called Daventry, died there, but left no issue behind him.

I have already mentioned the excessive fondness of this family for the name of Henry, out of gratitude to their great benefactor, and must now tell you there were seven, if not eight, Henry Cromwells at once living and resident in this neighbourhood together. Seven I can certainly make out, but cannot trace the pedigree of the last.

Henry Cromwell, Esq; brother to Sir Oliver at Upwood.

Henry, eldest son of Sir Oliver Cromwell.

Henry, son of Robert Cromwell, Esq; brother to the *usurper*.

Henry, son of Henry Cromwell, Esq; at Upwood.

Henry, son of Sir Philip Cromwell.

Henry, son of Richard Cromwell, Gent. at Upwood.

Henry, son of Henry Cromwell, Esq; grandson to Sir Oliver.

As this family held a considerable rank and fortune in the county, so they married into the best families both of this and the neighbouring counties. One of the younger of the above Henries was married to Lucy Car, only daughter of Sir Edward Car; and there is now in the church a flat stone of black marble to her memory, with a Latin pun upon it at the bottom, suitable to the taste of those times, *In hac luce videbitis lucem*. There is another marriage of one of the above

entered

entered in the register the very year when the great rebellion broke out. "Henry Cromwell, Esq; and the lady Elizabeth Ferrers, were married May 4, 1642."

At the Restoration, as they were all royalists here, they deserted the name of Cromwell, in abhorrence of Oliver's conduct, and reassumed their old name of Williams. By this name they are all entered in the register after that period. The king, at his restoration, had determined to distinguish the royalists by some particular mark of his favour, and they were to have the title of *Knights of the Royal Oak*. The design indeed was afterward dropt, upon account of the fresh divisions it might occasion, but a list of them is published at the end of Collins's Baronetage of England. Among these, in the Huntingdonshire list, you will find Henry Williams, Esq; of Bodsey, value of his estate 2000l. per annum. Bodsey is a large farm in the parish of Ramsey, at some distance from the town, with an old mansion-house upon it, where, I suppose, Mr. Williams then resided. This was the last gentleman of the male line of the Cromwell, alias Williams, who lived here; and, as he died without issue, the family soon became extinct. In fact, he had sold the estate to colonel Titus before his death. There is something particular in the entry of his death and burial, which I shall endeavour to explain. "Henry Williams, Esq; departed this life at Huntingdon, August 3, and was buried at Ramsey the 6th day of August 1673." Mr. Owen Fann, a sensible old gentleman of 87 years of age, informed me of the particular cause and circumstance of his death. It was at an election for knight of the shire, when Mr. Williams put up Mr. Apreece, of Washingley in this county, as a candidate, and the earl of Manchester another. Mr. Williams's party were defeated; but while he staid drinking and carousing with his friends at Huntingdon after the election, he dropt down dead out of his chair. Mr. Fann had this account from his father, who was present at it.

The same old gentleman farther informs me, that he has heard his father speak of these Cromwells here as men of the greatest military bravery, and of the most robust make and constitution. He remembers himself the chancel hung round with spoils taken from the enemy during the civil war. But the genius of Oliver prevailed, and he made himself the arbitrary and absolute monarch of three kingdoms, while the exploits of his cousins, uncrowned with success, are buried in utter oblivion.

It has been an observation, made by several excellent and learned writers, that these abbey-lands, so solemnly dedicated to God, have very seldom prospered in the hands of these lay-posseffors. And when I see so numerous, splendid, and wealthy a family as the Cromwells all coming to nothing in little more than a single century, I know not how to withhold my assent from an opinion, which probably will be called superstitious, but, in fact, seems to be well founded; and especially as I have seen the same observation verified in a variety of instances since that time.

I ought not to close this private history of the family without acquainting you, that Oliver Cromwell, who made so great a figure afterward, had very much reduced his fortunes just before the rebellion broke out. He had been very wild and extravagant in his youth, by which he had considerably wasted his estate; and preached and prayed away most of the rest, after he enlisted among the fanaticks. In fact, before

the commencement of the civil war, he was no more than a farmer and maltster at St. Ive's. I believe indeed the farm was his own, because he lived in the priory farm, which belonged to the abbey of Ramsay; and this, I apprehend, was almost the only estate he had left, at that time, out of the wreck of his fortune. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant, T. W

N^o VIII.

Publick Intelligencer, No. 141. From Monday, August 30, to Monday, Sept. 6, 1658.

Whitehall, Sept. 3.

HIS most serene and renowned highness *Oliver* Lord Protector, being after a sickness of about fourteen days (which appeared an ague in the beginning) reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the gate of death; and it pleased God, about three o'clock afternoon, to put a period to his life. I would willingly express, upon this sad occasion, the deep sorrow which hath possessed the minds of his most noble son and successor, and other dearest relations, had I language sufficient. But all that I can use will fall short of the merits of that most excellent prince. His first undertakings for the publick interest, his working things all along, as it were, out of the rock, his founding a military discipline in these nations, such as is not to be found in any example of preceding times; and whereby the noble soldiery of these nations may (without flattery) be commended for piety, moderation, and obedience, as a pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equalled, by succeeding generations: his wisdom and piety in things divine, his prudence in management of the civil affairs, and conduct of the military, and admirable successes in all, made him a prince indeed among the people of God; by whose prayers being lifted up to the supreme dignity, he became more highly seated in their hearts, because in all his actions it was evident, that the main design was to make his own interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subserving to the great interest of Jesus Christ.

And in the promoting of this his spirit knew no bounds, his affection could not be confined at home, but brake forth into foreign parts, where he was by good men universally admired as an extraordinary person raised up of God, and by them owned as the great protector and patron of the Evangelical profession. This being said, and the world itself witness of it, I can only add, that God gave him blessings proportionable to all these virtues, and made him a blessing to us, by his wisdom and valour to secure our peace and liberty, and to revive the antient renown and reputation of our native country.

After all this, it is remarkable, how it pleased the Lord on this day to take him to rest, it having formerly been a day of labours to him; for which both himself and the day (*Sept. 3.*) will be most renowned to posterity, it having been to him a day of triumphs and thanksgiving for the memorable victories of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*; a day, which after so many strange revolutions of Providence, high contradictions, and wicked conspiracies of unreasonable men, he lived once again to see, and then to die, with great assurances and serenity of mind, peaceably in his bed.

Thus

Thus it hath proved to him to be a day of triumph indeed, there being much of Providence in it, that after so glorious crowns of victory placed on his head by God on this day, having neglected an earthly crown, he should now go to receive the crown of everlasting life.

Publick Intelligencer. No. 144. From Monday, Sept. 20, to Monday, Sept. 27, 1658.

Whitehall, Sept. 20.

THIS night, the corps of his late Highness was removed hence in private manner, being attended only by his own servants, viz. the lord chamberlain, and the comptroller of his Highness's household, the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, the gentlemen of the household, the gentlemen of the life-guard, the guard of halberdiers, and many other officers and servants of his Highness. Two heralds, or officers of arms, went next before the body, which, being placed in a hearse drawn by six horses, was conveyed to Somerset-house, where it rests some daies more private, but afterwards will be exposed in state to publick view.

Public Intelligencer, No. 148. From Monday, Oct. 18, to Monday, Oct. 25, 1658.

A particular and exact relation how *Somerset-House* is prepared for the effigies, or representation of his late Highness, by particular order of the Lords of the Council, which was first shewed publickly on Monday last.

THE first room the people enter was formerly the presence chamber, which is hung completely with black; and, at the upper end, a cloth of estate, with a chair of estate standing upon the haut-place under the state.

From thence you pass to a second large room, which was the privie chamber, all compleatly hung with black, and a cloth of estate at the upper end, having also a chair of estate upon the haut-place, under the cloth of estate.

The third room is a large withdrawing chamber, compleatly hung as the other with black cloth, and a cloth of estate at the upper end, with a chair of estate, as in the other rooms.

All these three large rooms are compleatly furnished with escucheons of his Highness's armes, crowned with the Imperial crown; and upon the head of each cloth of estate is fixed a large majesty-escuccheon fairly painted and gilt upon taffety.

The fourth room, where both the body and the effigies do lie, compleatly hung with black velvet, the roof of the said room cieled also with velvet, and a large canopie, or cloth of estate, of black velvet fringed over the effigies; the effigies itself apparelled in a rich suit of uncut velvet, being robed first in a kirtle robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, and furred with ermins; upon the kirtle is the royal large robe of the like purple velvet laced, and fur'd with ermins, with rich strings and tassels of gold; his kirtle is girt with a rich embroidered belt, in which is a fair sword richly gilt, and hatcht with gold hanging by the side of the effigies; in the right hand is the golden scepter representing government; in his left hand is held the globe, representing principality; upon his head, the cap of
regality

regality of purple velvet, fur'd with ermins. Behind the head is a rich chair of estate of cloth of gold tissued; upon the cushion of the chair stands the Imperial crown set with stones.

The whole effigies lies upon a bed covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which is a fine Holland sheet upon six stools of cloth of gold tissued; by the sides of the bed of state lies a rich suit of compleat armor, representing his command as general; at the feet of the effigies stands his crest, as is usual in all ancient monuments.

This bed of state, upon which the effigies so lies, is ascended unto by two ascents, covered with the aforesaid pall of velvet; and the whole work is compassed about with rails covered with velvet; at each corner is a square pillar upright, covered with velvet; upon the tops of them are four beasts, supporters of the Imperial armes, bearing banners, or streamers crowned; the pillars are decorated with trophies of military honor, carved and gilt; the pedestals of the pillars have shields and crowns gilt, which makes the whole work noble and compleat; within the rails stand eight great standerts, or candlesticks, of silver, being almost 5 foot in height, with great tapers in them, of virgin's wax, 3 foot in length.

Next to the candlesticks are set upright in sockets the four great standerts of his Highness armes, the guidons, the great banners, and banrolls, all of taffety, richly gilt and painted; the cloth of estate hath a majesty-escutcheon fixed at the head; and upon the velvet hangings on each side of the effigies is a majesty-escutcheon; and the whole room fully and compleatly furnished with taffety-escutcheons. Much more might be enlarged of the magnificence of this solemn setting up, and shewing the effigies at present in *Somerſet-houſe*, where it is to remain in state untill the funeral day, which is appointed to be on the ninth of November next.

Publick Intelligencer. No. 150. From Monday, Nov. 1, to Monday, Nov. 8, 1658.

Whitehall, Nov. 6.

WHEREAS it was supposed the funerals of his late Highness would have been solemnized on Tuesday the 9th instant, it hath been thought fit to defer the solemnity to a further day.

Publick Intelligencer. No. 152. From Monday, Nov. 22, to Monday Nov. 29, 1658.

Somerſet-Houſe, Nov. 23.

THIS being the day appointed for the solemn funerals of the most serene and renowned *Oliver Lord Protector*, and all this being ready prepared, the effigies of his Highness standing upon a rich cloth of state, having been beheld by those persons of honour and quality which came to attend it, was afterwards removed, and placed on a hearse, richly adorned, and set forth with escutcheons and other ornaments, the effigies itself being vested with royal robes, a scepter in one hand, a globe in the other, and a crown on the head. After it had been a while thus placed in the middle of the room, when the time came that it was to be removed
into

into the carriage, it was carried on the hearse by ten of the gentlemen of his Highness forth into the court, where a canopy of state, very rich, was borne over it by six other gentlemen of his Highness, till it was brought and placed on the carriage, at each end whereof was a seat, wherein sat two of the gentlemen of his Highness's bed chamber, the one at the head, the other at the feet of the effigies. The pall, being made of velvet and fine linen, was very large, extending on each side of the carriage, to be borne by persons of honour appointed for that purpose; the carriage itself was adorned with plumes and escutcheons, and was drawn by six horses, covered with black velvet, each of them likewise adorned with plumes of feathers.

The manner of the proceeding from hence along the *Strand* towards *Westminster*, we cannot (by reason of the shortness of time) give information of, in all its particulars; but must refer the reader to another opportunity.

All along the way on each side the streets the soldiers were placed without the rails.

A knight marshal on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipped at both ends with gold, attended by his deputy, and thirteen men on horseback.

The persons in mourning which attended this solemnity were very numerous.

There were servants to persons of all qualities; also all the servants of his Highness, as well inferior and superior, as well those within his household as without; the servants and officers of the Lord-Mayor of the city of *London*; gentlemen attendants on publick ministers and ambassadors; poor knights of *Windfor*; secretaries, clerks, and other officers belonging to the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer; officers in command in the Fleet; officers in command in the Army; commissioners for Excise, and of the Army; committee of the Navy; commissioners for approbation of Preachers; officers and clerks belonging to the Privy-Council; clerks of the Council; clerks of both Houses of Parliament; his Highness's physicians; head officers of the Army; the chief officers and aldermen of *London*; masters of the Chancery; his Highness's learned council at law, judges of the Admiralty, masters of Requests, judges in *Wales*, barons of the Exchequer, judges of both benches, lord-mayor of *London*, persons allied in blood to his late Highness, the members of the lords' house, public ministers and ambassadors of foreign states and princes, lords commissioners of the great seal, lords commissioners of the Treasury, the lords of his Highness's privy council, the chief mourner, and those persons of honour that were his assistants.

The reader is to excuse the not naming these in order, the purpose being only to declare the quality of the persons that attended.

A great part of those of the nobler sort were in close mourning, the rest in ordinary. They were divers hours in passing; and in their passage disposed into several divisions, each division being distinguished by drums and trumpets, a standard, or a banner, borne by a person of honour and his assistant; and a horse covered and led, of which horses four were covered with black cloth, and seven with velvet. These being passed in their order, at length followed the carriage with the effigies; on each side of the carriage were borne the banner-rolls, being twelve in

in number, by twelve persons of honour; and several pieces of his Highness's armour were borne by honourable persons, officers of the army eight in number. After those noble persons that supported the pall, followed *Garter* principal king of arms, attended with a gentleman on each side bare-headed; next him the chief mourner; and those lords and noble persons that were supporters and assistants to the chief mourner. Next followed the horse of honour in very rich equipage, led in a long rein by the master of the horse. In the close followed his Highness's guard of halberdiers, and the warders of the Tower.

The whole ceremony was managed with very great state to Westminster; many thousands of people being spectators. At the west-gate of the abbey-church, the hearse, with the effigies thereon, was taken off the carriage by those ten gentlemen who removed it before; who passing on to enter the church, the canopy of state was by the same persons borne over it again; and in this magnificent manner they carried it up to the east-end of the abbey, and placed it in that noble structure which was raised there on purpose to receive it, where it is to remain for some time exposed to publick view.

This is the last ceremony of honour, and less could not be performed to the memory of him, to whom posterity will pay (when envy is laid asleep by time) more honour than we are able to express.

Mercurius Politicus. No. 442. From Thursday, Nov. 11, to Thursday, Nov. 18, 1658.

Whitehall, Nov. 16.

IT was ordered, that Tuesday the 23^d of this moneth shall be the day of funeral solemnity for his late Highness; which will be performed with all the demonstrations of honour due to the memory of so excellent a prince. In the mean while, his effigies remains at *Somerset-house*, placed standing upon an ascent, under a rich cloth of estate, being vested with royal robes, a scepter in one hand, a globe in the other, and a crown on the head; a little distant beneath lies his armour, and round about are fixed the banners, banrols, and standards, with other ensignes of honour; and the whole room being spacious, is adorned in a princely manner. All other things are preparing, as the erection of rails along the *Strand* down to *Westminster*, for the better conveniency of passage, the adorning of the Abbey-Church, and the compleating of that noble and magnificent structure which is raised in the east-end of the church, wherein a bed of state is prepared to receive the effigies, it being to be placed thereon, to be afterwards exposed for a certain time to the publick view.

And care is taken to give notice to such persons as are desired to attend the funeral, that they be at *Somerset-house* by eight of the clock in the morning at the farthest; and that by Friday night next they send to the Herald's Office, near *Paul's*, the names of their servants which are to attend in mourning, without which they are not to be admitted; and they are to take notice likewise, that no coaches are to pass on that day in the streets between *Somerset-house* and *Westminster*.

N° IX.

Inscription on the Tombs of MAIJOR, of Hursley.

HIC JACET CORPVS ANNE MAIJOR,
VIDVE, QUI MARITUM HABVIT
RICARDVM MAIJOR, DE HURSLEY, AR-
MIGER'M, ET PATREM JOHANNEM
KINGSWELL, DE MARVELL, GENER,
OBIIT XIII° DIE IVLII, AN'O D'NJ
MDCLXV,
ÆTATIS SVÆ 56.

A saltire between four griffins heads.

HIC JACET CORPVS JOH'IS KINGSWELL, DE
MARVEL, IN INSULA VECTIS, GEN. QUI OBIIT
VI° DIE MARTIJ, AN° DOM' 1639, AN'O
ÆTATIS SVÆ 77°.

An anchor, in chief three roundels; impaling, a saltire between four griffins heads.

HIC JACET CORPVS RICARDI
MAIJOR, ARMIGERI DOMINIQ.
HVJVS MANERIJ DE MERDON, AL.
MARDEN, QUI OBIIT XXV DIE
APRILIS, AN'O D'NI 1660,
ÆTATIS SVÆ 56.

The saltire and griffin's head, quartering a Chevron, between 3 fleur de lis.

N° X.

Extracts from HEATH'S CHRONICLE.

1654. On the 18th of November died (the unhappy parent of this Usurper) his aged Mother, who lived to see her Son through such a deluge of blood swim to a perplexed throne, in the best share of whose greatness she was concerned, as to the princely accommodation of her maintenance in life and burial in death; being laid in Henry the Seventh's Chapel in great state. P. 366.

1658. The old Earl of Warwick (presently after the espousals of his grandson, young Mr. Rich, with Frances the youngest daughter of the Protector) died April 18, to whom his late honorary services and dishonourable relations to this Protector were none of the least unhappineffes. At the end of May, the Lord Faulconbridge the other son (for Fleetwood nor Claypole had either manners or worth to be employed in the complement) was sent away with a great train to salute and gratulate the French king, now at Calais, upon the opening of the campania, and was received very splendidly, in the mean while that his uncle Sir Henry Slingsby was adjudged to death : and though he returned on the fifth of June, three days before execution, and did what he could to save him, yet all proved in vain : for since Mr. Mordant and Mr. Woodcock had escaped, there was no room for his life. Soon after, Monsieur Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, and the Duke of Crequi, came hither with the return of the complement, and were entertained highly at Brook-house and at Hampton-court, with feasting and hunting, and presently returned ; and that I may have done with this wretched family of Cromwell, the Lady Claypole died at Hampton-court August 6, of a disease in her inwards ; and being taken frantick with the stopping of her terms, raved much against the bloody cruelties of her father, and about the death of Dr. Hewit, for whom (to give her due) it is said she interceded. She was brought by water to the painted chamber, and in state buried in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, her aunt Wilkins being chief mourner, &c. P. 404.

N° XI.

Copy of the Security which the Protector compelled the States General to give for performance of the 28th Article of Peace concluded between them previous to April, 1654.

A Proof of the spirited conduct of Oliver Cromwell.

London. Be it remembered, that Peter Bulteel, of the parish of Saint Peter the Poor, London, merchant ; David Otgher, of the parish of Saint Swithin's London-stone, in London, merchant ; Francis Seyon, of the parish of Saint Peter in Cornhill, London, merchant, stranger ; William de Vischer, of the parish of Saint Mary on the Hill, London, merchant, stranger ; Luke Luce, of the parish of Saint Katherine Coleman, London, merchant ; James Boeve, of the parish of Saint Nicholas Acons, London, merchant ; Anthony Tierens, of the parish of Saint Swithen's London stone, London, merchant ; John Vandermarsh, of the parish of Saint Andrew Undershaft, London, merchant, stranger ; John Bruninck, of the parish aforesaid, merchant, stranger ; Peter Marolois, of the parish of Saint Michael Crooked lane, London, merchant, stranger ; and Peter Mathews Janfen, of the parish of Saint Lawrence Pountney, London, merchant, stranger ; came
before

before Francis Thorpe, one of the barons of the public exchequer at Westminster, the two and twentyeth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and four, in their own persons, and joyntly and severally, did acknowledge themselves to owe to Oliver Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

The condition of this recognizance is such, that whereas, amongst other articles of peace, lately made and established between his Highness the said Lord Protector, and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, it is agreed and concluded by the eight and twentyeth of those articles, and the said Lords the States General, do thereby oblige themselves, that restitution shall be made of all the English ships and goods, which have been seized upon, and detained within the dominions of the king of Denmark, since the eighteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and two (old stile); and which are now remaining in specie, and also the true and just value of all other English ships and goods, seized and detained as aforesaid, which are sold, taken away, or otherwise disposed of, within the fourteen days after the arrival of the respective interested merchants, masters, and owners, or their assigns in Denmark aforesaid, for the receiving of them; and likewise, that the damages which the said English merchants, masters, and owners, or any of them, have sustained by reason of the said detention, shall be satisfied and paid unto them, according as it shall be awarded by Edward Wington, James Russell, John Becx, and William Vandercruyssen, arbitrators indifferently chosen; as well by his said Highness the Lord Protector, as the said Lords the States General, to examine and determine the demands of the said merchants, masters, and owners, concerned in the said ships, goods, and damages. And it is thereby further agreed and concluded, that the said arbitrators shall meet at Goldsmith's hall, in the city of London, on the seven and twentyeth day of June, now next coming (old stile); or sooner if they shall agree thereupon; and shall the same day of their meeting take an oath in the high court of the Admiralty of England, or before any two of the Judges of that court, that they shall renounce all respect and relation to both states, and to any particular interests. And also, that the said arbitrators shall be shut up in a room by themselves, without fire, candle, meat, drink, or other refreshment, from and after the first day of August next coming (old stile), unless they shall agree before that time, untill they shall come to an agreement upon the matters aforesaid referred to them; and that such award or judgment, as they shall make thereupon, shall be binding and obligatory to all partys; the said Lords the States General obliging themselves by the said articles to perform the same, and to pay the money, awarded by the said arbitrators, to be paid within five and twenty days next after the making of such award unto such person, or persons, in the city of London, as his Highness the said Lord Protector shall, by writing under his sign manual, appoint to receive the same, for the use of the said merchants, masters, and owners of the said ships and goods. And further, that the

said Lords the States General shall, within two days next after the instruments of ratification of the said articles of peace are mutually delivered, pay in London aforesaid, unto such person or persons as his said Highness the Lord Protector shall, by writing under his sign manual, appoint to receive the same, the sum of five thousand pounds of lawful money of England, towards the charges of the said merchants, masters, and owners, or their assigns, for their journey to Denmark aforesaid; and the sum of twenty thousand rix-dollars in Denmark aforesaid, unto such person or persons as his said Highness the Lord Protector shall, by like writing under his sign manual, appoint to receive the same, for the use of the said merchants, masters, and owners, towards the fitting of their ships to sea, within six days after the arrival in Denmark aforesaid of such person or persons so to be appointed to receive the same, as in and by the said eight and twentyeth article doth appear: if therefore the said Lords the States General shall cause the said restitution and payments to be made as aforesaid, and well and truly observe, perform, fulfill and keep all and every the matters, things, clauses, conditions, payments, and agreements, which by the said eight and twentyeth article are, and ought to be, on their part observed, performed, fulfilled, paid, and kept, according to the tenor, purport, true intent and meaning of the said eight and twentyeth article, that then, &c. or else, &c.

A like recognizance of Timothy Cruso, of the parish of St. Helen, London, merchant, in twenty thousand pounds penalty.

N° XII.

Original Letter of Mr. HENRY CROMWELL*.

DEAR MR. HOUGHÉ,

Grays Inn Lane, May 29, 1707.

I SHALL ever acknowledge myself obliged to you for your kind concern and acting for me. It has had hitherto a good effect. My Lady † has now expressed herself very kindly to me, and shews a greater concern for her own family than ever, which comforts me. I am sure she will have the greatest applause from the world for her care of her own family; and when I am in a circumstance to live and appear as others, it shall be my great endeavour to maintain the reputation of my family. I have often under great melancholy wished myself of *another name*, believing my burthen then would be lighter to me. Though our family is now

* From the Original, in a Collection of Letters purchased at Mr. Thoresby's sale, and now in the MS Library of Dr. Ducarel.

† Fauconberg.—Swift, in his Journal to Stella, Nov. 13, 1710, says, "I dined to-day in the city, and then went to christen Will Frankland's child; and Lady Falconbridge was one of the godmothers. This is a daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and extremely like him by the pictures that I have seen."

low, and some are willing it should be kept so; yet I know we are a far ancients family than many others. Sir Oliver Cromwell, *my grandfather's uncle and god-father*, his estate that was, is now let for above thirty thousand pounds a year. *God is just and righteous*, and merciful in all his ways towards us; and we have no cause to complain, but to be always adoring of him in our hearts, and praising of him with our mouths; for we are deserving of no good from God. The living man must not complain for the punishment of his sins. There is nothing undue but evil from God. Sir, I desire your prayers that the Lord would sanctify my afflictions to me, and so make them great mercies.

I was received very civilly and respectfully by Mr. Dodington* on Monday and the next day. I had my memorial ready, which I delivered to my Lord Lieutenant†, who told me he knew the contents from Mr. Dodington; therefore he did not read it, but gave it to Mr. Dodington, and bid him put him in mind of me; and said to me that he would consider how to serve me. Now the occasion of this is, that my Lady may know that Mr. Dodington desires his service to her Ladyship, and thanks her for the invitation; but he cannot wait upon her, because he goes away on Saturday. I think it very necessary that you should visit him, and give him my Lady's thanks for what he has done and said to me. That which I ask is, either to be made a lieutenant colonel of foot, or a troop of horse. I hope you will see him to-morrow morning. He again advises my Lady not to fail seeing of my Lord Pembroke quick as may be. He goes on Monday next. I think it may be proper for my Lady to say something of my qualification for the horse service to my Lord Lieutenant. I rid a long time in the Academy abroad, and got a good character. Something of this may be proper to be said by you to Mr. Dodington. Pardon my long scribble.

I am, Sir, your much obliged humble servant,

H. CROMWELL.

It will, I think, be necessary that you ask Mr. Dodington's advice about my going to Ireland. If he pleases, he may excuse me to my Lord Lieutenant, because of my circumstances. I am not in a capacity to go; and giving attendance there will be very expensive, and I know not how long it may be. He may give notice to my Lady from Ireland when there is a vacancy. But his advice must be had. I desire you would be so kind as to dine with me to-morrow at one o'clock. Desire my Lady to give the bearer two shillings. My duty to the Ladies.

To the Reverend Mr. Hough,
Chaplain to the Countess
Fauconberg at Sutton
Court in Chiswick.

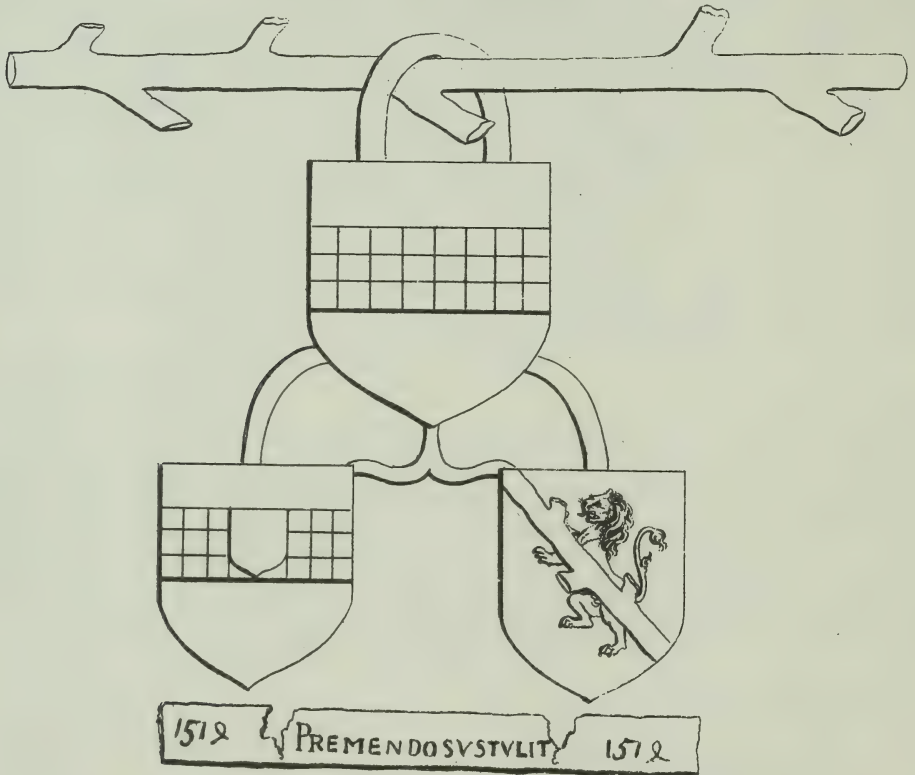
* Q. Afterwards Lord Melcomb Regis,

† Earl of Pembroke.

N° XIII.

OMNIBUS, &c. H. ep' Elyen' fal', &c. Ad noticiam vram volumus pvenire, Nos R. prior Elienf' & convent', &c. Elyen' accedente consensu sup statum duor' hospital' in villa de Ely existen'; sc' Scti Johis & Sctæ Marie Magd' quor' ipor' alter bonis, posses. &c. superabundare cognovimus ex confu oim taliter ordinatum est. Sc' quod ambo unita sint tam possessionibus qu' fratribs, &c. & omnino ab hinc in unum fiant hospitium, &c. Præterea ordinamus ut corpora pauperum in dco hospitali defunctor. ad matricem eccliam deferantur & ibi sepeliantur; copæ autem capellor' & fratrum sepeliantur in cymeterio hosp' ejus. Capella vero Scti Johi, Bap' de Ely sacristæ prædicti hosp' dispositioni & custodie relinquantur, &c. Anno 30 H. fil. J.

At the bottom of this deed are these arms.



Francor

*Francor' Carolus sic vult hæc stemmata ferri
Singula cum valeant sunt meliora simul.*

A fine painting of this Sir Robert Steward, in armour, fighting a crowned lion; his sword lies broken by him, his coat armour hangs on his arms; he hath in his hands a broken stick, Or. At the corner, a hand, the arms of France covering all to the wrist, holds out his own coat with the augmentation, viz. Ar. a lion rampant surmounted with a ragged staff, Or.

Sir Robert Steward encountered a lion in France, and broke his sword, then seized on a stick and with it killed the lion; for which valour, the French king gave the aforesaid arms as an augmentation, ordered to be borne as before.

In this deed extracted from Mr. Blomefield's MS. collections *penes me*, we see an explanation, probably by one of the family, of the circumstances alluded to in the beautiful seal in possession of Sir Richard Worsley, Bart. and engraved in Archæol. IV. p. 176, which so much puzzled the late dean of Exeter and Mr. Brooke, the latter wanting this clue to account for the crest of a broken sword in saltire crost by a ragged staff. Ib. 184.

N° XIV.

Character of the Protector from Echard's History, Vol. II. p. 734, 735.

“ To take notice then of his memory, both on the bright and dark side of it
“ (according to one who hath made an excellent discourse concerning his govern-
“ ments *): Nothing can be more wonderful than that a person of mean birth, no
“ fortune, nor no qualities then conspicuously eloquent, should have courage to
“ attempt, and the fortune to succeed in a design so improbable as the destruction
“ of one of the most ancient and best founded monarchies upon earth: that he
“ should have power, or courage, to cut off the king his master, against the sense
“ of three kingdoms, and to banish that numerous and close allied family: to do
“ all this under the name and ways of a parliament: to trample upon them too as
“ he pleased, and to send them shamefully home when he grew weary of them:
“ to raise up a new and unheard of phantom out of their ashes: to stifle that in
“ the very infancy, and set up himself above all that ever were called sovereign
“ in England: to subdue all his enemies by arms, and then all his friends by
“ artifice; and to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them
“ victoriously at the last: to over-run each corner of the three kingdoms, and
“ with equal facility to overcome both the riches of the South and the poverties
“ of the North, to be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a
“ brother to the Gods of the earth: to call parliaments together with a word of
“ his pen, and disperse them again with the breath of his mouth: to be humbly
“ petitioned that he would be pleased to be hired at the rate of two millions a

* Mr. Abraham Cowley's Works, 8vo. Lond. 1707. Vol. II. p. 631, 633, 636.

“ year,

“ year, to be master of those who before had hired him to be their servant :
 “ to have the estates of three kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little
 “ inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them ;
 “ and lastly, to bequeath all this with one word to posterity : to die with peace at
 “ home, and triumph abroad : to be buried among kings with more than regal
 “ solemnity ; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguished but with
 “ the whole world, which was thought too little for his praises, as well as his con-
 “ quests, if the short line of this life could be stretched to the extent of his im-
 “ mortal designs !

“ On the other side, nothing can be more villainous and shocking, than for a
 “ person thus qualified, to resolve not only to exalt himself above, but to trample
 “ upon all his equals and betters : that he should have the assurance to pretend
 “ LIBERTY for all men, and by the help of that pretence to make all men his
 “ slaves : to take up arms against taxes of two hundred thousand pounds a year,
 “ and to raise them himself above two millions : to quarrel for the loss of three
 “ or four ears, to strike off three or four hundred heads : to fight against an
 “ imaginary suspicion of two thousand guards to be raised for the king, and to
 “ keep up no less than forty thousand for himself : to undertake the reformation
 “ of religion, to rob it to the very skin, and then expose it naked to the rage of
 “ all sects and heresies ; to fight against the king, under a commission for him : to
 “ take forcibly out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him : to
 “ draw him into his net with protestations and vows of fidelity, and then to
 “ butcher him with as little shame as conscience or humanity in the open face of
 “ the world : to pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all,
 “ even those of his own calling, and almost chusing : to fight against monarchy,
 “ when he declared for it ; and to declare against it when he continued for it in
 “ his own person : perfidiously to debase, and ingratelously to supplant his own
 “ General first, and afterwards most of those officers, who, with the loss of their
 “ honour and hazard of their souls, had mounted him to the top of his unreasona-
 “ ble ambitions : equally to break his faith with all enemies and all friends ; and
 “ to weep, cant, and dissemble, and no more regard the most common perjuries,
 “ than the looser sort die the customary oaths : to usurp three kingdoms without
 “ any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them by councils of rapine,
 “ courts of murder, and the like : to seek to entail this usurpation on his posterity,
 “ and with it an endless war on the nation : and lastly, by the severest vengeance
 “ of heaven to die impenitent, hardened, and raving mad, with the curses of
 “ the present, and the detestation of future ages.”



B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A,
N° XXXV.

CONTAINING
ARCHBISHOP SHARPE'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
COINAGE of ENGLAND, &c.

[Price Three Shillings and Six Pence.]

AMONG the various Labours of Literary Men, there have always been certain Fragments whose Size could not secure them a general Exemption from the Wreck of Time, which their intrinsic Merit entitled them to survive; but, having been gathered up by the Curious, or thrown into Miscellaneous Collections by Booksellers, they have been recalled into Existence, and by uniting together have defended themselves from Oblivion. Original Pieces have been called in to their Aid, and formed a Phalanx that might withstand every Attack from the Critic to the Cheesemonger, and contributed to the Ornament as well as Value of Libraries.

With a similar view it is here intended to present the Publick with some valuable Articles of BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY, from printed Books and MSS. One Part of this Collection will consist of Re-publications of scarce and various Tracts; another of such MS. Papers as the Editors are already possessed of, or may receive from their Friends.

It is therefore proposed to publish a Number occasionally, not confined to the same Price or Quantity of Sheets, nor always adorned with Cuts, but paged in such a Manner, that the general Articles, or those belonging to the respective Counties, may form a separate Succession, if there should be enough published, to bind in suitable Classes; and each Tract will be completed in a single Number.

Into this Collection all Communications consistent with the Plan will be received with Thanks. And as no Correspondent will be denied the Privilege of controverting the Opinions of another, so none will be denied Admittance without a fair and impartial Reason.

* * This Number contains only One Plate, before p. 77.
* *

ARCHBISHOP SHARPE'S
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
COINAGE of ENGLAND.

WITH HIS
LETTER TO MR. THORESBY, 169 $\frac{8}{9}$.

L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS,
PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.
MDCCLXXXV.

P R E F A C E.

THE following treatise on the Coinage of England, drawn up by Dr. John Sharpe archbishop of York, who filled that see twenty-two years, and died at Bath 1713, was purchased at the sale of Mr. Ralph Thoresby's Museum, 1764, by Mr. Gough, who communicated it to the Editor. In the Catalogue of that Museum subjoined to the "Ducatus Leodienfis," p. 528, art. 95, it is entered as "His Grace my Lord Archbishop of Yorke's *most accurate* Treatise," &c. with a recital of the contents as hereafter: "To this," continues Mr. Thoresby, "may be added, what I had the honour to receive from another noble lord, the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke; viz. an account of the fourteen distinct sorts of the silver monies of England, from a farthing to the twenty shilling piece; and who are said by other historians to coin the first of each sort, with what particular exceptions are in his lordship's inestimable museum. For example, whereas king Edward I. III. and IV. are said to coin the first silver farthings, groats and crowns, his lordship hath a round farthing, (not the fourth part of a penny broken, as had been usually current before) of king Henry the Third; a groat of Edward I.; and an English crown of Henry VIII." This paper is subjoined.

The late Mr. Ives had printed in his "Select Papers," No. I. as much of the Archbishop's treatise as extends to p. 30 of this edition, from a copy given by Mr. Thoresby to Peter Le Neve, Esq; of whose collection Mr. Ives purchased so large a portion. But as he has omitted, or his MS. did not contain, "The Observations on the Gold Coins of England, the Scots Money, and the Irish Coins," we have (without insisting on the variations of the two MSS.) thought it might be no unacceptable present to the public to reprint the former part with the additions. To this we were not a little encouraged by the inquiry now making into the coinage of Scotland by the antiquaries of that country, of which Mr. Cardonnel promises shortly to lay before the public a history from the earliest to the latest period, illustrated with plates.

The whole is closed with some Tables of English coinage, and an inedited plate of English coins, from the collection of the late Matthew Duane, Esq;

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TO MR. RALPH THORESBY.

GOOD SIR,

I Received yours ; and thank you for your kind acceptance of my former papers, which indeed I ought to make apology for to you and all good men, considering how much need I have of pardon for spending any of my time in things of this nature. Though I must own I have a strong bent in my temper to those kind of studies, though I did for many years resist it, nor did I very much yield to it, till, coming into the country, I found it a good divertisement in the evenings. But I find I am too apt to make a business of that which should only be a recreation ; and this often troubles me, and will at last, I hope, make me find some other way to spend my leisure hours. But though I frequently make these reflections, yet, upon the receipt of your last letter, I could not forbear doing what you desired of me, and therefore set myself upon digesting, and improving, and transcribing the

B

obser-

observations that I had formerly made on the Scots coins. As for the Irish, I did not think my remarks upon them worth the reviewing, especially considering that I can add nothing to what Sir John Hays, in his Report of *Mixed Moneys*, and Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquitates Hiberniæ*, have said about them. What I have remarked about the Scots coins is purely my own, having had no help from any writer, and making all the conjectures from their Acts of Parliament, and those few pieces that I have in my possession. Instead, therefore, of sending you my paper of Irish coins, I chose rather to review and transcribe my papers of the Golden coins of England, which I thought would not be unacceptable to you, you having those of the silver ones already. I have this day finished both these and the Scotch coins, and my servant is now transcribing them for you ; and I will take care to send them to you by the carrier as soon as he has done them, begging your acceptance of them, and your admonitions and corrections where you think I am mistaken.

I thank you for the observations upon the coins which you gave me in your last letter, many of which are new to me, as particularly the impression of the first letter of the place where the piece was coined in the coins of Edward IV. that were not minted at London. I see it is true in a half-groat of his, coined at Canterbury, which I have ; but all my groats of his were stamped at London, and therefore no wonder if this remark escaped me.

As for the Queries you sent in that letter, all that I can at present say to them is as follows :

All Queen Elizabeth's money was fine that was coined for England. She did coin very bad money for Ireland in the last year of her reign, which was the occasion of that trial which Sir John Hays reports.

I do

I do not find, in the Indentures, that Edward VI. coined any three-half-pence; but your piece may be a penny of his; and I should believe it certainly so, if it have not a woman's head crowned, and a rose on the side of it. For I am apt to believe the rose was never put on the coins of these two reigns, but such as were parts of the shilling: such as six-pences, three-pences, and three-half-pences, and three-farthings. I think I have both Queen Elizabeth's three-half-penny piece and three-farthings piece; but I am not sure unless I look, which I have not time to do.

And indeed it was my trusting my memory without looking at the coin that made me commit a mistake in my papers about Queen Elizabeth's half brass-farthing. For having occasion afterwards to look into my piece, I found, that that piece which I thought was her half-farthing, was an Irish small coin of her's having the stamp upon it; and I believe you gave it me. I was sensible of this presently after I had sent my papers to Mr. Archdeacon Nicolson, but it was too late to recall it. As for Queen Elizabeth's silver farthings, I never saw any of them; but they are mentioned in the Indenture of the second of her reign, but I think never after.

The two-pence and pence that I have of King James have no legend on the reverse.

I never saw any coins of Ireland, after Edward the First's time, that had the king's head in a triangle. Your piece may be well his half-penny; for I have a half-penny of his that weighs $10\frac{1}{2}$ grains; and a penny that wants but one grain of a penny-weight. Your star second is a great rarity; and so is that piece of Edward the Second's with the crowns.

I have groats (I think two) of Edward the Third's that were coined at York.

4 ARCHBISHOP SHARPE'S LETTER TO MR. THORESBY.

King Henry VI. had mints in other places besides London ; for I have a piece of his (and have seen others) that was minted at Canterbury.

I have a fair half-penny of Edward the First's very legible.

I have no more to add after this long scribble, but my hearty wishes of your health, and the health of all my friends at Leeds, particularly Mr. Thornton and Mr. Killingbeck.

I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JO. EBOR.

*Bisbopthorpe, Friday Night,
Jan. 27, 169^s.*

OF

OF THE

SILVER COINS

OF

ENGLAND.

§ 1. *Of the several Pieces.*

FROM William I. to Edward I. there were no other pieces coined but pennies.

Great sums, saith Stow, were paid in pounds or marks of silver, cut into round plates, called blanks, and not stamped, but delivered by weight *.

Henry I. saith the same author, in the eighth year of his reign, ordered the penny to be quartered by the cross, that they might easily be broken into half-pence and farthings †.

Edward I. besides pennies, coined round half-pennies and farthings, and so took away the use of broken money. These have

* Survey of London, p. 44.

† Ibid.

continued

continued in use ever since till that king James I. left off the coining of silver farthings.

Edward III. in the 25th of his reign, saith Thomas Walsingham, but in the 2nd saith the Indenture in Mr. Lowndes, by the advice of his treasurer caused a new coin to be stamped, called a groat and half-groat. From thence downwards groats and two-pences were coined in every reign, as well as pence, half-pence, and farthings, till king Edward VI. omitted them.

Stow saith, that some few groats of silver were coined in the 8th of Edward I.; and the coin that Speed gives us of this king is one of these groats; but I never saw any of them. His excellency the Earl of Pembroke shewed me a groat of king Edward I. in his invaluable collection.

To these pieces Henry VII. added shillings in the 20th year of his reign; but there were but a few of them coined*.

I never saw but one of those shillings, and it was a very fair one. There are two more, I am told, in the hands of two curious persons at London.

The first Indenture that Mr. Lowndes gives us, which mentions the coining of festoons or shillings, bears date the 34th of Henry VIII. From that time they were never omitted, unless in the first year of queen Mary. I have one of Henry the Eighth's coined before that time.

To the forementioned coins Edward VI. added crowns, half-crowns, half-shillings, and three-pences; but coined no groats nor half-groats.

The bishop of Norwich tells me, he has seen a crown-piece of Henry VIII. and that it is now in the possession of an acquaintance of his. I know not what to say to it. I never heard of one before.

* Vide Stow, p. 47.

Queen Mary coined shillings, sixpences, and groats; but no other pieces that I can find. All her shillings and sixpences were coined after her marriage with king Philip. I have a coin of hers as broad as a shilling, that was minted before her marriage; and the inscription on the reverse is VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA, as in her groats. But it is an Irish coin (as appears by the harp) and base money.

Queen Elizabeth coined all sorts of money hitherto mentioned, and also three-halfpence pieces (as is mentioned in the Indenture, and of which I have one), which were never coined before. These pieces were never coined afterwards; as neither were the silver farthings. I have a small copper coin of this queen, which I take to be half a farthing.

King James I. coined crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, two-pences, and pence, and half-pence; but no groats or three-pences, that ever I saw or heard of.

I take no notice of his Scotch money current here ever since his reign, nor of king Henry the Eighth's, queen Elizabeth's, and this king's Irish money, reserving them to another place.

§ 2. *Of the Fineness of our English Coins.*

The money of England was probably as fine silver (if not finer) before the standard, which we call the sterling, was settled here, as it hath been since. That standard being brought in, as some think, not for the making our money finer, but for the making it harder, by the addition of a greater alloy than was used before*.

When this standard was first settled here is not agreed; but this is pretty evident, that from king Edward the First's time till the 39th of Henry VIII. all the minters of England were obliged to make their silver money according to this standard,

* Vide Mr. Lowndes, p. 13.

viz. after the rate of 11 ounces 2 penny-weights in the pound fine silver, and 18 penny-weights allay *.

In the 34th of Henry VIII. the standard was changed to 10 ounces fine, and 2 ounces allay. This was the first debasing of our coin.

In the 36th of this king, the money was ordered to be made just half brass and half silver.

In the 37th year of its reign, it was of four ounces fine, and 8 ounces allay.

This debasing of the coin continued in practice all the first five years of Edward VI. In the 5th year of his reign, he coined silver of 3 ounces fine, and 9 ounces allay, which was the lowest pitch that ever our money descended to.

Upon barrels of such base money imported hither from abroad, and found out, the people were so alarmed, that they were ready to mutiny. Upon this, the next year the standard was raised almost to the old fineness, viz. to 11 ounces 1 penny-weight fine, and 19 penny-weights allay; and of this standard are all our present Edward shillings, &c. the base ones being called in partly then, and partly by queen Elizabeth.

Note, That all the base money that I have seen of king Henry the Eighth represents the king with a full face; and all his fine money with a half-face. And, on the contrary, all king Edward's base money is with a half-face; and all his fine money (I speak of shillings and pences) with a full face.

Queen Mary's silver coins (of which I have seen none but groats) were 11 ounces fine, and 1 ounce allay; but those of her's that bear the style of Philip and Mary are all of the old standard.

* See the several Indentures of the mint-masters in Mr. Lowndes.

Queen Elizabeth perfectly restored and refettled the old standard, which has ever since continued.

In the 3d year of her reign she had two mints in the Tower, whereof one was set up on purpose for the recoinage of the base money of her father and brother, which she had called in, which continued, saith Mr. Lowndes, about a year. I take it, that out of this mint, and from this base money, came those coins of queen Elizabeth, which, instead of her head, as in her other coins, have the arms of France and England, with her name and style on the one side; and a portcullis and crown, with the usual legend of POSUI DEUM, &c. on the other side. Stowe tells us, she recoinage the base moneys with a new stamp. I have of this coin both a crown and half-crown, and a shilling; and I am told there are sixpences.

§ 3. *Of the different Weight of our Coins, of the same Denomination in the several Reigns, arising from the Increase of the Price or Value of Silver.*

I take notice of this head, because, when other marks fail us for the finding out to what reign a coin belongs, this of the weight will stand us in some stead.

The old Saxon pennys were something heavier than those since the Conquest; for I have some of them that at this day weigh rather more than a penny-weight.

From William the Conqueror, and some time before, to Edward I. our pennys were of that weight which we call the penny-weight, viz. equal to 24 of our present grains; so that then a pound of silver was a pound both in weight and in tale.

The raising of the value of silver, and the lessening the weight of the coins in proportion, was carried on by these degrees.

28 Edward I. a pound of silver was cut into as many pieces as made 20s. 3d. in tale.

27 Edward III. into as many pieces as made 25s. This was when his groats were first coined; upon which, as Walsingham observes, all things in England grew dearer.

9 Henry V. into as many pieces as made in tale 30s.

In the first of Henry VI. a pound of silver was shorn into as many pieces as made 37s. 6d. in tale.

20 Henry VII. Shillings were first coined, according to Stowe; and then a pound of silver was cut into 40s. in tale.

1 Henry VIII. a pound of silver was shorn into as many pieces as made 45s.

34 Henry VIII. into as many pieces as made 48s.; and all those pieces too bad silver.

3 Edward VI. into as many pieces as made 72s. in tale.

6 Edward VI. into 60s. or 3l. and thus it continued to the latter end of queen Elizabeth.

43 Elizabeth, a pound of silver was coined into as many pieces as made 62s.; and thus the coin of England has stood ever since.

According to this account, taken from the Indentures of the Mint given us by Mr. Lowndes, the weight of the penny and the groat, in the several reigns, from the 28th of Edward I. will be as followeth:

King Edward the First's money which was coined before the 28th of his reign, was of the old weight; so that his penny was 24 grains; and his groat (which Stowe saith was coined in the 18th year of his reign) was full 4 penny-weights. The money of his that was coined afterwards, and so Edward the Second's, and Edward the Third's, was something lighter, viz. 3 penny-weights in the pound weight.

From

From the 27th of Edward III. to the 9th of Edward V. the penny was to weigh 19 grains and one fifth of a grain; and the groat 3 pennyweights $4\frac{4}{5}$ grains.

From the 9th of Henry V. to the first year of Henry VI. the penny was to weigh 16 grains; and the groat 2 pennyweights 16 grains.

From the first of king Henry VI. to the 20th of Henry VII. the penny weighed $12\frac{4}{5}$ grains; and the groat 2 pennyweights $3\frac{1}{5}$ grains.

From the 20th of Henry VII. to the first of Henry VIII. the penny weighed 12 grains; and the groats 2 pennyweights.

For the first 33 years of Henry VIII. his penny was to weigh $10\frac{2}{3}$ grains; and his groat 1 pennyweight $18\frac{2}{3}$ grains.

I have a groat of this king's that weighs 5 grains more than the weight I have now given from the Indenture.

From the 34th of Henry the VIII. when the base money came in the 3d of Edward VI. the penny was to weigh 10 grains; and the groat 1 pennyweight 16 grains; and the testoon or shilling 5 pennyweights.

From the 3d of Edward VI. to the 6th (when every ounce of silver, though mingled 3 parts with brass, was raised to 6 shillings) the shillings that were then coined were to weigh 3 pennyweights 8 grains; groats, if there had been any coined, would have weighed 1 pennyweight $2\frac{2}{3}$ grains. This was the lightest coin that ever we had.

From the 6th of king Edward VI. to the 43d of queen Elizabeth, the penny was to weigh 8 grains; the groat 1 pennyweight 8 grains; the shilling 4 pennyweights; the crown an ounce.

From thence to this day, our penny ought to weigh 7 granes and almost three quarters of a grain, (viz. wanting the 124th

part of a grain): our groat 1 pennyweight 7 grains; our shilling 3 pennyweights 21 grains; our crown 19 pennyweights $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains full, or an ounce wanting two-pence.

§ 4. *Of the Impresses or Stamps upon our Coins.*

All the English coins have the king's head upon one side of them, except, first, a coin of king Edward the Fourth's, (it is by Selden and Speed ascribed to him, though his name is not upon it), in which, on one side, are the arms of France and England quarterly; on the other side three crowns one upon another.

Except, secondly, the coin I before mentioned of queen Elizabeth; where on one side are the arms of France and England; on the other a portcullis crowned.

Note, That in all the larger coins from Edward III. to Henry VII. the king's head is placed in a rose drawn round the coin within the inner circle. It is much of the same figure with that on the reverse of our golden coins, from whence they had the name of rose nobles and rose ryalls. Henry VII. left this off, though in the golden coins it was still continued.

Note, That in the ancient coins minted in Ireland (which, from king's John's time to Edward IV. were of the same weight and fineness and currency with those of England), the king's head is placed in a triangle. Thus it is in the coins of king John, Henry III. and Edward I. Edward the Fourth's Irish coins are like the English.

The king's head on the coin is always crowned, though the crowns on the ancient coins are much different both from one another, and from that imperial crown of England (as it is styled) which is upon the modern ones.

The two Williams have on their coins the pearled diadem, having labels at each ear, and something like an arch that goes

cross the head. This is Selden's description of it*. It agrees well with the coins which are to be seen in Speed.

In that which I have of Henry I. he is crowned with an open crown of 3 flowers de lis, without any rays between the flowers; as also without labels or pearls hanging at each ear, as Selden describes this king's crown, and as Speed has given the picture of it.

King Stephen's crown is much the same, only the flowers are raised higher.

Those that I have for Henry II. have for the crown a row of points (usually five in number), with a cross raised upon the middlemost of them, and something like the labels at the ears.

Henry the Third's crown, in those pieces that I have, is something different, having a pretty thick line instead of the five points; on each end of which is a point raised, and a cross upon the middle of it, and under it three points. In this fashion



The crown of king John is not so plainly discernible, it being hid in an angle of the triangle, in which his head is put in all the coins I have seen of his (they being all stamped in Ireland), but I judge it to be much like that of his son Henry III.

The crowns of Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. are all alike, viz. open flowery crowns, consisting of 3 flowers de lis, with two rays, or lesser flowers between them, but not raised so high.

The first coins that have the arched crown with the globe and cross upon it seem to be those of Henry VI. †

Whether his two next successors, Edward IV. and Richard III. had this sort of crown in their coins, I much doubt. If those be

* Vide Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 134.

† Ibid. p. 135.

theirs

theirs which I take to be they used the old open crown. And of that kind likewise are the three crowns, as Selden takes notice, in that piece of Edward the Fourth's I before mentioned. The crown is also the same, viz. open and without an arch, in king Edward the Fourth's gold rose nobles, of which I have a very fair one.

From king Henry VII. downward, the arched crown with the globe and cross hath been always used.

Most of the kings to Edward the First's time have scepters in their coins. From that time we meet with none in the coins till queen Elizabeth's crown pieces and half-crowns. I had forgot the sceptres in the pence and halfpence of Henry VIII.

The sceptre is wanting in that coin which Speed gives us of William Rufus.

I have likewise a coin which I take to be William the Conqueror's, which wants the sceptre.

Those of king Henry I. king Stephen, Henry II. king John, Henry III. all have it. William the Conqueror has sometimes one, sometimes two sceptres. I have one of Henry III. that wants it, but all the rest have it.

From William the Conqueror to Henry VII. you shall rarely meet with a coin wherein the king is not drawn with an open or full face.

I have a coin of one of the Williams with a half face; but I never saw any other.

Speed puts king Stephen with a half face; but that which I have of him is not so, both the eyes being to be seen, though the face is something side-ways.

From Henry VII. downward, you shall as rarely meet with any coins but what are half-faced; I know none that are not so, but the base money of Henry VIII. And the fine shillings, and
sixpences,

fixpences, and threepence, of Edward VI. which, as I took notice before, have full faces.

The impress on the reverse of our coins till about Henry the Seventh's time (when the French and English arms were brought into our silver monies) was a cross, one or more; or some knot or flower, wherein the figure of a cross was exhibited, or at least alluded to.

I know but one exception to this, and that is the Irish coin of king John, where, instead of a cross, you have a half-moon and a star. Perhaps his English coins were different.

For the first five or six reigns after the Conquest, these crosses were in great variety; and that not only in the coins of different kings, but in those of the same king.

I have observed five differences in the coins of the two Williams. Three of those of Henry the First, if we take in that which Speed puts down for his.

I have five of Henry the Second's all alike, but quite different from that which Speed puts down under his name. Mine have a double cross, or a cross made with double lines; in each of whose quarters are four globules, or pellets, put in the form of a little cross.

Just after the same fashion is the impress on Henry the Third's coin, but with these two differences, viz. 1st, whereas the cross in Henry the Second's money, and in all the coins before him, was made to terminate in the inner circle of the piece, and did not reach to the extremity; in Henry the Third's money it was carried on to the very edge of the piece, so as to intersect the letters of the inscription. 2^{dly}, Whereas in Henry the Second's money, there were four globuli, or pellets, put, as I said, in the form of a little cross; in Henry the Third's coin there were only three, and those put in the form of a triangle.

From

From henceforward there was no variation in the reverses of our coins; for all the succeeding reigns followed the impress of Henry III. both as to the large cross and the three pellets, only with this difference, that, whereas Henry the Third's cross was made with double lines like his father's, those of the following reigns are all drawn with single lines pretty broad.

Thus continued the impress on the reverse of our coins till Henry VII. threw the three globules out of the cross, to make room for the arms of France and England, which from henceforward took their place.

I dare not say that he was the first that put these arms in his silver coins (in the golden coins they had been used ever since Edward the Third's time); but I believe he was the first that used them constantly.

The half-groat with the three crowns, ascribed to Edward IV. has them; but his common coins, I take it, were of the old fashion, with the cross and bullets.

Whether any of king Henry the Sixth's silver English coins had the arms of France and England quarterly upon them I cannot tell. I never saw any that had, unless those pennies be his that have the king in his robes sitting in a chair, with a scepter in his right hand; and in some of them, if I mistake not, a globe and cross in his left, inscribed HENRICUS. These have the arms on the reverse; but whether they belong to Henry the Sixth, or Henry the Eighth, as some think, I know not. I am now convinced they are Henry the Eighth's money. Some of them coined at York, having Wolsey's T. W. and cardinal's hat.

The common groats and half-groats of Henry VI. have the old impress of the cross and globules.

I have a French coin of Henry the Sixth, of the weight of his groat, where the arms of the two kingdoms are quartered, but in a
way

way different from that used in our English coins. On the one side are two shields (like those on the parliament coins, which we used to call the breeches), in the first of which are the three flowers de lis; in the other, the arms of France and England, quarterly, as on our coins. Above the shield is the word HENRICUS. In the circle are these words, REX FRANCORUM ET ANGLIÆ. On the other side is a cross between a flower de lis and a lion, under it HENRICUS. In the circle, SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM. This may be seen in Du Fresne's Glossary, tit. MONETA. It is base money.

I have also a fair groat belonging to one of the three last Henrys, where the arms are set as in our common coins. The style of it is, HENRICUS D. GRA. REX FRANC. & AGLIC. without the number VII. or VIII. by which one would think it should belong to king Henry VI. On the reverse is, CIVITAS TORNACI, from whence we may certainly conclude it is none of Henry the Seventh's. For Tournay was not in the hands of the English all his reign. But, after all, I am inclinable to think it was coined there by Henry VIII. after he had taken Tournay (which he held nine years, and of which he made Cardinal Wolsey bishop). That which makes me think it is the half-face which it bears, which appears on none of our coins that I ever heard of (I mean the later ones) till those of Henry VII. Stowe says, that in the year 1504 Henry the Seventh appointed a new coin, viz. a groat and a half-groat, which have but half-faces.

From Henry the Seventh's time the arms of France and England have been always put in the larger coins to this day; except in Henry the Eighth's base shilling, which had a rose and crown on the reverse. But in his base groats and twopences the arms were as usually.

In the groats and half-groats which Cardinal Wolsey coined at

D

York

York (both which I have), there is a cardinal's hat under the king's arms, which afterwards was made one of the articles against him*.

§ 5. *Of the Inscriptions.*

The inscription on one side of the coin contains the name and style of the king and queen in whose reign it was coined.

For the first eight reigns after the Conquest, the style of the king was very short, being no more than REX; and sometimes REX AN. OR ANGLO.

Stowe tells us, that the inscription on the penny of William the Conqueror was, LE REI WILAM; but in all that I have seen of his, the name is either WILLEM, or WILLEMUS, and the style is either simply REX, or with the addition of AN. OR ANGLO.

The inscription on the other side of the coin during these eight reigns was nothing else, as I take it, but the name of the mint-master; together, most commonly, with the name of the place where the piece was coined; and this in Saxon, or Old English.

Thus king William's EADWINE ON LUNDI; and Henry the Second's HUE ON CANT.; and Henry the Third's ADO ON DIVE, &c.; are the same as Edwine in London; Hugh in Canterbury; and Ado in Divelin, or Dublin.

Edward I. to the style of REX ANGLO added DOMINUS HYBERNIÆ, which is never wanting in his coins, nor in those of his son Edward II. And it is also in all the groats I have seen of Edward III. But afterwards it was left out of the coins, and Ireland no more mentioned (except in that piece of Edward IV. with the three crowns), till king Henry VIII. put it in his style as one of his kingdoms. I have a piece of Henry VIII. whereon he is styled DOMINUS HYBERNIÆ.

* Cook's Jurisdiction of Courts, p. 94.

On the reverse he left out the mint-master's name ; and only put in Latin the name of the place where the piece was minted, as, CIVITAS LONDON. CIVITAS EBORACI, &c. And this continued to Henry the Seventh's time.

Edward the Third to his style on the coins added DEI GRATIA, which was ever after continued by his successors.

Note, in the seals it has been used from William the Second's reign. And, if Speed may be believed, it was in the groat which Edward I. coined.

Note, secondly, that Edward III. put this only upon his groats. In the half-groats of his which I have seen, it appears not. But all the following kings put it upon their half-groats, and some of them upon their smaller coins.

Note, lastly, that in all the coins it is abbreviated most commonly thus, DI GRA. but sometimes DEI GRA. ; till king Henry the Eighth brought in only the two first letters, viz. D. G. and so it hath since continued. I have a groat of Edward III. coined at York, whereupon are only D. G.

The same Edward III. both in his groats and half-groats, to the style of REX ANGL. added ET FRANC. which hath also ever since continued.

Note, that all Edward the Third's groats have not FRANC. upon them. For in those of the first coinage the style runs thus, EDWARD DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. & AQUIT. Aquit. is here put for Aquitaniæ. And this (I take it) was likewise the style upon the first rose nobles. In that which I have France is left out.

May I here take notice of two mistakes about this rose noble in Mr. Evelyn's late book? First, for Edward the Third's rose noble he gives us Edward the Fourth's. This I gather from the number of lis quartered with the English lions ; which, in the coin Mr. Evelyn gives us, are precisely three ; and so they are in

Edward the Fourth's rose noble. But in Edward the Third's they are more, as is plainly to be seen in my piece. Indeed, the lis were never stunted to three till Henry the Fifth's time*. Again : Mr. Evelyn's piece has the sun in the center of the reverse; and so has mine of Edward the Fourth's. But Camden, in his Remains, describes Edward the Third's rose noble to have a cross fleury in the reverse; and so mine of Edward the Third's has.

His other mistake is about the time of striking this coin, which he conjectures to be about 1360, viz. the 35th of king Edward III. But now it is plain by the Indentures in Mr. Lowndes that Edward the Third's first rose noble was struck in the 18th year of his reign, the same year that he coined florences, which, as Camden observes, was the first gold coined in England, and was in the 18th year of his reign. But those rose nobles which we now have, and which Camden describes, and bishop Tunstall commends, were coined in the 27th year of his reign, viz. the same year that he coined groats.

At the same time Edward III. coined groats, he added a new inscription, or legend, to the reverse, viz. POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM; which from that time was never laid aside in the larger coins till the reign of king James the first.

King Edward the Sixth, indeed, put other legends on his base shillings, as also queen Mary upon her groats; but in all the good monies of king Edward VI. and likewise in all the coins of Philip and Mary, this of POSUI DEUM is retained.

From this addition of POSUI DEUM, &c. it came that all the larger coins (viz. the groats and half-groats) of king Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. have upon the reverse two circular aræ; in the outermost of which is inscribed, POSUI DEUM, &c.; in the inner, the name of the city or town where the piece was stamped.

* See the Seals in Speed.

King Henry VII. was the first after Henry III. that added his number to his name; after HENRICUS putting VII. which was followed by his successors, Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

He also left out of his coins the inner circle, containing the name of the place where the piece was stamped; and only put POSUI DEUM, &c. in the circumference. This was followed by his successors, save only with this difference in the coins of Henry the Eighth, that where the piece was stamped at the common mint at London, there POSUI DEUM, &c. was put; but if it was stamped at some other place, as Canterbury, or York, &c. there, instead of POSUI DEUM, &c. was inscribed CIVITAS CANTOR. CIVITAS EBORACI, &c.

Besides groats and half-groats with such inscriptions, I have seen a testoon of this king's (half-faced and good silver), which has no other legend on the reverse than CIVITAS EBORACI.

Henry VIII. in the 33d year of his reign, took upon him the title of king of Ireland; whereupon the next year (which was the year in which he began to coin base money) the style of the coins was altered, and ran thus, HENRIC. VIII. D. G. ANGL. FRANC. ET HYB. REX.: this is his style in the base monies; and it was continued in the succeeding reigns, till king James the First, instead of ANGLIÆ, put MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, which hath been used ever since.

Note, that in some of the coins of Henry VI. and in all that I have seen of king Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the letter N is left out in ANGLIÆ, and it is only writ AGL'.

Note likewise, that the shillings of Henry VIII. have on the reverse ADJUTORIUM, and not ADJUTOREM.

The legend that king Edward VI. for the first four years of his reign, put upon the reverse of his base shillings, was TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ.

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But there are two sorts of these shillings; the one a great deal heavier than the other. The light ones are those that were coined in the third and fourth years of his reign, when 72 shillings were cut out of a pound weight: I have one of each sort. In the fifth year of his reign, when the money was both the worst and the lightest that ever was seen in England, there was this legend put upon the reverse of his shillings, INIMICOS EJUS INDUAM CONFUSIONE. I have likewise one of these which is three parts silver, and nine parts brass.

In the sixth year of his reign he restored the old standard very near; and with that, as I said, the old inscription, POSUIT DEUM, &c.

§ 6. *How to distinguish the Coins of the several kings of the same Name.*

§ I. *Of the two Williams.*

I must confess I have no mark by which to distinguish their coins. The one, indeed, lived 20 years longer than the other; but it is not easy to perceive any such difference of age in any of the coins I have seen. If Speed distinguished them right, then we may certainly tell to which of them we are to adjudge such coins as he has given us the print of. For his William the Conqueror has two scepters in his hand; and William the Second has none, but a star on each side a little below the face. Both these coins are pretty common.

But then what shall we say to the coins that are inscribed WILLEM REX, and differ from both these, and that as well on the face-side, as on the reverse? of which sort my poor collection affords three. One of them, as I said, is without any scepter;

and the head is placed under a kind of portal or triumphal arch : this, indeed, I should take to be the Conqueror's. The other has one scepter, viz. that of the cross, but not in his right hand, as Speed's, but in his left. The last has a side-face, with a scepter before it. It is the neatest of them all ; and the face seems to be rather younger than any of the rest.

Note, Stowe saith, that William the Conqueror's penny was with a scepter in his hand, and a beardless face : for, saith he, the Normans wore no beards ; and for this he quotes Malmſbury.

§ 2. *Of the Eight Henrys.*

The pennies of the three first Henrys may easily be distinguished by what I have said about them in the two foregoing sections. To which add, that Henry III. in all the coins I have seen of his, put his number to his name, viz. HENRICUS REX III.

Those of Henry VII. likewise, and Henry VIII. have their numbers joined with their names, besides some other marks of distinction, which I have before given an account of.

So that the only difficulty is to distinguish between the coins of Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth ; the styles of all those kings being the same, and their faces upon the coins hardly to be known from one another ; the reverse likewise, and the legend, being the same in them all.

The marks of distinction between these three kings' coins that are commonly given, and which, till I be better informed, I incline to believe are true ones, are these :

Those of king Henry VI. may be known by the arched crown, with the globe and cross that is upon the head ; whereas the other two kings' coins have an open crown, like that of Edward III. &c.

Besides the authority of Selden for this (who describes king
Henry

Henry the Sixth's crown upon his coins to be such as I have said), I have these reasons to ascribe this sort of coins to be that king's. First, the weight of them will by no means agree with the coins of either of the Henrys before him, they being lighter, as I have found by several trials; but they come up well enough to Henry the Sixth and Henry the Seventh's standard, and indeed are much of the weight of Henry the Seventh's groats.

Secondly, These pieces (all that I have seen, and I myself have seven,) were stamped in England, generally in London; which makes it probable they did not belong to Henry the Fifth, during whose reign the mint was fixed at Calais.

Lastly, If these pieces do not belong to Henry the Sixth, then we have none of his coins; at least, I never saw any but these that could with any probability be ascribed to him. And yet, in so long a reign as his, it is hard to imagine that we should not have his money in as great plenty as of any of the kings of that time.

As for the coins of Henry IV. and Henry V. the distinction between them is something nicer; but yet I find it to be a real one.

Most of the monies of these two reigns was minted at Calais. Now it is obvious to observe, that in several of the groats and half-groats that were coined there, there are two little circles, pretty deeply impressed, put upon the coin a little below the face on each side. I cannot resemble them better than to two eylet-holes, as we call them, in linen. These I have often taken notice of, though I did not understand the meaning of them.

Others of the coins, both groats and half-groats, do want these impressions, or eylet-holes.

Now those that have them are ascribed to Henry V.; those that have them not, are thought to belong to Henry IV.

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It is also to be observed, that, in those coins where the two eylet-holes are put upon the face-side, there are also two answering to them put upon the reverse, viz. in the middle of two of the triangles of globules in the quarters of the cross, which are opposite to one another. What I say will be better understood by consulting the coin that Speed gives us for Henry the Fifth's groat, which exactly agrees with those groats of mine which I take to be his. The other groats and two-pences, which I judge to be Henry the Fourth's, want these eylet-holes in the reverse, as well as in the face-side.

I might, if it was worth the while, take notice of another distinction between these two sorts of coins, viz. the difference there is in the marks, or notes, which are put at the end of each word for the distinction of one word from another, which to any one that will cast his eye upon them is obvious enough.

As for Speed's three-pence, as he calls it, which he gives us for the coin of Henry IV. I know not what to make of it. There were no three-pences at that time; and all the groats and two-pences I have seen, either of Henry the Fourth's, or Henry the Fifth's, have DI. GRA. in the style, and two circles and inscriptions on the reverse; whereas his wants both.

The Six Edwards.

It is easy to know the coins of the two first Edwards by the accounts I have already given of them, viz. they were all pennies, or less monies, and larger than any that followed after. They wanted DI. GRA. and FRANC. in the style. But DNS. HYB. is always there, even upon the half-pence, which none of the other smaller coins had; nor even the great ones after Edward III. REX also in these coins is always abbreviated by R.

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But

But it is not so easy to distinguish the first Edward's coins from the Second's, for the weight, style, face, and reverse, are the same; only there is one difference observable in the coins, and that is in the putting of the name: for in some of the coins it is contracted EDW.; and in some it is put at length, EDWARD. But where you meet with EDWARDUS in a penny, I take it, it belongs to Edward the Third or Fourth. In some pennies it is likewise put EDWA. and in others EDWAR,

All that I dare affirm with confidence is, that all the coins where only the three first letters of the name are put, viz. EDW. belong to the first Edward, which is quite contrary to Speed's account, for he gives them to Edward the Second. My reasons for this are these two:

First, these coins are in much greater plenty than the other. I dare say, I have met with five of these for one of the other. Now every body knows that Edward the First coined abundantly more money than his son; and therefore, in reason, that must be his of which there is most remaining.

Secondly, Edward I. is famous for setting up four mints at Dublin, and coining a great deal of money there*. Now in all the Irish coins that I have seen (and I have seen a great many) the name is always put EDW. and never otherwise.

Now, if these be Edward the First's coins, as in reason we must think they are, it is a good argument that the coins of England where the name is so writ do belong to him likewise.

Of Edward the Third's money I have said a great deal already, and shall have occasion to say more by and by.

Edward V. coined no money.

Edward the Sixth, in all his coins, has added his number to his name, so that every body knows them.

* See Sir John Davis's Case of the Mixed Monies.

The great difficulty is about the coins of Edward IV. There was no doubt a great deal of money coined by him; for Mr. Lowndes gives us no fewer than fix indentures of the mint in his reign. And yet a piece of king Edward the Fourth's money is commonly accounted a great rarity; whereas that of Edward the Third, who was long before him, is plentiful enough. I have often wondered how this should come to pass, and was apt to fancy there must be some mistake in the business; and I think I have now found it, and what it was that led people into it;—I am sure what it was that led me. I took it for granted (and so I suppose others have done) that Speed had given us a right account of these two kings monies. And therefore, following him, I ascribed all that money I met with, which agreed with his print of Edward the Third's coin to that king; and none to Edward the Fourth's but that which he sets down for his, viz. the piece with the arms of France and England, and three crowns on the reverse, which indeed is very rare. But now, upon a more careful examination of the several coins in my possession, all of which I took to belong to Edward the Third, I plainly find that Speed was in a mistake; and that, instead of giving us Edward the Third's groat, as he pretended, he has really given us Edward the Fourth's, and that very exactly.

I have a matter of fifteen Edward groats, and some half-groats; and I plainly find they are of two sorts, and of two different kings, they varying one from the other both in weight and style, and in the shape of the letters in the inscription.

The groats of the one sort are larger and thicker than the other, and in weight (where they are not ellipt) come up near to three penny-weights; one of them wants but a grain of it. These now undoubtedly are Edward the Third's, whose groat, by

the indenture, ought to be of the weight of three penny-weights four grains. Of this sort I have five.

Those of the other sort (though some of them are very fair ones) do all fall short of two penny-weights, the heaviest of them wanting one grain of it.

Now these certainly belong to Edward the Fourth, in whose reign the value of silver was come to that pitch, that his groat, by the mint-master's indenture, was to weigh no more than two penny-weights three grains. Of this sort I have ten.

As for the style, I observe those of the bigger sort, which I call Edward the Third's, have all of them DNS. HYB. added to the king's other titles. And two of them (where FRANC. is not in the style), have AQT. viz. AQUITANIÆ, added to DNS. HYB.; whereas, in the lesser sort, the king's style is only REX ANGL. ET FRANC.; and DNS. HYB. is left out, as I observed before it was in all the coins after Edward III.

Lastly, there is a considerable difference between them as to the figure of the letters in the inscription; those of the bigger sort having the letters more like those that are to be seen in Edward the First's coins; whereas the letters in the other sort are exactly like those we meet with in the coins of Henry the Sixth and Seventh; particularly I take notice of the letter N in ANGL. and FRANC. and LONDON, how differently it is figured in these two coins. In the larger sort it is drawn as in the old coins before Edward the Third's days, with two straight thick lines, and a small one intersecting them obliquely towards the middle, in this fashion , not much unlike our Roman H. But in the lesser sort it has exactly the figure that Speed gives it, and which is used in all the coins of Henry the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, viz. after this fashion .

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I think these are proofs enough that the one sort of groats do belong to Edward III. and the other to Edward IV.

For a further confirmation of this, I have a groat of the lesser sort, of the same face and reverse with the rest stamped at Waterford in Ireland; which, though it be a very fair one, yet it wants 18 grains of the weight that even Edward the Fourth's groats ought to be of.

It is impossible now this should belong to Edward III. both because it falls short almost two thirds of the weight of his money; and also, because in his reign (if Sir John Davis says true), there was no mint at Waterford; it being Edward the Fourth, as he tells us, that first set up a mint there; as also another at Trim, another at Galway, &c. The same Edward the Fourth, as he tells us, did by parliament, in the fifth of his reign, raise the value of the Irish money one fourth part; so that whereas before it was equal in weight and value to the English money, now three-pence English was to be four-pence Irish; nine-pence English to go for a shilling in Ireland. And this gives a reason both for the lightness of the groat I speak of (I have such another of Henry the Eighth's with the harp upon it), and also how it came that queen Mary, queen Elizabeth, and king James, coined those pieces which we call nine-pences, viz. they were designed for Irish shillings, as the four-pence-halfpenny was the half-shilling.

The three Richards.

Richard the First's money I never saw; but to be sure it must be like to the pennies of that time, of which I have already given an account. Speed gives the print it.

Speed gives us no print of Richard the Second's silver monies; but only of his golden ones; and none at all of Richard the
Third's

Third's monies. And yet it is certain he coined both gold and silver, for there is the mint-master's indenture, bearing date the first of his reign, given us by Mr. Lowndes.

I have two groats of one of the Richards; the style is RICARD. DI. GRA. REX ANGL. & FRANC.; the face, reverse, and legend, the same as in those of Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. Edward IV. And I did heretofore ascribe them to Richard II. but for no other reason save that I could never meet with any one that could say he either had, or had seen, any of Richard the Third's coins. But I now incline to believe they are Richard the Third's groats, both because the letters of the inscription are so exactly of the same kind with those of Henry the Sixth's and Edward the Fourth's money; and principally because the weight of them is above one third part short of the standard in Richard the Second's time, but comes up well enough to the standard of Richard the Third. The weight of Richard the Second's groat, by the Indenture, ought to be three penny-weights four grains; Richard the Third's, two penny-weights three grains. The heaviest of these is one penny-weight twenty-one grains.

If this conjecture of mine should prove true, then Richard the Third's money is not so scarce as has been commonly believed*.

* Thus far is printed in Ives' Select Papers, N° I. from a copy given by Thoresby to Le Neve.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

GOLDEN COINS of ENGLAND.

§ 1. *Of their Fineness, which we call the Standard.*

FROM the 18th of Edward the Third (when gold was first coined), to the first of Henry the Eighth, all our golden coins were of the same fineness, viz. of that which we now call the old standard, i. e. of twenty-three carats three grains and a half fine gold, and half a grain alloy; so that there was but two penny-weights and a half alloy in every pound weight, and five grains alloy in every ounce of gold that was coined.

King Henry the Eighth, in the first year of his reign, introduced a new standard, viz. of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats alloy; so that all the gold which was coined after this standard had just one twelfth part alloy; whereas before it had but one sixty-ninth part alloy. This was a great debasing of our coin, but yet no more than what was reasonable; since the gold coins of the greatest part of Christendom were not then, nor are

now, of greater fineness than this; many of them are not so fine.

Nevertheless king Henry did not so establish this standard as to lay aside or discontinue the old one; for he took care that the old pieces, which had been in use here before his time, viz. the rose nobles and angels, and their dependants, should be coined of the same fineness they used to be, according to the old standard: but such pieces as he himself brought in, that had no relation to the rose noble, those were coined according to that new standard.

This practice of his was continued by his successors till king Charles the Second's time. For in every reign pieces were coined according to both these standards, as appears by the Indentures of the mint; and it was not till the bringing in of guineas that the old standard was totally laid aside, all our guineas being of the latter standard.

Gold of the old standard is commonly by the goldsmiths called *angel-gold*, because all the angels in every reign down to king Charles the Second were made of it.

Gold of the latter standard is called *crown-gold*; because king Henry VIII. made his crowns according to this standard, and they had that name from the rose and crown which was stamped upon them.

But there is another sort of English gold much worse than the crown-gold, to which the goldsmiths give the name of *sovereign-gold*. This I take to be gold of that standard, of which king Henry the Eighth, in the last year of his reign, and king Edward the Sixth, in the three first years of his, made the sovereigns and half-sovereigns that were then coined. It was of twenty carats fine, and four carats allay. So that all the coins of this sort of gold had one sixth part allay. But this standard continued

nued not in use above four years ; for in the third of Edward the Sixth the two former standards were restored, and so continued, as I said, till the coining of guineas.

§ 2. *Of the Proportions between Gold and Silver with respect to their Values.*

The proportion that gold bore to silver, as to price and value, was, among the ancient Greeks, as ten to one ; and so it was likewise among the Romans. But it was always otherwise here.

I find, that from Edward the Third down to king James the First, the value of gold, compared with that of silver, has been always as twelve to one ; that is to say, one pound of gold of the old standard was accounted worth twelve pounds weight of sterling silver. And though from time to time the price of gold was raised, yet silver always rose with it in the same proportion ; except that, in the 43d of queen Elizabeth, silver was a little more raised than gold ; she then coining sixty-two shillings out of every pound weight of silver (as has been continued ever since) ; by which means, at that time, gold did not fully hold out to the proportion of twelve to one. But from that time to this the value of silver hath not been raised at all ; but the value of gold hath been considerably.

At this time the proportion between gold and silver, as to the value of them, stands thus :

One pound weight of crown-gold, reckoning guineas at twenty shillings apiece (as they are coined to go for no more), is equal to fourteen pound weight of silver, and three parts of a pound, and sixpence over : but reckoning guineas at twenty-two shillings apiece, a pound of this gold is equal to fifteen pounds of silver, and three quarters of a pound, and some thing more.

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But now, at this rate, a pound of gold of the old standard, after the proportion of twenty shillings apiece for guineas, is equal to fifteen pounds and a half of silver wanting one shilling. But if we reckon guineas as they now go, at twenty-two shillings apiece, then a pound of the old gold is equal to seventeen pounds of silver and two shillings over. So that the value of gold, as it is now current among us, is raised above one third part more than what it was in queen Elizabeth's reign; whereas silver stands at the same pitch it did then. Let those that are able make their reflections upon this.

§ 3. *Of the several Pieces from the first coining of Gold to the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.*

King Edward the Third, in the year 1343, says Camden, first coined gold, and the pieces were called *Florences*. With this agrees the Indenture of the Mint, which is given us by Mr. Lowndes; and which further tells us, that these florences were coined to go for six shillings apiece, and that there were fifty of them made out of the pound weight; so that every piece was to weigh four penny-weights $19\frac{1}{5}$ grains.

Camden adds, that these pieces were called florences, because Florentines were the coiners, as Easterlings were of sterling money. Whether Florentines were actually sent for over hither, and employed in this coinage, is doubtful. They might be called florens upon another account, viz. because that was the common name that then obtained in most parts of Europe for the golden coins; as of later times it has done for the silver ones; and they had that name given them from the flower (which was a lily) that was at first stamped upon them. Though it cannot be denied, that these pieces were first coined by the Florentines in
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the year 1252; but that was near a hundred years before our king Edward coined his*.

Presently after these florens (even the same year as the Indenture witnesseth) came in that piece which we call the rose noble, together with its parts, the half noble and the quarter noble. Which two latter pieces were called the halfpenny and farthing of gold, as the noble itself was called the penny.

This piece had the name of noble, because it was coined to go for six shillings and eight-pence, which is the English noble; unless you will rather say that the English half-mark had its name from this piece, but that the piece itself had its name from the noble metal it was made of. And it was called the rose noble, from the large rose it had upon the reverse; and which, as far as I can find, was always continued upon this piece, and all its parts, as a characteristic thereof, as long as any of them were coined among us.

From henceforward there were no other pieces but these coined in England till the angels came in. And, after that, no other pieces, as I take it, but the rose noble and angel, and their parts, till Henry the Eighth's time. Of both which take this short account.

In the three first coinages of the rose noble it was of different weights; but in every one of them something heavier than it was afterwards. In the fourth coinage, which was in the 27th year of king Edward the Third, and at the same time that he first coined silver groats, it was settled at the weight of five penny-weights eight grains; there being forty-five nobles ordered to be coined out of a pound of gold, which makes just the weight I speak of: every piece to go for six shillings and eight-pence; and the half nobles and quarter nobles accordingly. At this

* Vide Du Fresne's Gloss. verbo FLORENUS.

weight and value these pieces continued, not only all the remaining time of king Edward the Third, but also during the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

In Henry the Fifth's time the price of gold was so increased, that there was a necessity either of diminishing the weight of the rose noble, or raising its value. This king chose the former way, ordering fifty nobles to be coined out of the pound, whereas before there were but forty-five.

His successor, Henry the Sixth, liked the latter way better; and therefore, by his Indenture, in the first of his reign, restored the rose noble to its old weight of forty-five out of the pound, but raised the value of it one third part; so that from henceforward it should be current for ten shillings. But because it was now no longer a noble (though it continued still in the same form, both as to the rose and the legend, &c.) he called it a *Ryal*; by which name we generally meet with it in the Indentures of the following reigns. And for the noble and half noble he appointed two new coins, which, from the figures of Michael and the Dragon stamped upon them, were called *Angels* and *Angelets*, or *Angel Nobles* and *Half Angels*. This angel, which was ever after continued, was just two thirds in weight of the rose noble; and, till king Henry the Eighth's reign, went for no more than six shillings and eight-pence, as the ryal, or old rose noble, did for ten shillings.

And thus from henceforward stood the golden coins of England till the first year of Henry the Eighth, both as to the number of pieces, which were rose ryals, half ryals, and quarter ryals, angels, and angelets, and also as to the weight and value of them; and I am apt to think likewise with little difference as to the stamps and inscriptions; of which I shall by-and-by give a farther account.

As for the *Salute* of king Henry the Sixth, which Camden mentions and describes, on the reverse whereof was this legend, CHRISTUS REGNAT, CHRISTUS VINCIT, CHRISTUS IMPERAT, I do not account it among the number of our English coins, it being stamped in France, and reckoned as a coin of that nation *. But by the way, observe a mistake of Mr. Evelyn, p. 86, who attributes this coin to Henry V. as also another mistake in the same page, where he describes Henry the Sixth's angel under the notion of a lesser rose noble of Henry the Fifth.

I have had some doubts concerning the weight of the old rose noble, which I have here assigned to be five penny-weights eight grains, following herein the Indentures; all of which, except that of Henry the Fifth, order the pound of gold to be struck into forty-five ryals or nobles. But now Mr. Camden, from bishop Tonstall, puts the weight of the old rose noble only at five penny-weights precisely, or a quarter of an ounce; and so likewise doth the Dutch book of Monies, put out by order of the States General 1610. What to say to this I know not, unless some allowance be to be made for the wearing of the gold in so long a time. My rose noble of Edward the Third doth still weigh full five penny-weights; but that of Edward the Fourth wants two grains of that weight.

Note also, that, according to the account of the Indentures, the angels before Henry the Eighth's time ought to weigh three penny-weights $13\frac{1}{3}$ grains; they being just two thirds of the rose noble. But yet in the Dutch book I before mentioned, the old English angel is put but at the weight of three penny-weights $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains hard. And of three or four which I have of this sort none of them comes up fully to that.

* Vide Du Fresne's Gloss. verbo MONETA.

§ 4. *Of the Stamps and Inscriptions of the foregoing Pieces.*

I begin with the rose noble, a description of which is given both by Mr. Camden, in his *Remains*, Tit. *Monies*; and by Mr. Evelyn, in his late *Discourse of Medals*; but with this difference, that Mr. Camden describes the rose noble of Edward the Third; and Mr. Evelyn the rose ryal of Edward the Fourth. But, from the observations that may be made on both their descriptions, one may draw this conclusion, that the rose noble, or ryal, was much the same sort of coin all along, though in different reigns it was distinguished by some different marks. It was just here as it was in the silver groats of those times, which were so like one another, both as to the shape, head, style, and reverse, that, where the name of the king did not distinguish them, they were hard to be distinguished; but yet, to a careful observer, there would appear some marks of distinction in the groats of every reign.

The common marks of the rose noble or ryal, and wherein, as far as I have observed, they all agreed, were these: on the one side, there is the king standing in a ship at sea, holding in his right hand a sword, and in his left a shield with the arms of France and England; on the stern of the ship there is commonly a standard, or flag, erected; in the circumference of the coin is the name or style of the king.

On the reverse, in the middle of the coin, is sometimes a cross, sometimes a sun; unless you will rather call it a little rose encompassed with rays like a sun; beyond which, towards the circumference, the whole round is filled with lions and lis's interchangeably, each being four in number: the lions have crowns upon them. The whole is enclosed in a figure resembling a rose; and about the circumference is this Lemma, taken out
of

of the fourth of St. Luke, ver. 30. JESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT. I must be pardoned, if, having no knowledge in heraldry, I do in this description use improper expressions.

Note, there is one rose noble in the Dutch book belonging to one of the Henrys, wherein, on the reverse, there is nothing but a large rose with three flowers de lis in the middle, and the usual legend in the circumference; and on the other side, after the king's style, are the letters HAR. I should fancy that this coin was Henry the Fifth's, and that it was stamped at Harflew in France, which was the first town which that king besieged and took in that country, and where he planted a colony of English.

Of this form and device were all the rose nobles from Edward the Third downward. And one main design of it (as Mr. Selden observes in his *Mare Clausum*), was to set forth the king's sovereignty over the Narrow Seas; which was also taken notice of in an old rhyme, which he quotes out of a MS. in the Cotton Library, viz.

Four things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.

How the legend of JESUS AUTEM came to be first put upon this coin is not certainly known. The chemists, as Mr. Camden tells us, would have it believed, that thereby was denoted the secret and invisible way of making the gold of which these pieces were coined, which they say was done by the philosopher's stone. But this is a jest. It is more probable what he suggests, that there might in that age be thought some virtue in these words if carried about one, to preserve them from dangers and misfortunes. For I find that the rose nobles of other nations had these words stamped upon them as well as ours. And Mr. Selden takes notice in some of the civil law-books, that, among other things, which

which those that were put to the torture in those times made use of for the alleviating or driving away their pain, these words of JESUS AUTEM was one.

I mentioned the rose nobles of other nations; for though it be probable that our Edward the Third was the first author of this coin; yet it is certain that other nations, particularly the Dutch, had also such rose nobles as these, though Mr. Evelyn seems to think the contrary. In the Dutch book I meet with an old rose noble of Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders (who I take it was contemporary with our Edward III. at least for some part of his time), that is so like our English rose noble in all respects, that they are not to be distinguished but by the difference of the style and arms, and by the flag in the stern of the ship, which in this Dutch piece is wanting.

As to the half and quarter rose nobles, I never saw any of them; but the prints of both of them are given in the Dutch book, viz. of Edward the Fourth's coinage: they in all things exactly resemble the rose noble, both as to king, and ship, and flag, and sword, and shield; and so also as to the figures on the reverse, only there are two differences observable, viz.

First, In the half noble, the legend on the reverse is not JESUS AUTEM, &c.; but this, DOMINE NE IN FURORE TUO ARGUAS ME, as Camden also has told us, that this was the inscription of the half noble.

Secondly, In the quarter noble, though the legend of the reverse be the same as in the rose noble, yet in the style of the king DNUS HYB. is left out.

Speed has given us a print of one of king Richard the Second's golden coins. I know not what to make of it: if it be a genuine one, then there are exceptions to be made to what I have now said; for I take this piece to be a half noble. On the reverse there is,
indeed,

indeed, the crofs, and lions, and lis's; but the legend is not DOMINE IN FURORE, but A DOMINO AUXILIUM MEUM; nor is there any fhip, or flag, or fhield, on the other fide, but only the king's head with a fword in his hand. But, which is moft ftrange, the ftyle of the king there runs thus: RICARD. DI. GRA. AGLIE, FRANCIE REX D. AQUIT. Why fhould AQUIT. be put in when France was mentioned before? Perhaps it fhould be HYB. inftead of AQUIT. But, be that as it will, I believe he is miftaken in afcribing it to Richard the Second; for AGLIE, inftead of ANGLIE, was not the way of writing in his time. It is more probable it belongs to Richard III.

As for the angels, they all agreed in this, that on one fide was Michael and the Dragon (from which this piece had its name), with the ftyle of the king in the circumference. On the other fide was a fhip, in which was placed a fhield, with the arms of France and England, and over the fhield a crofs; upon the one fide of which was the firft letter of the king's name that coined the piece; on the other fide a little rofe. The legend in the circumference was, PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS CRISTE REDEMPTOR.

The half angels were in all things like the whole ones; only, if we may judge by that of Henry the Eighth, the legend on the reverfe was different, viz. inftead of PER CRUCEM TUAM, it WAS CRUX AVE SPES UNICA.

§ 5. *Of the feveral Pieces from the firft of Henry the Eighth to this Time.*

From henceforward to the 14th of king Charles II. the golden coins were of two ftandards; of the difference of which I have before given an account.

Of the old standard were coined *Rose Nobles*, *Double Rose Nobles*, *Angels*, *Half Angels*, and sometimes *Quarter Angels*. As for the half rose nobles, and quarter nobles, which were in use in the former reigns, they were from henceforward quite discontinued.

Note, that the angel, and its parts, continued to bear the same proportion to the rose noble, both as to weight and value, that it always used to do.

Note, that king Henry the Eighth made two new coins to go for nobles and half nobles; gold being now so risen that the angel and half angel could no longer be afforded at those prices. He called them the *George noble*, and the *half George noble*, from the figure of St. George on horseback, with the dragon underneath, that was stamped upon them; the legend was TALIDICATA SIGNO MENS FLUCTUARE NEQUIT. On the other side was a ship with the king's style in the circumference. But these pieces were left off after his reign.

Note likewise, that there are no half angels or quarter angels to be met with after the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Note, that in the Indentures, the rose nobles are commonly called *Ryals*, and in latter times *Spur Ryals*; the double rose nobles are sometimes called *Sovereigns*, sometimes *Double Nobles*, and of latter times *Rose Ryals*; the angels never changed their name.

As for the weight of these pieces, note, that from henceforward it was diminished; for whereas, before there used to be but forty-five rose nobles coined out of the pound, there was now forty-eight: and so of the other pieces proportionably. So that now the rose noble was to weigh just five penny-weights; the double rose noble ten penny-weights; and the angel three penny-weights eight grains. And thus the weight stood during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth;

Elizabeth; but in the three following reigns the pieces were still made lighter: king James's spur ryal or rose noble weighing but four penny-weights $10\frac{1}{2}$ grains; and that of the two Charles's only four penny-weights one grain; and the other pieces proportionably.

The value of these pieces were raised from time to time. King Henry the Eighth's rose noble at first was current for eleven shillings and three pence, afterwards for twelve shillings; and so it stood till the latter end of king Edward the Sixth's reign: it was then raised to fifteen shillings, and so continued all queen Mary's and queen Elizabeth's time. King James's rose noble, though lighter, went at first for fifteen shillings; afterwards for sixteen shillings and six pence. King Charles, as I said, yet lessened the weight of the piece; and so in his reign and his son's it went as formerly, viz. at fifteen shillings. The rates of the other pieces were in the same proportion, viz. the double rose noble at thirty shillings; the angel ten shillings, &c.

Of the new standard, or of the crown gold, in the first coinage of Henry VIII. were only stamped crowns and half crowns; but afterwards, by him and all his successors were coined of this gold twenty shilling pieces, ten shilling pieces, crowns and half crowns; to which king James I. added a piece to go for four shillings, which was called the *Thistle-crown*; but it was discontinued after his reign, as likewise were the half crown pieces.

Note, that the twenty shilling pieces were called *sovereigns* (as the ten shilling pieces half *sovereigns*), till king James gave them the name of *Units*; and then the half *sovereigns* were called *Double Crowns*.

The weight of the *sovereigns*, and so of the other pieces proportionably, during the several reigns, stood thus:

King Henry the Eighth's sovereign, or twenty shilling piece, ought to weigh, by the Indentures, eight penny-weights.

King Edward the Sixth's and queen Elizabeth's seven penny-weights $6\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

King James's larger twenty shilling piece with the globe and sceptre (and which shortly after went for twenty-two shillings), six penny-weights twelve grains; and so it is put in the Dutch book, though I never met with any that weighed above six penny-weights seven or eight grains.

His lesser twenty shilling piece, with the laurel on his head (which was afterwards coined), five penny-weights twenty grains, or thereabout.

And at the same weight stood the twenty shilling piece in the reigns of both the Charles's, as also in the times of the Parliament and Oliver.

The Indenture by which king James's laurel pieces were made is not in Mr. Lowndes; but the Indentures for the twenty shilling pieces of both the Charles's are there; and by them it appears, that a pound of crown gold was coined into one and forty units, going for twenty shillings apiece; so that each piece ought to weigh five penny-weights $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains almost.

I have a piece of king Charles the First, with the globe and sceptre, like the large Jacobus, and of the same weight, which was coined to go at twenty-two shillings. But this was stamped in Scotland. I never met with any such among his English coins.

I have likewise a milled broad piece of king Charles the Second's coined 1662: it is not so large as his first broad twenty shilling pieces, but larger than his guineas. The weight is the same with the other broad pieces, and so is the legend.

A. D. 1662, all these pieces of both standards gave place to the guineas, which, with the half guineas, double guineas, and five

five guinea pieces, have been the only coins that have been since minted in England. They are, as I said, of the new standard, or the crown gold. They have been ever coined to go at twenty shillings, as appears by the Indentures both of king Charles II. king James II. and king William and queen Mary. The weight of them ought to be five penny-weights $9\frac{3}{4}$ grains; though the ordinary guinea-weight, which now goes about for the trial of guineas, is no more than five penny-weights eight grains; so that they are about eleven grains lighter than the late broad pieces.

§ 6. *A farther Account of these Pieces as to the Impresses and Inscriptions.*

And, first, of the double rose noble, which on one side represents the king or queen, whose coin it is, with a full face, in their robes, sitting on a throne, crowned with an imperial crown, having a sceptre in the right hand, and a globe and cross in the left; at the foot is a portcullis; and in the circumference is the name and style of the king or queen.

On the reverse, in the middle, is a shield with the arms of France and England, to which king James added those of Scotland and Ireland, which is inclosed in a large curiously carved rose. The legend was at first the same with that of the single rose noble, viz. JESUS AUTEM, &c.; but queen Mary, at the beginning of her reign, as I take it, altered it to A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD ET EST MIRABILE IN OCULIS NOSTRIS; which inscription was continued by queen Elizabeth and king James; and I suppose likewise by the two Charles's; but I have not either of their pieces.

Note, that Mr. Evelyn gives us the print of queen Mary's double rose noble, p. 91; but the graver has there by mistake
put

put the sceptre in her left hand, and the globe and cross in her right, which is quite otherwise in the coin, of which I have one by me.

I must here take notice, that the Henry double rose noble, as it is printed in the Dutch book (and which I ascribe to Henry VIII. and as such I think it is put there), has not the number of VIII. added to his name, as it commonly is in the coins of his reign. This has sometimes made me doubt whether this coin doth not really belong to Henry VI. to whom I see Speed ascribes it; for the piece that Speed gives us under that king's name is the same with this in the Dutch book, only not so largely printed; so that the double rose noble, if this be true, is not of so late a standing as I have made it. But all things considered, I am of opinion this is Henry the Eighth's piece; and that he was the first that coined any of the sort. And my argument is, the perfect silence of all the Indentures, both of Henry VI. Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. as to any such coin as the double rose noble. But in the Indenture of the first year of Henry VIII. there is an order for the coining of it; and from thenceforward we rarely miss it in any of the Indentures for the coinage of the old gold. And as for the want of the number to his name, I think that is no good argument against this; for I find the George noble, which was undoubtedly a coin of Henry the Eighth's, and stamped in the first year of his reign, wants the number as well as this. And indeed there is no reason to expect that the coins in the beginning of his reign should have the figure of VIII. stamped upon them, if it be true, what my Lord Coke says, p. 7, upon Littleton, that this king did not take OCTAVUS into his style till the tenth year of his reign. The portcullis likewise at the foot of the coin is a farther confirmation that it belongs to this reign.

For

For this see a medal of Henry VIII. in Mr. Evelyn; and see Camden, Tit. *Impresses*.

As for the single rose nobles within this period, I can add nothing to what I have already said about them. I believe that they continued in the same form I described, and with the same legend of JESUS AUTEM, till king James's reign; for queen Elizabeth's, given us in the Dutch book, is such an one. What alteration king James or the Charles's made in them, I know not.

I have nothing neither to add to what I have said about the angel, but only this, that king Henry the Eighth's and king Edward the Sixth's angel had the old inscription of PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS CHRISTE REDEMPTOR. But queen Mary's and queen Elizabeth's angel had instead thereof, A DOMINO FACTUM EST ISTUD, ET EST MIRABILE. The remainder of the lemma, IN OCULIS NOSTRIS, was left out.

As for the pieces of the crown gold, king Henry's sovereign and half sovereign have the king in his robes crowned, sitting on a throne, with a scepter in his right hand, and a globe and cross in his left; the style HENRICUS VIII. D. GRA. AGL. FRANCIE ET HIB. REX. Note, none of these pieces were coined till the 36th of his reign, when he had taken upon him the style of king of Ireland. On the reverse you have a shield crowned with the arms of France and England quarterly, and supported by a lion on one side and a dragon on the other: the inscription is JESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS, &c.

His crown pieces have sometimes a rose crowned, sometimes a rose without a crown; on the other side a shield crowned, with the arms of France and England. The inscription on the rose side is, HENRICUS VIII. RUTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA; on the other side, DEI GRA. R. ANGL. ET FRANC. DNUS HIB. OR DI. GRA. AGL. FRANC.

FRANC. ET HIB. REX. The letters H. and R. are sometimes put on the sides of the rose and shield.

His half crown pieces are of the same fashion.

Some of king Edward the Sixth's sovereigns have the king on his throne, just as in Henry the Eighth's, with the arms on the other side supported by the lion and dragon. In others of them he is represented with a half-face standing, having a sword in his right hand, and a globe and cross in his left. In some of them the legend is, JESUS AUTEM, &c.; in others, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGIT EUM.

In all the half sovereigns I have met with, he is pictured with a half-face, sometimes with a sword and globe in his hands, and then the legend is JESUS AUTEM; sometimes without them, and then the legend is, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGIT EUM.

In his crown pieces he is put bare-headed, and not crowned as in the larger pieces. The inscription there is, SCUTUM FIDEI, &c.

I have met with none of the crown gold of queen Mary. Camden tells us, that the inscription of the crown piece of Philip and Mary was MUNDI SALUS UNICA.

Queen Elizabeth's sovereign gives us her head crowned, but without either sceptre or globe. On the reverse are the arms of France and England, with the letters E. and R. on the sides. The inscription is, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGIT EAM. Of the same fashion and inscription is her half sovereign, and I suppose her crowns and half crowns.

King James the First's two sorts of sovereigns are so well known, that they need no description. The legend on both is, FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM, from whence they had the name of units.

His

His two half sovereigns likewise, or double crowns, have both one inscription, viz. HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS. His single crown pieces have also the same.

His half crown has, like the rest, his head on one side, and his arms on the other; but the inscriptions are different. On the face side is J. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA; on the other side, TUEATUR UNITA DEUS. His thistle crown, which went for four shillings, has on one side a rose crowned, with the king's name and style; on the other side a thistle crowned, with these words, TUEATUR UNITA DEUS.

King Charles the First's large piece, with the globe and scepter, which I said was coined in Scotland, has on the reverse this legend, HIS PRÆSUM UT PROSIM. In all other things it is like the great unit of king James.

His common twenty shilling pieces are sufficiently known; the inscription on them is, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA.

His ten shilling and five shilling pieces have, like them, the king's head crowned on one side, and his arms crowned on the other; but the inscription on both is CULTORES SUI DEUS PROTEGIT.

The Parliament's golden coins are just like their silver ones, viz. on one side two shields with the cross and harp; in the circumference, the year in which the piece was coined, with these words, GOD WITH US; on the other side, the cross in a shield, with these words in the circle, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

I have a twenty shilling and a ten shilling piece of this coin; but I never met with a five shilling piece of it.

Oliver Cromwell's twenty shilling piece is, both as to the impresses and inscriptions upon it, like his milled shilling, viz. on one side, his head with a laurel wreath, with this inscription, OLIVAR D. G. R. P. ANG. SCO. ET HIB. PRO.; on the reverse, a

H

shield

shield crowned, in which the cross of England is quartered, with the St. Andrew's cross of Scotland and the harp of Ireland, and in the middle his own paternal coat. The legend, PAX QUERITUR BELLO.

I never saw any ten shilling or five shilling pieces of his.

King Charles the Second's twenty shilling pieces give his head crowned with laurel; on the other side his arms in a shield; the legend is, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. There are two sorts of them, the one of which is hammered, the other milled.

§ 7. *A Table of the Present Rates of Gold for the more easily finding the Value of the Old Pieces.*

The proportion that has been usually observed as to the value of the old gold and the crown gold is almost as twelve shillings to eleven; I say almost, for there ought to be some allowance made for the allay that is in the old gold, viz. about ten shillings in the pound weight; though I find that sometimes this has not been minded; for in several coinages the proportion between them has been exactly as twelve to eleven; i. e. a pound, or an ounce, of the old gold has been set at just one twelfth part more than the pound, or ounce, of crown gold.

A pound of crown gold is, by the present Indentures, to be coined into forty-four pounds ten shillings tale, that is, forty-four guineas and a half, each guinea going for twenty shillings. Now, at this rate, if old gold was now to be coined, a pound of it could not be coined into less than forty-eight pounds tale. And, according to this valuation, I proceed to the following table:

An ounce of crown gold, according to the present £. s. d.

Indentures, and reckoning guineas at twenty

shillings apiece, is worth	-	-	-	3	14	2
				Reckoning		

	£.	s.	d.
Reckoning guineas as 22 s. as they are now current	4	1	7
An ounce of old gold, at the proportion of guineas going at 20 s. is worth	4	0	0
But, taking guineas at 22 s. worth	4	8	0
A penny-weight of crown gold, reckoning guineas at 20 s. a piece, is worth	0	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Reckoning guineas at 22 s. worth	0	4	1
[Not all out a penny, but more than three farthings and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a farthing, viz. $\frac{19}{20}$ of a penny.]			
A penny-weight of old gold, reckoning guineas at 20 s. is worth	0	4	0
Reckoning guineas at 22 s. something more than	0	4	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Twelve grains of guinea-gold, reckoning guineas at 20 s. a piece, are worth	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Guineas at 22 s. worth almost	0	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Twelve grains of old gold, reckoning guineas at 20 s. are worth	0	2	0
Reckoning guineas at 22 s. a piece, something more than	0	2	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
One grain of crown, or guinea-gold, reckoning guineas at 20 s. is worth seven farthings and almost half a farthing; six grains are 11 d. and half a farthing.			
Reckoning guineas at 22 s. something more than 2 d.			
One grain of old gold, guineas at 20 s. worth 2 d.			
Reckoning guineas at 22 s. two-pence and almost a farthing.			

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

SCOTS MONEY.

§ 1. *Of the Scots Weights and Standards.*

THEIR money weights are the same with ours, as appears by those pieces of queen Mary and king James VI. which were coined for ounces, and agree with our ounce. But their merchants' weights are different, there going sixteen pounds troy to the stone, and every pound troy being divided into sixteen ounces. This is settled by many acts of parliament.

The standard of their money, I mean its fineness, was anciently the same with ours; but about queen Mary's time it began to be otherwise. And in the twelfth year of her reign there is an act that forbids the making of any plate of less fineness than eleven pennies of silver and twenty-two carats of gold, under pain of death to the goldsmith. This, at that time, seems to be the standard of their money; and, as such, it is often mentioned in the statutes of king James VI.

The meaning of these terms is, that in every pound or ounce of gold or silver, there ought to be eleven parts fine, and one part allay : and this is likewise the French standard ; as it is also ours at present for gold. But our silver is finer by two penny-weights in the pound.

§ 2. *Of the Scots Sums compared with the English, and the different Proportions they bore to one another in the several Reigns.*

The sums by which the Scots always computed, and do still compute, are the same with ours, they reckoning by farthings, halfpence, pence, shillings, marks, and pounds, as we do ; and all those sums bearing the same proportion to one another as we do, viz. a shilling to contain twelve pennies ; a pound to contain twenty-shillings ; a mark thirteen shillings and four-pence, &c. ; but there has been a very great difference as to the value of these sums, from time to time, between the two nations.

I know not but that at the first the Scots pieces, being of the same weight with ours, and having likewise the same names, as halfpence, pence, half-groats, and groats, might also be current for the same sums. But from the time that their Statute Book begins, which is at the first year of king James the First, it was otherwise ; and the difference increased in every reign, of which take this account from their acts of parliament.

In the fourteenth year of king James the Second, which was the thirtieth of our Henry the Sixth, “ it was ordered, that new
“ money should be struck, conform in weight and fineness to the
“ money of England ; that eight groats be stricken out of the
“ ounce of silver ; and so proportionably half-groats, pennies,
“ halfpennies, and farthings. The groat to be current for
“ eight pence ; the half-groat for four pence ; the penny for
“ two pence ; the halfpenny for a penny ; the farthing for a
“ halfpenny.

“ halfpenny. That the English groat, of which there are eight
 “ to the ounce, shall always go for eight pence, and the half-groat
 “ for four pence; but the English penny not to have course, but
 “ at the will of the receiver.”

So that, at this time, the computation of their sums was just double to ours, i. e. they called that a shilling which we called but six pence; or that a pound which we called but ten shillings.

In king James the Third's reign, sixteen years after, the English penny was equal to the Scotch three pence; and the English groat equal to the Scotch shilling.

In king James the Fourth's reign, twenty-two years after, the groat of the same weight and fineness with the English groat went at fourteen pence. So that then the English penny was three pence halfpenny Scotch; and the English shilling was their three shillings six pence.

In what proportion the difference increased in the two following reigns I know not, for the acts of parliament say nothing of it; but in the first of king James the Sixth an ounce of silver was rated at thirty shillings; and accordingly that king coined ounce-pieces of silver, on which the figure of xxx. was impressed. These pieces were stamped in the tenth year of our queen Elizabeth, at what time the ounce of sterling silver was coined into five shillings English; so that now the proportion between the English and Scotch pennies, and shillings, and pounds, were just as one to six.

Thus the difference stood in the beginning of king James's reign; but before he came into England it was just doubled: for his mark pieces of 1601 were coined after the rate of sixty shillings an ounce of silver. So that now our English penny was exactly the Scotch shilling; and our twenty pence their pound; and our five shillings their three pounds; and their mark just our $1\frac{1}{3}$ d.

This

This was the proportion between the Scots and English pence, shillings, and pounds, all king James's reign in England, and all king Charles the First's, and likewise for some part, if not all, king Charles the Second's. For I find an act of parliament in his reign that makes a pound English to be equivalent to twelve pounds Scots.

But now I think their money is not coined so heavy; by all that I have examined of the later pieces it is not. But the Scots pound seems to be much of the same weight with the French livre, as it is also in fineness; that is to say, to be worth about eighteen pence of our money, or perhaps a halfpenny more. And accordingly I find, by a Scotch proclamation about three or four years ago, that our milled crown piece is made current in Scotland at sixty-five shillings.

§ 3. *Of the several Scots Pieces.*

The Scots pieces for a long time were, no doubt, only pence and halfpence, as ours were no other.

After that came in groats and half groats, about the time that we had got them in England.

After that came in larger pieces of about the bigness of our shilling, but not as I take it till after our Henry the Eighth had coined his shillings. And after that came in still larger pieces of an ounce and two thirds of an ounce weight, some time after our Edward the Sixth had brought in our crown pieces.

At the time of passing the act I before quoted, which was in the thirtieth year of our Henry the Sixth, A. D. 1451, it appears plainly there were no other silver coins in Scotland but the groat, the half groat, the penny, the halfpenny, and the farthing, all which were to be of the same weight and fineness with our English pieces. And I have reason to believe they had no other
pieces

pieces than these till the latter end of king James the Fifth's reign, or perhaps till the beginning of queen Mary's, which was in the thirty-fifth of our Henry the Eighth. Indeed, I never saw nor heard of any other till her time.

The pieces that I have of this sort are these:

A penny of Alexander the Third. He began his reign, A. D. 1249, in the thirty-fourth of our Henry the Third, and died the fourteenth of our Edward the First. On the one side is the king, with a half-face, crowned, and a sceptre before him. The inscription is ALEXANDER DEI GRA. On the reverse is a large cross, reaching to the extremity of the piece with four mullets, or stars in its quarters. The inscription is REX SCOTORUM.

The letters are like those of our Edward the First's coins, and the weight is the same, viz. this wants two grains of a penny-weight.

A groat of David Bruce. He began to reign 1330, in the fifth of our Edward the Third: he was a prisoner in England twelve years, to which the legend on the reverse seems to have reference. On the one side is the king crowned, with a half face, and bearing a sceptre. The inscription, DAVID DEI GRA. REX SCOTORUM. On the reverse is a large cross, intersecting two circles that go about the piece; in each quarter of the cross is a mullet; in the inner circle is VILLA EDINBURGHI; in the outer, DOMINUS PROTECTOR MEUS ET LIBERATOR MEUS, but with some abbreviation of the writing: the weight of this piece is three penny-weights wanting nine grains. I suppose it was coined of the weight of our Edward the Third's groats, in whose reign it was minted. I suppose this to be the first Scotch groat.

A groat of Robert Stewart (I suppose the Third) who began to reign 1390, fourteenth of Richard the Second. This groat is as like

like ours of that time as can be : the king's picture is open-faced, and in such a kind of rose as we have on our English groats ; there is no sceptre ; the inscription is ROBERTUS DEI GRA. REX SCOTORUM. On the reverse are three globules in each quarter of the cross ; in the inner circle thereof, VILLA EDINBURGHI ; in the outer, DNUS PROTECTOR MEUS, &c. as before. It weighs but one penny-weight twelve grains.

A groat of one of the James's, but which of them I do not know. The king is here with an open face, and has a sceptre ; the style is JACOBUS DEI GRA. REX SCOTORUM. The reverse is in all points like the former. The weight is one penny-weight $4\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

A half groat of one of the James's, but not of the same that coined the former piece, for this wants the sceptre. The style is JACOBUS D. GRA. REX SCOTORUM. On the reverse, instead of the three globules is a mullet in each quarter of the cross : in the inner circle is VILLA BERWICI ; in the outer, DNUS PROTECTOR MEUS ET LIBERATOR MEUS as before. It weighs $18\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

This piece being stamped at Berwick makes it plain to which of the James's it doth belong ; for that town after our Edward the First's time was never in the possession of any of the Scotch kings but James the Third, who held it twenty-one years.

Note, that James I. began his reign 1424, 3 Henry VI. ; James II. 1437, 16 Henry VI. ; James III. 1460, 1 Edward VI. ; James IV. 1489, 5 Henry VII.

A groat of James V. who began his reign 1514, 6 Henry VIII. has the king's head in an arched crown (whereas all the crowns of the former coins were open), with a fide face, and the rose is left out of the coin ; the inscription is, JACOBUS V. DEI GRA. REX SCOTORUM. On the reverse is a shield with the lion of Scotland, the first time that I meet with it in the Scottish

silver coins; and in the circumference, *OPPIDUM EDINBURGHI*: it has but one circle; the weight of it is one penny-weight eighteen grains, which is exactly the weight of Henry the Eighth's groat.

By this specimen I have given, one may perceive how much the Scots conformed themselves to the methods of England in their coinage.

How long after this these old coins of groats, half groats, pence, and half pence, were continued, I know not; but I have never met with any pieces that I could call by any of these names after the reign of James the Fifth; nor is there any mention made of any of them in any of the acts of parliament of the succeeding kings. I am apt to think, that by this time the price of silver was so risen, or rather the Scots, like the French, had so raised the accounts of their sums, that the old smaller silver coins, which took their denomination from pennies, grew into disuse, as deniers did among the French; and the pieces that were from henceforward coined had their denomination from shillings and marks, as the French coins had from sols and livres.

The first of the new coins I meet with in the acts of parliament is the teston, and yet not with that till the first year of king James VI. In that act there is a complaint made of the great scarcity of good money in Scotland, "the good silver, as testons, and other old silver, being utterly melted and destroyed, so that the ounce of silver is at double the price it was wont to be at; whereupon it is declared, that the king, with the advice of his regent, may coin gold and silver of such fineness as other countries do, to pass within this realm," &c.

Now what sort of pieces these testons were that are here mentioned is to be enquired. I cannot think that they meant
the

the old groats by this name, but some other coin larger than the groats, that, about our Henry the Eighth's time, viz. either in the latter end of king James the Fifth's reign, or in queen Mary his daughter's, were coined in imitation of the English teston, or shilling, which then began to be common; and that this teston, among the Scots, might go for five shillings Scotch; as it is certain our English shilling, or teston, at that time would have borne that price. I am confirmed in this opinion from two following acts I meet with where the teston is mentioned, in which it seems to me to be put for the five shilling piece, which was then current in that nation.

I have never yet seen, as I said, any Scotch pieces larger than the groat before Mary queen of Scots, who began her reign in the thirty-fifth of our king Henry the Eighth. And of those of hers I have seen that were coined in the former part of her reign, there is none of them larger than our shilling, indeed not all out so large. Three of these I have, and I take them all to be testons, and to have gone at that time for five shillings Scotch.

The first bears date A. D. 1555, which was the twelfth year of her reign. On the one side is her head, with her style in the circumference, MARIA DEI G. SCOTOR. REGINA. On the reverse is a crowned shield with the lion of Scotland; and the legend, JUSTUS FIDE VIVIT, 1555. It weighs three penny-weights thirteen grains.

The second piece has on one side the arms of Scotland crowned, viz. the lyon as before; M. and R. on the sides of the shield: in the circumference, MARIA DEI G. SCOTOR. REGINA, 1558. On the reverse is a large cross, crossed with four crosslets in its quarters (I know not the terms of heraldry): in the circumference is, IN VIRTUTE TUA LIBERA ME, 1558. This piece weighs three penny-weights twenty grains.

The third piece was stamped two years after, when she was queen to Francis II. of France. On the one side are the three lis of France and the lion of Scotland in a shield crowned; in the circumference, FRANC. ET MA. D. G. R. R. FRANCO. SCOTORQUE. On the reverse is the cypher of F. and M.; a thistle crowned on each side of it with this legend in the circumference, VICIT LEO DE TRIBU JUDÆ, 1560. This piece weighs three penny-weights sixteen grains.

All these pieces I say I should take to have been coined to go for five shillings, because they are not of weight enough for half marks, as silver was at that time; if indeed there were any mark pieces, or half marks, then in being, which I much doubt.

After this queen's return out of France, as I take it, she began to coin the large pieces of the ounce weight, and other lesser ones that bore proportion to them. The ancientest I have seen of these bears date 1565, which was the year after her marriage with Henry lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, and about fourteen years after the first coinage of our Edward the Sixth's crown pieces. On the one side of it are the arms of Scotland, viz. the lion crowned; a thistle on each side of the shield: the style is MARIA ET HENRICUS DEI GRA. R. ET R. SCOTORUM. On the reverse is a yew-tree crowned, with this lemma running in a label fixed on the trunk of it, DAT GLORIA VIRES, 1565; in the circumference is this legend, EXURGAT DEUS, ET DISSIPENTUR INIMICI EJUS.

I am told there was a noted yew-tree in the park or garden of the earl of Lenox, which gave occasion to the impress of this coin, where the tree being crowned denotes the advancement of the Lenox family by Henry's marriage with the queen; and the lemma, DAT GLORIA VIRES, comports very well with the device.

This piece, as I said, weighs just an ounce, as our crown piece did;

did; and it was coined to go for thirty shillings Scotch. There were also then coined pieces of two thirds of an ounce, which went for twenty shillings Scotch; and other pieces proportionably, which went for ten shillings and five shillings.

I have also one of the twenty shilling pieces coined for two thirds of an ounce, which, in all respects, is like the former I have described, save that it bears date the year after.

I have also another ounce piece which was coined after her husband Henry was dead. It is exactly like the other, save that HENRICUS is left out of the style, and the date is 1567, the very same year that her son king James began his reign.

We now come to the reign of king James the Sixth; and the first pieces that I meet with of his are of the same kind with those of queen Mary I have been speaking of, viz. thirty shilling pieces of an ounce weight, twenty shilling pieces, ten shilling pieces, and five shilling pieces, or testons, all of a weight proportionable.

I have one of the thirty shilling pieces, and one of the ten. On the one side is the lion of Scotland in a shield crowned with the letters J. and R. crowned on the sides of it. The style is JACOBUS VI. DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORUM. On the reverse is a naked sword; on one side of which is a hand with the first finger pointing at that sword; on the other side of the sword are these figures xxx. to denote the value it was coined for; a little below 1568, which was either in the end of the first, or in the beginning of the second year of his reign. The legend in the circumference is, PRO ME, SI MEREOR, IN ME. This was a remarkable inscription; and no doubt but the king was helped to it by his master, George Buchanan.

The ten shilling piece is in all respects like the former, save that it bears date the year after: it has the figure of x. on one side of the sword, as the other has xxx.

In the fifteenth year of this reign, which was the twenty-fourth of our queen Elizabeth, “ a contract between the king and his
 “ mint-masters was disannulled by parliament, and the whole
 “ coinage called in, because the price of the pieces was set too
 “ high. The money is ordered to be coined into ten shilling
 “ pieces, of which four shall go to the ounce; on one side to
 “ have the king’s head crowned, with a sword in his hand; the
 “ inscription, JACOBUS VI. DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORUM; on the
 “ other side, the king’s arms in a shield, viz. the lion of Scotland,
 “ with a crown above, and the date of the year; the inscription to
 “ be, HONOR REGIS JUDICIUM DILIGIT. Licence also is given by
 “ this act to the mint-master to break down the present current
 “ money, within this realm, of eleven pence fine, especially the
 “ thirty, twenty, and ten shilling pieces, and testons, (see here
 “ the five shilling pieces called by the name of testons); and to
 “ coin the same in the said new money, devised at forty shillings
 “ the ounce of eleven pence fine, making the king due count and
 “ reckoning of the profit thereof.”

I have a twenty shilling piece of this sort of coin, which bears date 1583, viz. two years after the making this act; it in all things answers the model there ordered. On the reverse, the letters J. and R. are put on the sides of the shield; and a little under xx 3. It is made for half an ounce, and just answers to our half crowns. There were also coined thirty shilling pieces of this sort, weighing three quarters of an ounce; as also ten shilling pieces, and five shilling pieces.

The first mark piece (or thirteen pence halfpenny, as we usually call them) that I ever met with among the Scotch coins bears date 1581, the same year that this act passed. How long these pieces had been in use before, I cannot find, but afterward they were very common; there were also half mark pieces, go-
 ing

ing for fix shilling and eight pence Scotch ; as also quarter marks, going for forty pence.

On the one side of this piece is the lion of Scotland crowned, with the usual inscription, JACOBUS VI. DEI GRA. &c. On the reverse is the thistle crowned with this legend in the circumference, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET.

By the weight of this piece, which is fix penny-weights nineteen grains, I at first took it to be a double mark piece, it weighing above two penny-weights more than those thirteen pence half-pennies which were coined twenty years after ; but, considering at what rate silver went at the time when this piece was coined, I am now convinced that it cannot be any more than a single mark ; for, even at the rate of silver set by the act before mentioned, a single mark ought to weigh within three or four grains of what this piece doth.

In the thirty-first of king James there is another act about coinage, wherein, after “ a complaint of the practice of all sorts
“ of people in exorbitantly raising the value of gold and silver,
“ it is ordered, that the ounce of silver coined in ten shilling
“ pieces, and other smaller pieces of eleven pence fine, according
“ to the last act of parliament, shall stand at fifty shillings ; and
“ the old thirty shilling pieces, viz. the ounce pieces of queen
“ Mary and king James, at the same price ; and the new thirty
“ shilling pieces, being three quarters of an ounce, at thirty-seven
“ shillings and six pence ; and the old and new twenty shilling
“ pieces and ten shilling pieces according thereto *pro rata*.
“ That the gold of twenty-two carats fine do stand at thirty
“ pounds the ounce ; that silver be coined at eleven pence fine,
“ and gold at twenty-two carats fine. That no foreign coin of
“ gold or silver have course in this realm hereafter, but that
“ they be looked upon as bullion.”

This

This act gives me light for the finding out two pieces I have of this king coined about this time, which I did not before know what to make of: the one is of the weight of our shilling; the other of our six pence; the stamp and inscriptions are in both the same, viz. on one side the king's head, but without a crown, with JACOBUS VI. D. GRA. &c.; on the other side, a thistle, crowned with NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET, 1594. Now I make no doubt but these pieces were coined to go, one for ten shillings, and the other for five; for the weight of them exactly answers that value, at the rate of fifty shillings the ounce of silver, which is the price fixed in this act. Nor is it any objection to this, that these pieces were coined three years before the passing this act; for silver was raised to this value before this act, as appears by the preface of it; and it was the design of this act to hinder the farther raising of it by fixing it at the price it then stood at.

But, notwithstanding the provision of this act, in four years after, the price of the ounce of silver was advanced ten shillings more, viz. to sixty shillings Scotch; for in 1601 king James made a coinage of silver according to that rate, as I gather from a very fair mark piece that I have, which bears that date. It is the same sort of thirteen pence halfpenny that has been so common among us ever since; and I suppose the half marks and quarter marks bear proportion to it. It has on one side the lion of Scotland crowned, with JACOBUS VI. D. GRA. &c.; on the other side, the thistle crowned, with this legend, REGEM JOVA PROTEGIT. It weighs four penny-weights nine grains. I suppose it ought to weigh a grain or two more, and then it will exactly answer the proportion it bears to the ounce, at the rate of sixty shillings Scotch, or five shillings English for the ounce of silver.

And now from henceforward the Scotch coins were brought to a greater certainty, both as to the sort of the pieces, and the weight

weight of them; for we find not much alteration in the following reigns in either of these respects

The coins had either their denomination from shilling, or from marks. Of the former sort in this reign of king James were coined thirty shilling pieces, twenty shilling pieces, ten shilling pieces, and five shilling pieces, and those from time to time of lesser weight, as the value of silver was advanced; so that the first thirty shilling pieces of this reign came afterwards to be worth forty shillings, and then fifty shillings, and at last sixty shillings, or three pounds Scotch; and so the lesser pieces proportionably.

Of the latter sort were coined marks and half marks, and I suppose the eighth of a mark, or the twenty pence piece, which was the least piece of silver I now meet with among the Scotch, and is about the weight of our three halfpence. But whether any double marks, or three mark pieces, or four mark pieces, were coined in this reign, as there were in king Charles the Second's time, I know not; I never saw any of them.

Note, that none of the pieces of this reign, that had their denomination from the mark, had the king's head upon them, but were all struck with the lion on one side, and the thistle on the other. But in the following reigns this was left off, and the king's head was put upon all of them.

The biggest piece that seems to have been coined since the time of king James I. is, the four mark piece of king Charles II. which is commonly called the Scotch crown, of which there are two sorts; in one of them there is the sum it was coined for put in the middle of the reverse, viz. fifty-three shillings and four pence; but the other wants it. The same difference there is in the lesser pieces of that reign.

K

I think

I think in this present reign they have left off coining any of the pieces that have relation to the mark, and only coin forty shilling, twenty shilling, ten shilling, and five shilling pieces; at least I have seen no other.

OF THE

I R I S H C O I N S.

THERE were silver coins in Ireland before the coming of the English thither. The prints of some of which were given us by Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquitates Hybernicæ*. They are part of those which were found, A. D. 1639, in the county of Wicklode.

The English standard of money was established in Ireland in the twelfth year of king John; and it was ordered, that the coin of both countries should be of equal value, and be current in both kingdoms indifferently. Those stamped in Ireland had the king's head in a triangle. I have one of this king's, which it seems Sir James Ware had not seen.

JOHANNES REX. The head in a triangle, with a sceptre.

R. ROBERT ON DIVE-LIN. A star within a crescent or half-moon.

Henry III. in the thirty-fifth of his reign, say the records of the Tower of London, made new money in Ireland. I have one of his pennies, which is in all respects like his English coins, save that his head is in a triangle.

HENRICUS REX III. with a sceptor.

℞. ————ALD. [OR ARD] ON DIVE-LIN. A cross made of double lines, with three globules triangular-wise in each quarter.

I take it, this is the same with that which Sir James Ware gives the print of; the reverse of which is RICARD ON DIVE.

Edward the First set up a new mint at Dublin, and sent stamps for halfpence and farthings; whereas before, as in England, there were no other pieces coined but pennies. His Irish coins are exactly like his English ones, save that the head is in a triangle. They are very common.

Sir John Davis is mistaken, when, in his Report of the Case of Mixed Monies, he says, that in this reign there was but one mint in Ireland, and that was at Dublin; for I have both a penny and a halfpenny of this king's that were coined at Waterford; and Sir James hath had another that was coined at Pontana, or Drogheda.

The inscriptions on the coins of this king are,

EDW. REX ANGL. DNS. HYB.

℞. CIVITAS DUBLINIE.

℞. CIVITAS WATERFORD, &c.

I have coins of this king stamped at London, Canterbury, York, Durham, Newcastle, and Edmonsbury; unless that which was coined at this last place belong rather to Edward II. for the name is writ EDWA. not EDW. He set up likewise mints at Kingston upon Hull, Bristow, and Exeter.

After the reign of Edward the First, saith Sir James Ware, there is nothing to be found relating to the Irish monies till the tenth of Edward the Third; and then there was an order of king and council concerning the weight at which halfpence and farthings were to be coined in Ireland; viz. that a pound of silver should be cut into as many halfpence, or mailles, as made twenty-one

one shillings in tale; and into as many ferlings as made twenty-one shillings and eleven pence in tale.

During the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. there is nothing about these matters to our purpose, save that in the thirty-seventh of Henry VI. brass-money was first coined in Ireland.

I have seen no Irish coins of any of these kings after Edward the First; whether any of them, or how many of them, kept to the old way of having the king's head placed in a triangle, I know not.

The first difference and inequality between the standard of the English and Irish monies began in the reign of Edward IV.

In the fifth of his reign, 1465, the value of gold was raised one third part; so that the noble of the former kings, which went for six shillings and eight pence, was to be current at ten shillings.

This was done in the parliament at Trim.

In the fifteenth of his reign, 1475, silver was raised proportionably; so that the groats of the former kings were from henceforward to be current at six pence, and the smaller pieces accordingly. This was done by act of parliament at Dublin. By the same act the power of coining money was taken away from all other places but Dublin, Drogheda, and Waterford; whereas, but eight years before, there had been mints erected at Limerick, Galloway, Trim, and Carlingford, as well as at those three places.

After this, the money made in Ireland was always less than the English, but not always one third part less, but the proportion or difference came to one fourth part; so that the Irish shilling was nine pence English; the Irish groat was three pence English; and thus it usually stood. For this Sir John Davis refers to the
pro-

proclamation of 43d of queen Elizabeth, enrolled in the Chancery in Ireland, where the queen makes mention of this difference made by her predecessors.

In the eighteenth of this king Edward IV. it was ordered, that the mint-masters might coin three pences, two pences, and pennies. These I take were the first three pences that were coined; for there seems to have been none made in England till Edward the Sixth's time. There is no mention made of what weight these pieces were to be of.

Sir James Ware takes notice, that the monies coined about this time (some of them I suppose he means) had three crowns stamped upon them, to denote the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland. This lets us into the knowledge of that two pence which Speed has given us the print of under the name of Edward IV. viz. it was undoubtedly that king's coin, though his name is not upon it; but it is one of his Irish coins, not of his English, as Speed took it to be.

I have one of these two pences: it weighs but $13\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Whether any of this king Edward's coins have the head in a triangle, I know not. The groats I am sure have not, but are like the English ones, save that they are of less weight, and have IBERNIE writ at length. The two pences I just now named, have not the king's head at all, but, instead thereof, the arms of France and England.

Mr. Thoresby has a piece, which, by the weight, twelve grains, he judges to be one of this king's pennies, that has the triangle like the old pieces; but I should rather think it is a halfpenny of Edward the First's, for I have one of his that weighs ten grains; or else a penny of the latter times of Edward the Third, for the weight is too much to be one of Edward the Fourth's Irish pennies: but the shape of the letters will perhaps
show

shew to which of the kings this piece, as also his two pence, do belong.

The groat I have of Edward the Fourth, stamped at Waterford, weighs one penny-weight and nine grains, which is something less than three fourths of his English money.

I have another piece of his stamped at Dublin, which is not so broad as the groats of that time, but is of the bigness of one of queen Elizabeth's groats. It weighs but nineteen grains. Why may not this be one of the three pences of this king?

I never saw any Irish coins of Richard III. or Henry VII. nor any other of Henry the Eighth, but the groat or sixpence (I do not know well which to call it, though I rather think it was made for a six pence), which has on one side the arms of France and England, with HENRICUS D. G. R. AGLIE Z. On the other side the harp crowned; on the sides of which are the letters H. and R. crowned likewise. The inscription, FRANCIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE. It seems to be mixed money. It weighs one penny-weight seventeen grains.

In king Edward the Sixth's time all the mints of Ireland were discontinued; so that from thenceforward, in the following reigns, all the money that was made for Ireland was coined in England*. I never saw any pieces of his made for that kingdom.

I have an Irish shilling of queen Mary's: it has on one side her head, with MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. R. The harp crowned with the letters M. R. on the sides of it crowned likewise. The legend is VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA. 1553. It weighs three penny-weights and fifteen grains, and is base money.

I have an Irish shilling and groat of queen Elizabeth's. The figures and inscriptions the same in both. On one side the queen's head and style; on the other side three harps in a shield crowned,

* See Sir John Davis.

with POSUI DEUM, &c. in the circumference: they were both stamped in 1561; and seem to be good money. The shilling weighs two penny-weights fourteen grains. The groat is of the weight of the English three pence, viz. one penny-weight.

This queen, in the forty-third year of her reign, being in great want of money for the payment of her army, which had great arrears due to them upon Tyrone's rebellion, called in all the old current money of Ireland, and made it bullion by her proclamation; and in the place thereof sent them a base or mixed money, coined in England, which should be current at the same rate or price that their good money was before. Upon the refusal of a great sum of this money tendered for satisfaction of a bond, a great suit happened, which gave occasion to that report of Sir John Davis, concerning the case of mixed monies, to which I am beholden for many of those things I have here set down.

King James restored the sterling standard in Ireland, but coined all his money for that country of the same weight that it was before, viz. their shilling to be of the weight of our nine pence; their six pence of our four pence halfpenny. I never saw any other coins of his but these two. The legend on the shilling is, HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS; that on the six pence is, TUEATUR UNITA DEUS.

Whether any silver monies were coined for Ireland in any of the following reigns, I know not; I never saw any; but brass monies, I believe, have been coined in every reign; but whether coined in England, and sent over thither, or minted in Ireland, that I know not.

I have small brass coins both of queen Elizabeth and king James, and king Charles the First, and larger ones of king Charles the Second, and king James the Second, all bearing the name and style of the prince that coined the piece, and the harp on the
 4 reverse.

reverse. But there is another sort of Irish halfpence and farthings, which have not the king's name upon them; but on the one side, king David with his harp, a crown being put over the harp in another metal, viz. brass upon the copper, with this inscription, FLOREAT REX. On the other side is St. Patrick in his episcopal habit, with his crozier, but with some difference in the halfpenny and the farthing: in the halfpenny there is the figure of a man put before St. Patrick, and the inscription is ECCE GREX; in the farthing there is a church put behind him, and the inscription is QUIESCAT PLEBS. These were certainly coined in one of the two last reigns, but in which I know not.

The brass monies of the late king James, which he coined in Ireland after his leaving England, deserve here a remembrance, because the practice was extraordinary, and complained of by the protestants there as one of the great grievances and oppressions of that reign. An account of these was sent me by my friend Mr. Thoresby, who had it from his friend in Ireland, who, I suppose, has some employment in the Treasury there. This account agrees very well with what bishop King has set down concerning this matter, in his State of the Protestants in Ireland under King James's Government. But as to the last part of it relating to the pewter money, that is wholly new, and I believe not commonly known. The short history of these coins is this.

King James landed at Kinfale in Ireland, March 12, 1688⁸/₉. In three months time he was in so great scarcity of money, that, for the subsisting of his army, he was forced to melt down old brass guns, and all sorts of kitchen utensils that he could come at, even of the most refuse metal, and of this stuff he coined money to go as if it was of sterling silver. The proclamation by which it was made current, and that under severe penalties, bears date June 18, 1689. The metal, saith bishop King, of which this money was

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made,

made, was rated by the workmen at three pence or a groat a pound; but being coined into six pences, shillings, and half crowns, a pound weight of it made about five pounds in tale, and afterwards, upon the recoinage the half crowns, as much more. For the first month, viz. June 1689, there were coined only six-pences; in July they coined shillings also; in August they began to coin half crowns. But these stocks of metal being in a little time spent, all these coins by proclamation were called in. This proclamation, I take it, bore date in April 1690. And the half crowns, which had only the king's head on them before, were now new stamped with the figure of the king on horseback, and made current at five shillings sterling; and the smaller coins were melted down, and recoinage under the same denominations they had before, but of proportionably lesser weight.

It is plainly to be discerned in many of these crown pieces that they were twice stamped, there appearing on the one side of them the date of 1689, which was when they were coined for half crowns; and on the other side 1690, when they commenced crowns: but I cannot say it is thus in all the crowns. There were likewise half crowns coined after this, but of not above half the weight of the former ones. I have one of March 1689, that, if it had been carried in upon the proclamation, would have been a crown. And I have another of April following that is not above half as big. This makes me think that the calling in of these pieces was in April 1690.

These six pences, shillings, and half crowns, are all alike, both as to the impresses and inscriptions. The king's style takes up both the sides of them. But in the crown pieces, besides the king on horseback, and the entire style about it, there is on the reverse this lemma, CHRISTO VINCENTE TRIUMPHO.

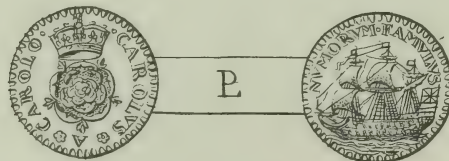
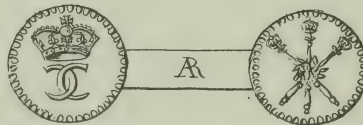
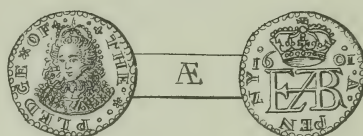
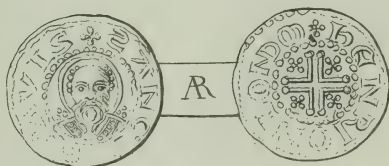
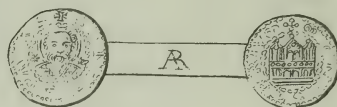
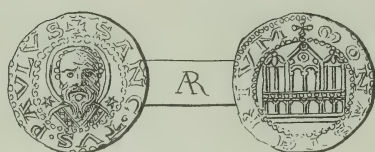
There were coined in all of this brass money, from the first setting up of the mint in June 1689, to the rout at the Boyne, July the 1st, 1690, when king James left Ireland, as Mr. Story, in his History of the Wars of Ireland, sets it down, the sum of 1,100,000 pounds; but bishop King says only 965,375 pounds.

But it seems before king James went away the brass metal failed, so that there was not enough to supply another coinage; upon which, as Mr. Thoresby's friend relates it, recourse was had to the pewter dishes and tin vessels, and these were to be coined into money; and some pieces were actually coined, and a proclamation for the currency of it was prepared; but king William's passing the Boyne hindered the publishing of it. A bag of one hundred and fifty crown pieces of this tin money was found in the treasury at Dublin by this gentleman; one of which I have in my possession, which Mr. Thoresby procured for me. The fashion, inscriptions, and bigness of it, are the same with the brass crowns; but there is this legend on the rim of it, which those pieces want, viz. MELIORIS TESSERA FATI, ANNO REGNI SEXTO.

After king James left Ireland, there was in the year following, viz. 1691, another sort of brass money coined at Limerick, which, from the picture and inscription upon them, were commonly called *Hybernias*. I have a piece of it, which is as large as the first brass shillings; it has on one side the king's head, with JACOBUS II. DEI GRATIA; on the other side, the figure of a woman sitting, leaning with her left arm upon a harp, and in her right hand holding up a cross: in the circumference is, HIBERNIA, 1691.

From the original, in the hand-writing of the truly noble Thomas earl of Pembroke, lord president of his majesty's privy council, and one of the lords justices, which his lordship wrote when he shewed me his inestimable collection of ancient coins, medals, &c. in July, 1701. It shews who are said by our historians to coin the first of each of the fourteen sorts of the silver monies of England, and what pieces his lordship hath of preceding princes.

Penny	-	}	Edward I.
Halfpenny			
Farthing		}	Henry III.
Groat, Edward I. and III.			
Half groat, Edward III.			
Shilling, Henry VII.			
Crown	-	}	Henry VIII. English.
Half crown			
Six pence		}	Edward VI.
Three pence			
Three halfpence		}	Elizabeth.
Three farthings			



In the Collection of M. D UANE.

THE plate annexed, engraved at the expence of the late Matthew Duane, esq; in whose collection the coins were, exhibits three ancient silver coins, inscribed SANCTVS PAVLVS, round an old bearded head; reverse, round the W. front of a church, MONASTERIVM.

A pattern piece in copper for an halfpenny, intended by queen Elizabeth not long before she died. Mr. Snelling, in his "Pattern Pieces," N^o 14, has given such a piece, but without the queen's head, which he had seen only on the penny.

The next inscribed on one side round a rock, FIXT ON A ROCKE; and on the other, round a naked sword, HONOUR AND VICTORY is uncertain.

The two following are pattern pieces in silver and pewter for a farthing in the reign of Charles II. See Snelling's Pattern Pieces, p. 34. Pl. VI. 16. 26.

*** The following tables were also purchased at Mr. Duane's sale.

ENGLISH GOLD first coined, according to Camden, 18 Edw. A. D. 1343. See Froissart.

Kings or Queens.	Coins Names.	Stamps impressed on the Coins.
EDWARD III.	Florences coined by Florentines. This name for golden coins obtained long before almost over Europe. Soon after, viz. A. D. the Rose Noble, Half Noble, and Quarter Noble, i. e. the Penny, Halfpenny, and Farthing of gold, named from its noble metal.	Stamped with a flower or fleur de lis. A large rose stamped upon it and its said parts always. On the Rose Nobles or Ryals (to say as they all agree), on the one side was the king standing in a ship at sea, holding a sword in his right hand; in his left a shield, with the arms of France and England quartered. On the stern of the ship, there is commonly a standard or flag. In the circumference is his name or style. On the reverse, in the middle, sometimes a cross, sometimes a sun; unless it may be called a little rose, encompassed with small rays like a sun. Beyond which, towards the circumference, the whole area is filled with lions crowned and lis's interchangeable, each being four in number. All these are inclosed in another figure resembling a rose, with an epigraphie from Luke iv. 30.
RICHARD II.	John Speed's print of this king's golden coin more probably belongs to king Richard III.	The design of the adverse part, as observed by Selden, in Marc. Clauf. from a Cottonian MS. thus, Four things our Noble sheweth unto me, King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea. The Dutch coined Rose Nobles in king Edward the Third's time, &c. so like ours, as not to be distinguished but by the difference in the style and arms, and by the want of the flag or banner in the stern of the ship. The Rose Noble or Rose Ryals were much the same sort of coin; although in different reigns they might be distinguished by different marks, like the silver Groats.
HENRY IV.		A coin of one of the Henries, having on the reverse a large rose, with three fleurs de lis in the middle, and the usual epigraphie on the adverse side after the king's style H. A. R. attributed to king Henry V. as if stamped at Harfleur in Normandy, which town this king took, and planted with English people.
HENRY V.		
HENRY VI.	Instead of the Noble and Half Noble, appointed two new coins; which, from the figures of St. Michael and the dragon, were called Angels and Angelets, or Angel Nobles, and Half Angels. On heir reverse is a ship with a shield, wherein the arms of France and England are quartered. Over this shield is a cross, on the one side whereof is the initial letter of the king's name; and on the other a rose, with this epigraphie, He coined Rose Nobles of the old weight; but, raising the value one third, called them Ryals, Half Ryals, and Quarter Ryals.	Now Rose Nobles are (in the Indentures) commonly called Ryals, and in later times Spur-Ryals. The Double Rose Nobles are sometimes called Sovereigns, sometimes Double Nobles, and of later times Rose Ryals. The Angels never changed their names.

Inscriptions or Mottos.

Standard or Fineness.

Proportion or Value.

From 18 Edward III. to the 1 Hen. VIII. all our golden coins were of the same fineness; that is, were of the old standard, which was of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine gold, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a grain alloy; so that there was but $2\frac{1}{2}$ penny-weights alloy in a pound weight, and 5 grains alloy in each ounce of gold.

Florence to go for six shillings; fifty made out of a pound weight, so that it weighed 4 penny-weights $19\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Rose nobles to go for six shillings and eight-pence.

Anno 27 Edw. III. the Noble to weigh 5 penny-weights 8 grains, as 45 Nobles to be coined from the pound weight of gold; each to go at six shillings and eight-pence; the Half Nobles and Quarter Nobles accordingly. Thus it continued to the time of king Henry V.

IESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER
MEDIUM; ILLORUM IBAT;
which words have been used
by many (as well Foreigners
as English) by way of
amulet or charm.

PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA
NOS CHRISTE REDEMPTOR.

Kings or Queens.	Coins Names.	Stamps impressed on the Coins.
EDWARD IV.	Half Rose Noble.	In the Dutch Book of Coins, printed A. D. 1610, the inscription on the reverse is, — — —
	Quarter Rose Noble.	In the same Book, although the reverse be the same as last above, yet in the style on the adverse part, <i>DNVS. HYB.</i> is omitted.
EDWARD V.	No Gold coined.	
RICHARD III.	Vide supra Rich. II.	
HENRY VII.		
HENRY VIII.	Crown.	Marked with a rose and crown.
	Continued (anno primo) to coin Rose Nobles, Double Rose Nobles, Angels, Half Angels, and Quarter Angels. The Half Rose Nobles and Quarter Nobles being discontinued, gold being risen, instead of Angel and Half Angels, he coined George Nobles and Half George Nobles, having on the reverse St. George on horseback, with the Dragon underneath, and this motto, <i>TALI DICATI SIGNO MENS FLUCTUARE NEQUIT.</i> On the adverse side, was a ship, with the king's style in the circumference. But these pieces were left off after his reign.	
	Of the Crown Gold at this king's first coinage were only stamped Crowns and Half Crowns; but afterwards he and his successors coined of it Twenty Shilling Pieces, Ten Shilling Pieces, Crowns, and Half Crowns: to which king James I. added the Thistle Crown to go for Four Shillings; but it was discontinued after his reign, as were the Half Crowns. N. B. The piece of Twenty Shillings was called a Sovereign, that of Ten Shillings an Half Sovereign, until king James called the Sovereigns, Units, and the Half Sovereigns, Double Crowns.	
EDWARD VI.		
MARY.		
ELIZABETH.	No Half Angels, or Quarter Angels coined after this reign.	
JAMES I.		
CHARLES I.		
PARLIAMENT and OLIVER.		

Inscriptions or Mottos.

Standard or Fineness.

Proportion or Value.

DOMINE NE IN FURORE TUO
ARGUAS ME. Vide Camden.

His Half Angels on the re-
verse inscribed thus, CRUX
AVE, SPES UNICA.

He (in anno primo) introduced a *new standard*, of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay; so that all gold coined after this standard had just one twelfth part of allay, whereas before it had but one 96th part. Such were his coins that had no relation to the Rose Noble or Angel, which, with their dependances, continued to be coined after the old standard. This practice continued until king Charles II. bringing in the Guineas (which are of the new standard), the old standard, or Angel Gold was laid aside, anno 14 Car. II.

Gold of this new standard is called Crown Gold, because king Henry VIII. made his Crowns according to this standard.

The Sovereign Gold of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. (continuing the last year of the former, and the three first years of the latter) whereof their Sovereigns and Half Sovereigns were then coined, was of 20 carats fine, and 4 carats allay. But anno 3 Edward VI. this standard was abolished, and the Angel and Crown Gold restored, to the coming in of Guineas.

King Henry VIII. and his children, instead of 45, coined 48 Rose Nobles from the pound; and so proportionably in other pieces. So that the Rose Noble weighed but 5 penny-weights, the Double Rose Noble 10 penny-weights; and the Angel 3 penny-weights 8 grains.

King Henry the Eighth's Rose Noble at first was current for 11s. 8d.; afterwards for 12s.; and so it continued to the latter end of king Edward VI's reign, when it was raised to 15s. and so continued all the two reigns following. King James's Rose Noble, though lighter, went at first for 15s. afterward for 16s. 6d. King Charles I. yet lessened its weight; but in his reign and his son's it went still for 15s.; the other pieces going at the same proportion, v. g. the Double Rose Noble at 30s.; the Angel 10s. &c.

From Edward III. to James I. the value of gold, compared to silver, was as 12 to 1; i. e. one pound of gold of the old standard was worth 12 pound weight of sterling silver. And although the price and value of gold was raised, yet silver always rose with it in the same proportion; excepting that in 43 Eliz. silver was a little more raised than gold: she coining 62 shillings from each pound weight of silver, as hath been done ever since. Now, one pound weight of Crown gold, reckoning guineas at 20s. a-piece, (they being coined to go for no more) is equal to 14 pound weight of silver, and three parts of a pound, and six Pence over. At this rate, a pound of gold of the old standard, at the proportion of 20s. a-piece for Guineas, is equal to 15 pounds and an half of silver, wanting One Shilling.

In the reign of king James I. the Spur Ryal, or Rose Noble, weighed but 4 penny-weights 10½ grains. In those of the two Charles's one penny-weight one grain, and the other pieces proportionably in all.

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

a. EXCEPT one * or two pieces of Saxon gold, and those perhaps suspicious. we have hitherto discovered no gold coined in this island for 900 years, viz. from the Romans † leaving us, A. D. 446, to the 18th year of Edward III. when ‡ these three sorts.

b. The *Rose Noble*, when first coined by Edward III. was truly a Noble, passing for 6s. 8d. But, upon the advance of gold, Henry VI. coined *Angels* and *Half Angels*, a third part less than the others, to go for *Nobles* and *Half Nobles*. And the Old *Rose Noble* and his own being of the same weight, henceforward were called *Ryals*, to pass for 10s. each; the *Halfs* and *Quarters* in proportion. They were also called *Ryal Pence*, *Halfpence*, and *Farthings*.

c. Edward IV. first of all stamped the *Sun* or *Spur* on the reverse of his *Ryals* (as did all his successors), whence called *Spur Ryals* ever after.

d. I could never yet hear of a *Double Ryal* of either of these brothers.

e. The *Spur Ryal*, its *Half* and *Quarter*, of Richard III. (though mentioned in the Mint Indentures) have not, that I know of, been observed.

f. Gold still advancing in value, Henry VIII. did by *Angels*, the then *Noble*, as Henry VI. had done by the *Rose Nobles*, viz. he advanced them one third in value, to 10s.; and, instead of them, coined the *George Noble*, so named from having St. George and the Dragon on one side, and a ship on the other. It is very valuable, being coined by none of his successors; and was, as I take it, the last coin which went for a Noble.

g. The Indentures of the Mint tell us of a gold coin in the first of Henry VIII. which was somewhat less than an *Half Angel*, going for 40 Pence, (for the *Angels*, then made less, were but at 7s. 6d.; so the *Half Angel* 45 Pence), but what it was I really know not.

h. Neither Henry VIII. nor his son Edward, as I believe, coined either the *Spur Ryal*, or the *Double Ryal*; but, perhaps, instead of them, a new species, having the king enthroned on one side, and on the other the arms of England, supported by a lion and a dragon. These I take to be the *Sovereigns* and *Half Sovereigns* mentioned in their Mint Indentures.

i. These *Crowns* and *Half Crowns* had the rose and crown on them; and had one part in twelve of allay, the present standard, hence named *Crown Gold*.

k. There are three several sorts of these coins of Edward VI. One has the prince impressed to the waist downward, with a sword in the right hand, and glove

* Our Saxon ancestors coined no gold: and that piece at Oxford here alluded to, and mentioned by Dr. Plott and Obadiah Walker, is not of king Edward the Confessor.

† I would gladly know what pieces of gold the Romans coined in Britain.

‡ Froissard relates (*fol. 19. of the old Translation or Abridgement by the Lord Berners*) that king Edward III. before his 18th year, as vicar of the empire to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, did coin monies of gold, as well as of silver, in great plenty, at Antwerp; which golden coin, as I have elsewhere read, were called *Florens*.

N. B. In the preceding and subsequent table, the Mark o denotes such a coin *not* to be extant. As to the other squares, whether marked with letters or not, such coins are extant.

in the left. Of these there are whole *Sovereigns*, *Halfs*, and *Quarters*. The second has only his head, with a crown on. The third sort, no crown. Of these two last there are, *Halfs*, *Quarters*, and smaller divisions. Quære, if whole?

l. I do not remember to have seen any of these coins stamped by Queen Mary.

m. There is an *Half Broad* of this queen (Elizabeth) truly milled.

n. Besides the *Spur Ryal* and *Double Ryal* of James I. there are two coins of his resembling them, but of less value. One is like the *Spur Ryal* on the reverse, but on the other side has a lion supporting the arms, and xv. to shew its then value of 15s. The other coin is double to it; and accordingly has xxx. on the arms on the reverse. The head-side is like the *Double Ryal*, viz. the king enthroned.

p. Besides the gold *Crown* of James I. at 5s. there was also a *Thistle Crown*, (so called from the thistle on the reverse) which was to go at 4s.

q. There is a *Broad* of James I. like his *Twenty-five Shillings Piece*, or *Scepter Broad*, but with a different motto, viz. EXURGAT DEUS, &c. and weighs full 2s. more than the *Scepter Broad* does.

r. Charles I. coined at Oxford *Triple Broads*. Quære, if Double ones? I mean of Two Broads.

s. *Pistoles* and *Half Pistoles*, like the then Scotch coin, viz. with the arms of Scotland in the first quarter of the shield, were coined by William, for the Scotch Colony at Darien, that they might the more readily trade with the Spaniards. They are known from *Guineas* and *Half Guineas* by their weight; and by having a little sun under the head.

A T A B L E.

[illegible]

a. VARIETY of his Pence with a sun
to Henry VII. One with a side-face.

b. His Pence are partly half-faced, partly three quarters faced.

c. Most of his Pence have half-faces; or three quarter.

d. None of this prince's coins have been yet discovered.

e. None but Irish coin (which are known by the head in a triangle) yet discovered.

f. The rare *Groat* which weighs more than the common ones of Edward III. (and which, in Speed's Chronicle, is ascribed to Edward I.) is either really of that king, or otherwise is the first that Edward III. coined, but being judged too weighty, the coin soon altered.

g. There are five different *Shillings* of Edward VI. The first as weighty as his grandfather's, and exceeding rare. The second, with his name on the reverse. The third has his name on the head side; and both of them TIMOR DOMINI, &c. The motto to the fourth is, INDVAM INIMICOS EJVS CONFVSIONE, and is much better than the two last. These three last are much under weight; and all the four of bad silver, and side-faced. The fifth is the common one full faced.

h. The *Twelve Pence* and *Six Pence* of Mary have always Philip's head with her's. The rest of her English silver have only her own head.

i. *Porticullis Monies* of all these. This queen has also *Shillings* and all monies of less value, which are called *Mill'd*. She coined also *Three-half-penny Pieces*, and those of *Three Farthings*, having the rose behind the head, and the year over the arms; as have also the *Six Pence* and *Three Pence*.

k. These *Pence* and *Two Pences*, which have the rose on one side and the thistle on the other, belong to James I.

l. There is great variety of king Charles I's English silver coin, viz. OXFORD, *Two Pence*, *Three Pence*, *Four Pence*, *Six Pence*, *Shilling*, *Half Crown*, *Crown*, *Ten Shillings*, and *Twenty Shillings*. ORMOND, *Two Pence*, *Three Pence*, *Four Pence*, *Six Pence*, *Shilling*, *Half Crown*, and *Crown*. These having c. r. under a crown; and on the reverse the value of the respective pieces. INCHEQUIN, *Shillings*, *Half Crowns*, and *Crowns*; and perhaps smaller monies. These have on each side, within a small circle, the penny-weight and grains which the respective coins ought to weigh. These two were coined from the plate of the said Lords, to each of whom that good king ordered these distinguished dies, to testify the donor's loyalty. There are also *Half Crowns* and *Crowns* coined in this reign, and perhaps

smaller monies, which have on each side, in a small circle, (v. s.) for the *Five*

Shillings, and 11s. viid. for the *Half Crown*; probably for the same reason as the two last. There are also *Half Crowns*, and perhaps *Crowns*, coined at Oxford, like the common ones; but with trophies under the horses feet. Likewise *Ten Shillings*

* Quære, if this with the side-face do not belong to William Rufus?

Pieces,

Pieces, with the stamp like a common crown, but weighs two; and has xs. in a small heart on the horse side. It is rare, and supposed coined at York. Also several siege-pieces; as NEWARK *Six Pence*, *Nine Pence*, *Twelve Pence*, and *Half Crown*; PONTEFRAC *Shillings* of three sorts; CARLISLE, of several denominations; and two or three others different; but the places where coined uncertain. There is also some other variety in king Charles I's monies, as the *Penny* and *Two Pence*, with only the prince's feather's on the reverse, &c.

m. These coins of the Commonwealth, and perhaps others, are milled, some few of them; and were the first *milled* (properly so called) monies of silver that England ever had. There is a coin of this time about the bigness of Half a Crown, an angel holding the arms, with this motto, GUARDED WITH ANGELS, 1651: but it is rather to be esteemed a medal than money. Monies in New England were also coined in these days; of which there were two sorts; the first *Six Pence* and *Twelve Pence*, and perhaps others, having nothing but N. E. on one side, and the figures VI. and XII. on the other: these are rare. The other sort is very common, with the tobacco-plant on one side; the year and value on the other; motto, MASATHUSETS IN NEW ENGLAND: of which there are *The Penny*, *Two Pence*, *Three Pence*, *Six Pence*, and *Twelve Pence*. There are also brass or copper *Farthings* (very rare) of the Common Wealth, which were the first copper monies of England since the Conquest; as also *Halfpence*, and even *Farthings*, of most of our princes since Henry III's days; nay, Irish *Halfpence* of king John.

n. There is known but One only *Six Pence* of Oliver's. His copper *Farthing* is highly valuable. Its stamp is like the rest of his coins, but with an English motto, which on the reverse is CHARITY AND CHANGE.

p. There is a *Crown*, and, I think, an *Half Crown*, and perhaps other monies, of king Charles II. coined before his Restoration, but uncertain where. It is like the Ormond money of his father, except no C. R. under the crown; but, instead of it, his name and titles, part on one side, part on the other. This prince's monies, of all sorts, were hammered for two or three years after his restoration: since which time, we have had only *milled* monies, concerning which there can be no difficulty.

**A LIST of MEDALS, struck since the latter End of the Reign of King
WILLIAM the Third to that of King GEORGE II. inclusive.**

	In Gold. l. s. d.	Silver. l. s. d.	Copper. l. s. d.
A Large Medal of King <i>William</i> , on the Peace of <i>Ryswick</i> —	30 2 0	1 17 0	0 17 0
MEDALS of Her late Majesty Queen ANN.			
THE Coronation Medal —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
A large Medal, the Motto <i>Novæ Palladium Trojæ.</i> —	30 0 0	1 17 0	0 17 0
On the taking and destroying the Galeons at <i>Vigo.</i> —	4 5 0	0 6 0	0 2 0
On taking <i>Keyserwaert, Venlo, Ruremond, &c.</i> —	4 5 0	0 6 0	0 2 0
The Queen and Prince —	7 0 0	0 12 0	0 4 0
On the Surrender of <i>Bonn, Huy, and Limburg.</i> —	7 0 0	0 12 0	0 4 0
The Chain of Hearts. —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
Entirely English. —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
On the Battle of <i>Blenheim.</i> —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
On the Sea-Fight, and taking <i>Gibraltar.</i> —	6 6 0	0 7 0	0 2 6
On the Relief of <i>Barcelona.</i> —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
On the Battle of <i>Ramillies.</i> —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
On the Queen's giving the First Fruits and Tenth's to the Clergy. —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
The large Union Medal. —	8 0 0	0 13 0	0 4 0
A small Medal on the Union. —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
On the Battle of <i>Oudenard.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 4 0
On the taking <i>Lisle.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 4 0
On the Pretender's Invasion of <i>Scotland</i> , in 1708. —	6 6 0	0 7 0	0 2 6
On the taking <i>Sardinia</i> and <i>Minorca.</i> —	6 6 0	0 7 0	0 2 6
On the Surrender of <i>Mons.</i> —	6 6 0	0 7 0	0 2 6
On the taking of <i>Tournay.</i> —	6 6 0	0 7 0	0 2 6
On the Battle of <i>Tannier.</i> —	8 0 0	0 13 0	0 4 0
On the Battle of <i>Saragossa.</i> —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
On the Battle of <i>Almenara.</i> —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
On the taking <i>Dowry.</i> —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
On the taking <i>Bethune, St. Venant, &c.</i> —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
On the taking <i>Bouchain.</i> —	8 3 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
The Peace Medal. —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
A large Medal on the Peace. —	20 0 0	1 5 0	0 10 0
	222 3 0	15 7 0	5 9 6
MEDALS of His late Majesty King GEORGE I.			
THE Coronation Medal. —	3 15 0	0 5 0	0 1 6
A large Medal on the King's Arrival in <i>England.</i> —	30 0 0	1 15 0	0 15 0
On his publick Entrance into the City. —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
On the Beating the Rebels at <i>Dumblain</i> in <i>Scotland.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
On the Defeat of the Rebels at <i>Preston.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
On the Act of Grace, in 1717. —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
On the Victory gained over the <i>Spanish Fleet</i> , by Sir <i>George Byng</i> in the <i>Mediterranean.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
On the King's being Mediator of the Peace between the <i>Germans, Turks,</i> and <i>Venetians.</i> —	8 0 0	0 12 0	0 5 0
Upon the new Creation of the <i>Knights</i> of the <i>Bath.</i> —	10 0 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
	93 15 0	6 10 0	2 11 6
MEDALS of His Majesty King GEORGE II.			
THE Coronation Medal of His Majesty. —	4 0 0	0 6 0	0 2 0
Ditto of Her Majesty Queen <i>Carolina.</i> —	4 0 0	0 6 0	0 2 0
A Medal of the Treaty of <i>Vienna.</i> —	10 10 0	0 15 0	0 5 0
A large Medal of the <i>Royal Family.</i> —	35 0 0	2 2 0	1 1 0
A Medal of Sir <i>I. Newton.</i> —	15 15 0	0 18 0	0 6 0
Note, The Price of Gold Medals is according to their Weight, so may be two or three Shillings more or less than what is here set down.	42 5 0	4 7 0	1 16 0

F I N I S.

GOLD and SILVER coined for each Reign, from July 20, 1650, to June 24, 1754 inclusive, with the Sterling Value of the Gold at £.3 17*s.* 10½*d.* per Ounce; and of the Silver at £.5 2*s.* 6*d.* per Pound; and total Amount of both in each Reign.

					Sterling Value.							Sterling Value.			Total Sterling Value of Gold and Silver in each Reign.		
	Gold.	oz.	dwt.	gr.	£.	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	Silver.	oz.	dwt.	gr.	£.	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>			
By Charles II. ————	93,024	5	8	13	4,346,567	10	7½	1,025,012	0	14	14	3,177,537	7	9½	} 10,138,376	18	4½
By James II. ————	47,497	6	1	0	2,219,320	17	7½	167,198	10	6	20	518,316	9	5½		7	0½
By William and Mary ————	9,962	8	0	14	465,505	14	3¼	25,492	4	18	8	79,026	9	4½	544,532		
By William alone in the Tower	66,866	3	14	1	3,124,328	6	11	1,684,600	0	19	6	5,222,260	4	11½	} 3,136,225	10	1½
By William in the Country-mint								577,996	0	0	0	1,791,787	12	0			
By Anne in the Tower ————	55,832	2	0	0	2,608,757	19	9	66,804	9	15	0	207,094	18	4½	} 8,725,921	15	6
By Anne in the Edinburgh-mint								103,316	12	0	0	320,372	12	0			
By George I. ————	181,763				8,492,876	3	6	75,176	0	0	0	233,045	12	0			
By George II. to June 24, 1754, inclusive	454,946	1	4	14	21,257,356	12	8½	1,725,626	2	14	0	11,549,441	5	11½	} 7,523,619	2	4½
	156,207	10	15	10	7,298,814	0	3½	72,517	9	6	0	224,805	2	0½			
	611,154				28,556,170	13	0	2,798,143	0	0	0	11,774,246	8	0	140,330,417		

B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A,
Nº XXXIV.

CONTAINING

B I O G R A P H I C A L A N E C D O T E S
O F

THE REVEREND JOHN HUTCHINS, M. A.

AUTHOR OF

THE HISTORY OF DORSET

[Price One Shilling.]

AMONG the various Labours of Literary Men, there have always been certain Fragments whose Size could not secure them a general Exemption from the Wreck of Time, which their intrinsic Merit entitled them to survive; but, having been gathered up by the Curious, or thrown into Miscellaneous Collections by Booksellers, they have been recalled into Existence; and by uniting together have defended themselves from Oblivion. Original Pieces have been called in to their Aid, and formed a Phalanx that might withstand every Attack from the Critic to the Cheefemonger, and contributed to the Ornament as well as Value of Libraries.

With a similar view it is here intended to present the Publick with some valuable Articles of BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY, from printed Books and MSS. One Part of this Collection will consist of Re-publications of scarce and various Tracts; another of such MS. Papers as the Editors are already possessed of, or may receive from their Friends.

It is therefore proposed to publish a Number occasionally, not confined to the same Price or Quantity of Sheets, nor always adorned with Cuts; but paged in such a Manner, that the general Articles, or those belonging to the respective Counties, may form a separate Succession, if there should be enough published, to bind in suitable Classes; and each Tract will be completed in a single Number.

Into this Collection all Communications consistent with the Plan will be received with Thanks. And as no Correspondent will be denied the Privilege of controverting the Opinions of another, so none will be denied Admittance without a fair and impartial Reason.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES

O F

T H E R E V E R E N D

J O H N H U T C H I N S, M. A.

A U T H O R O F

T H E H I S T O R Y O F D O R S E T, &c.



L O N D O N,

PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS,
PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

MDCCLXXXV.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THESE biographical anecdotes were drawn up some years ago, not long after the publication of the History of Dorset, certainly before the year 1780, when the three gentlemen last mentioned were added to the trust of Milton School. They were not intended for public appearance, unless a new edition of that work, or some appendix to it, should be published; and were submitted to the perusal of very few friends. But some gentlemen, who had patronised the History, and respected the memory of its author, having obtained a copy, and expressed a desire of sending it to the press, they had sufficient authority to dispose of it as their judgement and inclinations should lead them.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES

OF

Mr. JOHN HUTCHINS.

WHEN the *History of Dorset* was first published, the author was sufficiently known; he was a native of that county, and, the few years excepted which had been appropriated to an academical education, he had been constantly resident in it; but so it is, that authors frequently live in their works, when many anecdotes of their lives are forgotten, and little more is known of them than can be collected from a title-page. Our Author, indeed, takes frequent opportunities to speak of the place of his birth, his parents, tutors, friends, patrons, and benefactors; and an attentive reader, who wishes to know the history of his life, might find herein much to satisfy his curiosity.

But this kind of knowledge, unless it be procured without trouble, is scarce desirable, and affords more entertainment on the entrance of a work, and under one view, than where it is removed at a farther distance, and interspersed in different parts with matters of greater concern. This species of biography is in the lowest degree of history; and, whether the fault lie in

B

the

the subject or the style, the reader's expectations are often disappointed. This the judicious and candid know and excuse, and wish not to be detained by apologies for objections scarce to be avoided.

To begin then ———

Let us have recourse to that record, in which we all make an equal figure, the *Parish Register* ; or, in the words of Mr. Pope,

Go search it there, where to be born and die

Of rich and poor makes all the history ;

and set it down as an uncontested truth, that JOHN HUTCHINS, son of Richard Hutchins, clerk, and Ann his wife, was born in the parish of *Bradford Peverel*, on the 21st day of September, and baptised on the 22d of the same month, in the year 1698. His father, who was rector of All Saints, in Dorchester, for upwards of forty years, and at the time of our author's birth, and for some years both before and after, curate of Bradford Peverel, was an honest parochial priest, a character esteemed by all good men, and revered even by the profane. His income was small ; and his son's education was suited to the frugality of the station in which he was born ; but, if we may judge of the seed by the crop, he was well instructed in his tender years, and properly grounded in classical knowledge.

And this method of judging is for the most part just ; for, if we are suffered to lose our time while we are boys, we seldom recover it when we are men. An habit of idleness contracted in youth often adheres to a man through life ; and if afterwards by reason and reflection a contrary habit of diligence and application is super-induced, yet he finds himself behind-hand in his studies ; and he enters upon a calling before he is previously qualified. A good country school-master, endued with knowledge and diligence (for neither alone is sufficient), is a blessing to the times in which he lives, and to the next generation after him ;

him; when, on the contrary, they, who assume to themselves the important office of instructing youth, and are either ignorant, or negligent, incapable of teaching, or lovers of their ease, are injurious to their pupils, to their parents, and to the public. But Mr. Hutchins received a different treatment, and therefore pays a tribute of gratitude to his worthy master Mr. Thornton, rector of West Stafford, and master of the grammar school at Dorchester, a man eminently qualified for the office, and who paid that attention to his industrious pupil, that he terms him a second parent.

His residence in the university of Oxford was not long; for he took his Master of Arts degree at Cambridge, a sure sign that he had not kept a statutable residence for that degree in his own university, by applying to another, in which none is required; and it is also a proof that he *determined* in Oxford; for, unless that exercise be performed, a certificate of a bachelor of arts degree is never granted. He was matriculated in Easter term, 1718, from Hart Hall, now Hertford college; but was afterwards removed by a *bene discessit* to Baliol college; and as it appears by their books, he was admitted a member of that society in Easter Term, April 10, 1719, and was regularly admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Lent Term, Jan. 18, 1721-2. He was a determining bachelor in the same term; so that his whole residence in the university did not exceed four years; yet the friendships he contracted in both societies, of which he was a member, continued with life; of which Mr. Charles Godwin, fellow of Baliol college, was an instance in one; and his tutor, Mr. Davis, vice-principal of Hart Hall, in the other; and in what esteem he held both the one and the other, different passages in the History of Dorset evince; and how deserving they were of it, in the eyes of all men, will never be forgotten, while their names are remembered.

He was soon after admitted into holy orders; but the precise time of his ordination I cannot set forth; as his letters of orders of deacon and priest were both destroyed in the Wareham fire; and the registry of Bristol has not been examined. But early in the year 1723, if not before, he engaged himself in a way of life rather useful to others than pleasant to himself; and yet in the event it was such as directed his future fortunes.

He became curate and usher to the rev. Mr. George Marsh, rector of Burleston and Athelhampton, vicar of Milton Abbas, and master of the free grammar school of Milton Abbas. This school was founded by William, abbot of Milton, a man of a liberal and enlarged mind, who, on the revival of learning, plainly saw that he could not better contribute to its advancement than by the instruction of youth. With this view he founded a free grammar school, and endowed it with the manor, farm, and free chapel of Little Mayne, Feb. 10. 12 Henry VIII. which he gave to Thomas Kirton, to be granted unto Giles Strangways, knt. Thomas Arundel, knt. Matthew Arundel his son, Thomas Trenchard, knt. John Horsey, knt. George de la Lynde, John Rogers, Thomas Hufsey, John Martin, John Coker, Robert Strode, Henry Ashley, John Frampton, Thomas Trenchard, John Williams, Walter Grey, esqrs. *cum aliis*, and their heirs, to maintain a free grammar school. The survivors of these gentlemen infeoffed others; and in 1634, April 8, John Tregonwell, esq; and John and Thomas his sons, in consideration of 50l. conveyed unto Thomas lord Arundel and Richard Swaine, surviving feoffees, a parcel of ground in Milton, for the school master's habitation; and from these the feoffment has been regularly continued to this time. And the management of the trust is now vested in Edmund Morton Pleydell, Henry William Portman, Jonathan Morton Pleydell, Thomas Gundrey, Radford Gundrey, David Robert Michel, Richard Bingham,

Bingham, Henry William Fitch, Charles Morton Pleydell,—Brune, esquires, William Chafin, John Richards, William Whitaker, and George Bingham, clerks, to whom are since added Francis John Brown, Henry Bancks, and Edmund Morton Pleydell, jun. esquires; and they have all regularly and conscientiously executed the trust committed to their charge, by attending to the revenues of the school, and by electing learned and able masters as often as occasion required.

This could not but be known to our author, had he never been an Antiquary. He was too closely connected with Mr. Marsh, to be ignorant who were his patrons in the school; and he was probably present at the election of Mr. Martin in 1737. Sure I am, that he then lived in the town; that the feoffees met at Milton on that occasion; and as he was personally known to most of them, especially to his friend Mr. Bancks, his neighbour, Mr. Bingham of Melcomb, of which parish he was then rector, and several others, it is most probable he was one of the company some part or other of the day; at least he could not be ignorant of the business on which they were met. I mention this the more minutely, because a passage, vol. II. page 440, of his History, gives a very different account of these matters.

“The school-master has always been appointed by the abbots and their successors, lords of the manor, to whom the whole parish belongs,” by which his memory has been much injured; as this was an error, which could not proceed either from mistake, or from misinformation. What then can be concluded but that this was an insertion by some other person, when the MS. was no longer in his power? If we say less, we cannot do him justice; more at this time may be improper.

The inquisition taken at Dorchester, 17 Jac. I. and referred to by our author, proves the appointment of Arthur Young, gent.

gent. to be schoolmaster, 40 Eliz. by Sir Matthew Arundell, the then surviving feoffee.

Επεγραψε δε των τις Δελφών Λακεδαιμονίοισι βελομενος χαριζεσθαι
 τς επισαμενος το βλομα, εκ επιμνησομαι. Herodot. I.

It was this engagement at Milton which first introduced him to the notice, then to the acquaintance, and soon to the friendship of Jacob Bancks, esq; the then worthy possessor of that estate, which had been granted to Sir John Tregonwell soon after the dissolution of that monastery, 3 Henry VIII. and devolved on him in right of his mother by lineal descent; a gentleman most deservedly beloved and esteemed by all his friends, and the very centre of union to the neighbourhood in which he lived. This house was distinguished, not by the magnificence of the building, but the dignity of its guests, and its hospitality to all ranks and degrees. His interest, as I apprehend, first procured him the rectory of *Sweyre*, in 1729; and on the decease of Mr. Pitt, in 1733, I am well assured that it was wholly owing to Mr. Bancks that he succeeded in the rectory of *Melcombe Horsey*; the right of presentation to which was then in trustees hands, for George Pitt, junior, of Shroton, esq; and it is confessed in his preface, that an attention to his affairs first engaged him in his enquiries into antiquity, and laid the plan of his future history. And the former was well calculated to advance the latter; he had the care of a small parish with a competent salary; his occasional duty did not interrupt his studies; and his income was not sufficient to support the expence of a more public manner of living; besides, though no one more relished the conversation of men of knowledge, yet a natural infirmity prevented him from often enjoying it. He was unfortunately so very deaf, that none but his more particular friends would bear, I may say, the fatigue of
 con-

conversing with him, of which he was so very sensible, that when his engagements called him abroad, he was seldom without a book in his pocket. He knew that his eyes were more faithful servants to him than his ears; and when he could not join in the discourse of the company, he could relieve himself by reading; and this advantage he enjoyed to the last; he could read the smallest print, I think, without spectacles.

The death of his friend and patron Mr. Bancks may be considered as a public loss; but to him it was an event, which affected him deeply; he was deprived of the assistance of one whom he could have recourse to on all occasions, one who was ready to encourage and support him in his arduous undertaking, one who could have many private cabinets open to him, to which our author could not find access; and I cannot but indulge myself in a belief, that his work had been yet more accurate, and much sooner brought to maturity, had it been carried on under the patronage of Mr. Bancks. Soon after his death, which happened on the 18th day of February, in the year 1737-8, and in the 34th of his age, a character of him was drawn up, and published in the London Magazine for the month of May, 1738. There were several passages in it which plainly indicated the inward feelings of the writer; and though dated from the *Inner Temple*, it was at the time generally attributed to Mr. Hutchins; but now there can be no doubt of it; for the greater part of it, which was more proper for the work in hand, he has transcribed into his history, with some additions, which shew, that time had not diminished his zeal for his patron's memory, and it was not his custom to avail himself of other men's labours, and conceal his obligations.

In his clerical capacity, he deserved the character of a sound divine, rather than of an eminent preacher. His delivery was no ways engaging; and his discourses were not generally adapted to

to the capacity of his hearers ; but this may be supposed to proceed not from a want of judgement, but to be owing entirely to some circumstances peculiar to his situation. He perhaps thought that a man even of moderate abilities ought not to be beholden to the labours of others ; and being once determined to produce none but his own compositions, a particular consideration guided his studies, and determined him in the choice of his subjects. Collins, Toland, Tindal, and Woolston, were the fashionable authors, and known patrons of infidelity. And men of no settled principles in religion were mightily pleased to be thought Free-thinkers. Gentlemen of all professions frequently resorted to his patron's house ; and occasionally became a more conspicuous part of his audience. If he improved the opportunities then given him of guarding them against the prevailing vice of the age, by answering the more specious objections to Christianity ; proved the authenticity of the books of Moses ; and shewed that the gospels were written by them whose names they bear ; and entered more minutely into the defence of that pure religion which we all profess ; his intentions were honest, and his views were commendable. I speak only of that particular time when he resided at Milton ; yet, whatever his discourses were, his elocution was scarce improved by age, as may be collected from some circumstances which will regularly follow in this narrative.

In the year 1744 he was removed from that retirement which he enjoyed at Melcombe Horsey, to the more populous town of *Wareham*, where the increase of income little compensated for the constant duty he was necessarily engaged in. Besides the stated hours of prayer, and the occasional duty of so large a town, a personal attendance on the inhabitants was frequently required ; and where a town is divided, as that was, between church-men and dissenters,

diffenters, omissions in point of ceremony might give an advantage to our brethren of the separation, and a man's time is scarce ever his own. This his friend Browne Willis, esq; of Whaddon-Hall, Bucks, who was created LL.D. by diploma, April 10, 1749, and was not only privy to, but encouraged and assisted him in his design, was perfectly sensible of; and plainly foresaw that his removal to Wareham would retard the History of Dorset; and from that innate love which he bore to antiquities in general, and in particular to those relating to this country, wished that his merit had been rewarded by a less laborious cure; and expressed himself to that purpose, in a discourse which he had with the person who is now writing, in the year 1747. Add to this, that it is a town, and a borough town; and though he thought he could sit down without engaging in the contests of contending parties, yet he soon found that when his friends were so nearly concerned, it was not for him to be an idle spectator. It was impossible for him not to espouse the interests of that family which had twice preferred him. From this time, had he not been naturally studious, and addicted to the particular study of antiquity, his work had been at an end. He could no longer see with his own eyes; he had recourse to correspondence, and all his leisure time was taken up in examining into and arranging materials; and if I may be allowed to speak freely, and without partiality, this was the branch of the work he seemed best qualified to execute, when in two other particulars he needed assistance: First, his necessary engagements, frequent fits of the gout, and that inactivity which increases with our years, prevented him from accurately surveying many curious pieces of antiquity, well worthy of his attention, and then his income unhappily bore no proportion to the expences attending so general an undertaking. These deficiencies indeed were greatly supplied by the generous assistances he received

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from

from his friends, and the public, of which he has made general acknowledgements; and I know he was hurt in not being more particular; but some of his friends absolutely declined the honour he intended them; and a partial recital of favours might have given offence where it was not intended. Even the assistance he received was once attended with inconvenience; for having engaged himself to examine in person some public repositories of records in London, and the archives of the university of Oxford, he was necessarily obliged to procure a curate in his absence; and as he was to be retained only for a stated time, he could not be over-curious in his choice. But I cannot think he acted without caution, when he supposed a tutor in a private family, of an academical education, not unqualified to be an occasional curate. However, he was mistaken in his man. His friends informed him he had engaged a Methodist; but he proved to be a madman. Yet his noise procured him admirers, and in so high a degree, that, had he been dismissed absolutely on the return of the rector, there had been an open rupture between the minister and many of his parishioners, who entered into a voluntary subscription to support their favourite lecturer.

He judged so well of the temper of the people, that he appeased the storm by not resisting it; and in a little time the poor man was confined in a mad-house, and Mr. Hutchins at ease by the good offices of a more regular assistant. But, in justice to the rector, we ought to add, that the objections raised against him it was not in his power to remedy. They complained, he was not to be heard; his voice, which was never strong, clear, and distinct, was now impaired by age, and the fabric itself was unfavourable to utterance; and in general the vulgar judgment of elocution is guided by sound. A true, just, sensible, accurate way of reading affects not them; when an unmeaning vociferation engages

engages their attention, and tends wonderfully to edification. But this is a disagreeable topic — would to God, that all the Lord's ministers were orators ! and that their hearers were as apt to learn as they are to teach !

Let us for a while leave the divine, and consider him only as an historian ; for in that light chiefly he must be handed down to posterity ; and in this, it is with grief of mind we recollect he did not live to receive the rewards of his labours. While he was engaged in the work, all the mortifying discouragements incident to authors retarded his publication. Many who were applied to for evidence respecting their own families, and other matters within their own knowledge, never paid him any attention ; others, who had never seen any part of his work, or, if they had, were no judges of its merit, affected to ridicule it ; some from the love of harangueing on a common worn out topic ; and some perhaps with a view of saving a subscription, which, when seriously asked, they could not withhold ; others, into whose hands some few detached pieces might fall, could discover inaccuracies, who had not penetration enough to discern its beauties ; and some were such superficial perusers, that they would not give themselves the trouble to enter into the meaning and intent of the author.

But the work was most endangered by the fire at Wareham, which breaking out on Sunday the 25th day of July, 1762, reduced the rector's house, with almost the whole town, to ashes. Mr. Hutchins was then absent ; and, had it not been for the care and presence of mind of Mrs. Hutchins, who preserved his MSS. not without hazard to her own person, those papers which had been collected from the wreck of ages, together with all the labour in acquiring them, had come to nothing in a moment ; so truly may they be called in a literal sense,

Reliquiæ Trojæ ex ardente receptæ.

Upon the whole, the many necessary interruptions in the course of his affairs; the inattention which many pay to works of this nature; and the contempt, which some affect to shew to studies of antiquity in general (which is the less to be wondered at, as so great a genius as lord Chesterfield could bestow no better title either on the reader or writer, than that of *blockhead*) were I suppose the chief reasons which delayed the publication to the very latter end of his life. And at last, if a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, whom he mentions in his preface with a becoming gratitude, had not encouraged him, and patronized his history, and in conjunction with another friend, a member of the same society, warmly promoted the subscription, in all probability, it had at last been "like the untimely fruit of "a woman, and never had seen the sun."

The respectable list of subscribers prefixt to the work, however, clearly evinces, that the publication was at last very liberally espoused by almost every gentleman of family and character in the county; many of whom generously contributed, at a considerable expence, engravings of their seats, remains of antiquity, &c. more numerous, and more elegant, than are to be found in the histories of most counties.

But as soon as it appeared in the world, how was it received? The value of the book was advanced far beyond the subscription price. And they, who are most conversant in works of this nature, approved not only of the regularity of his plan, and his manner in conducting it, which has been adopted by several subsequent historians of this class; but were even astonished on finding such a quantity of materials collected by one man, and so properly and judiciously arranged. If it enjoys not all the advantages of style, the fault is in the work, not the author.

author¹. He was sensible of this defect; and he knew it was not to be remedied. *Ornari res ipsa negat* was frequently in his mouth, and yet he succeeded even beyond his own expectation; for the whole is interspersed with narratives, characters, and other embellishments, which in a work of this kind can scarcely be called digressions; and these sufficiently shew him to have been an uncommon master of his pen.

In private life he was a man of unbiaſſed integrity, of a mind ſuſceptible of friendſhip, which, when once embraced, was ſtrictly and religiously maintained through life. Of which let the tribute paid to the memory of his friend Charles Godwin ſtand as a laſting monument. His finances excluded him from acts of munificence and liberality; but the heart-felt enjoyment ariſing from generous acts in others, and pointed towards the general good, beſpoke the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, which on

¹ The ſentiments of the authors of the Monthly Review, relating to this work, were communicated to the public in a few months after its publication in the following words:

“ Mr. Hutchins’s moſt elaborate performance muſt be conſidered as a very valuable addition to the various diſtinct County-Hiſtories of which the public was before in poſſeſſion. It appears to be equal to moſt of them in accuracy; and it is ſuperior to them all in the beauty of the impreſſion, and more eſpecially in the number and elegance of the ornamental engravings.

“ With reſpect to the ornaments of ſtyle and diction, they will not be much ſought for in works of this ſort. If the author’s manner of writing be not abſolutely heavy, dry, and tedious, we ought not to expect much more, and this praiſe at leaſt is due to Mr. Hutchins. He ſpeaks of his own merit in this reſpect in very modeſt terms, &c.—If the hiſtory of every other county were as well executed, and published under equal encouragement, what a noble maſs of materials would be then formed for a general deſcription of the whole kingdom! and what admirable lights would from thence be reflected on the natural and civil hiſtory of this country! We muſt repeat, that many of the copper-plates are, beyond all compariſon, ſuperior to every thing of the kind in any of our preceding County-Hiſtories.”

some occasions exerted itself with great propriety and judgement. The benefaction of Mr. Fisher, of Beere, to Baliol College, of which he had been formerly a member, which he gave not by will, but with his own hand (and he lived to see the building he had projected, finished), must ever be mentioned with honour. And if I add, that some part of the merit accrued to Mr. Hutchins, if not by advising, at least by encouraging him to hasten the work, without calling in the aid of executors, I produce a proof of his properly directing the weight he had with his friends, and of his benevolence to a society, with which he had been connected.

In the decline of life, when he had a reasonable prospect of seeing his History through the press, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which affected his speech rather than his intellects; but it greatly debilitated him, and brought on in an high degree that languor and inattention to business which too frequently, even without sickness intervening, is the pityable lot of old age. Prior to this illness, when he was revising his work, he thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend.

“ I go on with my review ;

sum totus in illo;

sed enim gelidus tardante senectâ

sanguis bebet, frigentque effætæ in corpore vires.

This chronical disease, beyond the reach of medicines, we may be sure was increased by that stroke which obliged him to drop his pen, and from that day forward to employ an amanuensis. And yet I repeat, that his judgement was not affected in proportion to his bodily imbecillity; as a proof of which I need only refer the reader to his character of Mr. Godwin towards the conclusion of the preface. They who knew he man, are very sensible that there are not words in the
English

English language, by which he could more justly be described. And yet I am morally certain that it was drawn up by the author himself, after the fatal stroke. It however gave both himself and his friends sufficient notice of his approaching dissolution, which took place on the 21st day of June, in the year 1773. He married Ann daughter of the rev. Thomas Stephens, formerly rector of Pimperne, by whom he had issue one daughter Anna Maria, now married to John Bellas, esquire, major of artillery in the service of the East India company at Bombay.

The profit arising from his History was the chief provision he made for his family. Whether the benefit already received, or hereafter, expected from hence be sufficient to encourage others to engage in a like laborious undertaking, is a question much to be doubted.

Ei, etsi nequaquam parem illius ingenio, at pro nostro tamen studio, meritam gratiam, debitamque referamus.



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N^o XXVIII.

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following Effay towards an Account of Suffragan Bishops in England, drawn up by the late ingenious and reverend Mr. LEWIS of Margate in 1738, was presented to the Editor by Dr. DUCAREL in August last, together with Mr. WHARTON's List of the Suffragan Bishops, extracted by that Gentleman from WHARTON's MSS. at Lambeth, which were supposed to have been lost, till they were by him discovered in the year 1767.

In the month of September, after Mr. LEWIS's Effay had been some time in the press, Doctor DUCAREL received a Letter on the same subject from the reverend Mr. PEGGE, F. S. A.; which, by that learned Antiquary's permission, is here added, to complete this curious subject, of which very little notice hath hitherto been taken by any of our Historians.

March 5, 1785.

A N
E S S A Y

Towards an ACCOUNT of

BISHOPS SUFFRAGAN in ENGLAND,

Occasioned by a LETTER of the Rev. THOMAS BRETT, LL.D.

printed in DRAKE'S Antiquities of the City of YORK, p. 539.

By the late Reverend Mr. JOHN LEWIS, M. A.

Minister of *Margate*, in *Kent*.

Written A. D. 1738.

*Abstract of the Reverend Dr. BRETT's Letter to Dr. DRAKE,
about Suffragan Bishops* ¹.

“ **T**HE bishops suffragan, though they had foreign titles,
 “ were all *Englishmen*; the original of them I take to
 “ have proceeded from hence. Most of the great abbies pro-
 “ cured bulls from *Rome*, to exempt them from episcopal jurisdic-
 “ tion; and to be immediately subject to the pope only.
 “ But, having occasion for episcopal offices to be performed in
 “ their monasteries, to consecrate altars, chalices, vestments,
 “ and other ecclesiastical ornaments, and to confirm novices
 “ taken into their houses, they found, if on such occasions
 “ they should apply to any diocesan bishop, it would be taken
 “ as a submission to his jurisdiction; and therefore they got one
 “ of their monks to be consecrated a bishop with some foreign
 “ title (most commonly a title in *Greece*, or some part of the
 “ *Greek church*), who could therefore challenge no jurisdiction
 “ in any part of *England*; though, with the consent of those
 “ who had jurisdiction here, he might exercise any part of the
 “ episcopal function. And the archbishops and other bishops

¹ Written on occasion of an enquiry made by this gentleman about Archbishop Kemp's Suffragans, from his Register; in order to illustrate the Life of that Prelate, then writing by the Rev. Mr. PEGGE. See Drake's *Antiquities of York*, p. 539, 540.

“ who had large dioceses, or who were employed in secular
 “ affairs, being made lord chancellors, as Kemp was, or lord
 “ treasurers, or the like, made these titular bishops their suf-
 “ fragans, to perform episcopal functions for them, which they
 “ could not perform themselves by reason of their secular em-
 “ ployments; or sometimes by reason of age or infirmities, or
 “ the largeness of the diocese. That these suffragans, though
 “ their titles were foreign, were all Englishmen, you may be
 “ satisfied from their names, and their education in our uni-
 “ versities; for Wood ¹ in his *Athenæ*, gives us an account of
 “ several such bishops educated at Oxford, as Thomas Woulf,
 “ *Ep'us Lacedæmonensis*; of whom he speaks, vol. I. col. 650 ²,
 “ John Hatton bishop of *Nigropont*, col. 656; Richard Wilson,
 “ who had after Hatton's death the same title, col. 656; John
 “ Young, bishop of *Callipolis*, col. 663; and several others.
 “ I could give you a catalogue of between thirty and forty such
 “ suffragans, all Englishmen with foreign titles, whose names
 “ I have met with in Wood and other authors. But though
 “ our archbishops and bishops made such use of these suffragans,
 “ Mr. Wharton, in his letter, printed at the end of Strype's Me-
 “ morials of Archbishop Cranmer, tells us, that they treated
 “ them with contempt enough; and generally made them dine
 “ at their steward's table, seldom admitting them to their own.
 “ And yet these suffragans were called Lords, as I find by some
 “ letters I have now by me in manuscript. At the Reformation,
 “ there was an act made, 26 Henry VIII. appointing towns in
 “ England for the titles of bishops suffragan, as Dover, Not-
 “ tingham, Hull, Colchester, Thetford, Ipswich, &c. to the

¹ Wood's words are these: “ Whether he was ever of Oxon, I have not yet
 “ seen any record to prove it.”

² Probably the same that lies buried in the north isle of the choir, N^o 2. Besides
 this, there are many more in the Registers with foreign titles, as *Dromorensis*,
Pharanensis, *Philopotensis*, &c.

“ number of twenty-six. And there have been several suf-
 “ fragans since the Reformation, to these English titles. Thus,
 “ in the year 1536, Thomas Mannynge was consecrated bishop
 “ of *Ipswich*, John Salisbury bishop of *Thetford*, Thomas
 “ Spark bishop of *Berwick*, and divers others in the reign of
 “ Henry VIII. And in 1552, in the reign of Edward VI. Robert
 “ Purseglove was consecrated bishop of *Hull*; and in 1566¹,
 “ the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, Richard Barnes was
 “ consecrated bishop of *Nottingham*; and 1592, John Sterne
 “ was created bishop of *Colchester*: since which time I have
 “ not met with a consecration of a bishop suffragan. There
 “ never was any settled maintenance provided for these suf-
 “ fragans; which is the reason, I suppose, why they have
 “ been dropped, though any bishop may have one that desires
 “ it. And if a bishop desires a suffragan, he, according to the
 “ act of Henry VIII. is to present two persons to the king, who
 “ chooses one of them, gives him the title of one of the
 “ towns mentioned in the act, and orders the consecration. I
 “ find several of these suffragan bishops have been raised to
 “ be diocesan; and some of them, whilst they have continued
 “ suffragans, have joined in the consecration of diocesans. John
 “ Hodgekin, who was suffragan with the title of *Bedford*, was
 “ one of the consecrators of Archbishop Parker, and of no less
 “ than fourteen other bishops in several reigns, yet was never
 “ more than a suffragan himself.”

¹ Registr. Eccl. Ebor. See the Life of Archbishop Parker, by Strype, p. 240.

An Essay concerning SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS in ENGLAND.

SUFFRAGAN Bishops are properly the bishops of the province. They were so called, according to bishop Lynwood, our canonist, because *archiepiscopo suffragari et assistere tenentur*, &c. Gretzer and others thought the reason of this name was, *quod a metropolitano ad synodum vocati suffragii jus habeant; vel quia absque metropolitani suffragio consecrari non poterant*. The learned Du Fresne thought that they were rather so called *quasi metropolitanorum adjutores vel suffraganei, maxime in consecrandis episcopis, quod soli facere non possunt metropolitani*.

But then there were others, besides these adjutors of the bishops, who were styled *Chorepiscopi*¹, viz. titular bishops and co-operators

¹ Melchior Canus calleth them annular or ring bishops, haply for that, whereas full bishops had both ring and staff when they were consecrated, which expressed their jurisdiction as well as their espousing to the church; these Chorepiscopi had the ring only. Dr. Field of the Church, Book V. c. 29. *Seldeni notæ ad Eadmerum*, p. 143. ed. 1623.

But I much question whether this will bear examining, since there were no such officers as the Chorepiscopi after the ninth century, and the usage of the delivery of a ring and staff was a part of the feudal law, and introduced here by the Normans in the eleventh century, about 200 years after. See Selden, *ut supra*. The ring was anciently used among Christians in espousals, and from thence transferred to bishops, who were reckoned espoused to their churches. See Selden's *Uxor Hebræica*, lib. II. c. 25. Bingham's *Orig. Eccles.* vol. IX. p. 350. ed. 1722, 8vo. There was this difference betwixt the Chorepiscopi, or bishops suffragan, and bishops. 1. The Chorepiscopi were ordained or consecrated by only one bishop, or the bishop whose suffragan he was, whereas a bishop was ordained by three bishops, or two at least. 2. A Chorepiscopus had no see of his own. 3. His power was limited, and in many things inferior to the power of the bishop. In general he might do nothing without

ABOUT SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS.

co-operators or vicars in the episcopal functions, who lived in the country and villages at a great distance from the city church¹. Their office was to preside over the country clergy, and enquire into their behaviour, and make report thereof to the city bishop; as also to provide fit persons for the inferior service and ministry of the church. And, to give them some authority, they had the following privileges conferred upon them. 1. They were allowed to ordain readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, for the use of the country churches; but they might not ordain priests nor deacons without the special leave of the city bishop, under whose jurisdiction both they and the country were. 2. They had a power to confirm those who were newly baptized in country churches. 3. They had power to grant letters dimissory to the country clergy who desired to remove from one diocese to another. 4. They had liberty to officiate in the city church in the presence of the bishop and presbyters of the city, which country presbyters had not. 5. They had the privilege of sitting and voting in synods and councils. But in the 9th century this order, by the pope's tyranny, came to be laid aside in the Western church.

‘ But whatever effects the laying aside the Chorepiscopi might have in other Western nations, there is no visible reason to believe, that it had any influence on the English church; for that church was not founded till the inconvenience of the authority exercised by the Chorepiscopi was become visible, and provided against by the canons of the Christian church; and

without the consent of the bishop: and both the council of Ancyra and of Antioch discharge the Chorepiscopi from ordaining presbyters or deacon's διχὰ τῆ ἐπισκόπου, separately from the bishop.

¹ Bingham's Orig. Eccles. vol. I.

‘ if I mistake not, that office was never received in England
‘ till after the Norman conquest ¹.’

It may indeed be well doubted whether it was received there then; since the office of suffragan bishops ² was not the same with that of the Chorepiscopi. For though the ancient Chorepiscopi and these suffragans were in many things much of the same nature, yet in some respect these latter were new both in name and thing. The Chorepiscopi had no distinct fee of their own, but were only ordained to a part of the city bishops fees; whereas these suffragans were actually bishops of other fees, though they did not reside upon them. They had their titles from places abroad *in partibus infidelium*, in which (though there were fixed fees, and they had been ordained to them) they could not remain with safety, those fees being in the possession of the Turks; and were commissioned by such bishops here in England, as were either so infirm as not to be able to go about their dioceses themselves, or were hindered from so doing by their attendance on parliament, or executing the great offices of state, to go about and visit them in their stead ³, to preach, celebrate orders, confirm, consecrate churches and nuns, and to execute such other things as were requisite to the episcopal office. Thus a writer of the fourteenth ⁴ century represented them: *Freres*, says he, *ben made bishops, to go and preche and convert beathen men, and leave this ghostly office and be suffragans in England* ⁵.

‘ Thus much is evident, that whereas neither the name nor
‘ the office of these suffragan bishops are to be found in the
‘ canons or histories of the English church before the Conquest,

¹ Innett's Orig. Anglic. Vol. II. p. 64.

² They were no other than the Chorepiscopi of the primitive times. Godolphin's Reports, p. 31. But this seems a mistake of this learned Civilian's.

³ See Append. N^o I.

⁴ About 1360.

⁵ Objections of Freres, c. 19. MS.

‘ and

‘ and but very little of them for above an age after ; from the
 ‘ latter end of the *thirteenth*, and the beginning of the *fourteenth*
 ‘ century, down to the Reformation, our histories are every
 ‘ where full with their names and offices ; and there is scarce
 ‘ a registry in any bishop’s office, that does not afford us light
 ‘ enough to ascertain the names and the powers of their re-
 ‘ spective suffragan bishops.’ The learned Mr. Wharton pro-
 mised, if he had lived to finish his *Anglia Sacra*, to exhibit a
 perfect succession of these suffragan bishops in almost all the
 dioceses of England, for about two hundred years before the
 Reformation ; which seems a plain intimation that he could not
 trace them higher, or find any of them here before that time,
 or 1340 ¹.

The occasions of introducing these officers ² are said to have
 been the same with those of settling arch-presbyters, or rural
 deans and archdeacons, viz. 1. The laying aside the *Chorepiscopi*
 in the western parts, as taking too much upon them ³. 2. The
 public services ⁴ which the diocesan bishops were more strictly
 tied to, as the king’s barons, in the Norman times ⁵. 3. The
 separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, and the va-
 riety of causes occasioned by the subtilties of the canonists,
 which made it impossible for the bishops to attend all the parts
 of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But this last seems a mistake,
 grounded on a false supposition, that these suffragans were com-
 missioned to exercise episcopal jurisdiction.

¹ He found one here a century before, even in 1240. Vid. *Angl. Sacr.* vol. I. p. 349. L.

² Bishop Stillingfleet’s Duties, &c. of the paroch. clergy.

³ Ecclesiastical Cases, vol. I. p. 146.

⁴ These (in the absence of bishops upon embassies, or in multiplicity of bu-
 siness) did supply their places in matters of orders, but not in jurisdiction. Go-
 dolphin’s Repertor. p. 30.

⁵ Inett’s Orig. Anglic. vol. II. 15.

In the Manual according to the use of Sarum ¹, the suffragan seems to be called the bishop's deputy, since, in the charge there given "to godfaders and godmoders," they are charged "to lerne
" the child, or se that be learned the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo,
" after the lawe of all holy church, and in all goodly haste to
" be conformed of my lord of the diocese, or of his depute."

By courtesy were these suffragans commonly called lords. Thus I find it entered in a parish book of accounts in the reign of Philip and Mary:

"A reward given to my lord suffragan's servants when the
" chalice and corpus cloth were hallowed, 4d."

But so were the abbats of Favresham styled lords; and so are the bishops of Sodor and Man to this day, though they have no barony.

By what the old English writer says, whom I mentioned before, one would conclude, that these suffragans were English friers or regulars. They are generally represented by our historians as very ambitious, and of strong passions for the things of this world. As therefore they had always a fund of ready money, and could by that means make a powerful application to the court of Rome; it is no wonder that they took this opportunity of the diocesan bishops' want of deputies to supply their places, to gratify their ambitious and selfish dispositions. It appeared, that their being titular bishops of foreign sees was sometimes a step to their being promoted to one at home: their being deputies or suffragans of the diocesan bishops served to strengthen the interest of their order; and they got something, besides being paid, I suppose, by the bishops for acting as their deputies.

In the reign of king Henry VIII. ² was an act made for nomination of suffragans, and consecration of them. In the

¹ Fol. xxxvii. a. ed. 1554.

² 1534.

preamble to it was observed, that, since the beginning of that parliament, good and honourable ordinances and statutes had been made and established, for elections, presentations, consecrations, and investing of archbishops and bishops of this realm, with all ceremonies appertaining unto the same; yet nevertheless no provisions had thitherto been made for suffragans, which had been accustomed to be had within this realm, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and other good, wholesome, and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people. By this act, 25 towns, and the Isle of Wight, are nominated to be taken and accepted for sees of bishops suffragans ¹ to be made in this realm, and in Wales ², viz.

¹ As the king is not obliged to give the suffragan a title within the diocese of the bishop who recommends him *, it being sufficient that the title be within the same province to which such bishop belongs †; I could never see any great propriety in exhibiting schemes of these suffragan sees ranged under the respective diocesan sees. Of these, however, the neatest and most correct is that which Dr. Drake has given us in his text of Matth. Parker, p. 32. where the only alterations necessary are, first, taking Bristol from Salisbury diocese, and adding it to that of Worcester; and, 2dly, altering Landavenis into Menevensis; Penreth being undoubtedly in Pembrokeshire, in the diocese of St. David's, the archdeaconry of Cardigan, and the deanry of Emlyn: Parker, in his own edition of 1572, is wild enough to the last degree. L.

² Here is not any for the smaller bishopricks of Rochester, Chester, Chichester, Hereford, and Lichfield. The learned writer of the Clergyman's Vade Mecum thought Pereth to be in the diocese of Carlisle; but this seems to be a mistake for Penrith, in that diocese, mentioned before in the act. He has, I think, quite omitted Bristol, which I suppose was in the large diocese of Lincoln, Bridgwater in that of Bath and Wells, Shrewsbury in the diocese of Worcester; and added Bridgenorth to the diocese of Hereford, and Pereth in he knew not what diocese. P. 47, Edit. 1715.

* Gibson's Codex, p. 134. note m.

† 26 Henry VIII. cap. 14. Sect. I.

TOWNS.	DIOCESE.	TOWNS.	DIOCESE.
Thetford, }	Norwich.	Bristow,	
Ipswich, }		Penreth,	Carlisle.
Colchester,	London.	Bridgwater,	Bath and Wells.
Dover,	Canterbury.	Nottingham,	York.
Guilford, }	Winchester.	Grantham,	Lincoln.
Southampton, }		Hull,	York.
Taunton,	Bath and Wells.	Huntingdon,	Lincoln.
Shaftesbury,	Sarum or Bristol.	Cambridge,	Ely.
Moulton,	Exeter.	Berwick,	Durham.
Marlborough,	Sarum.	St. Germans,	Exeter.
Bedford, }	Lincoln.	Isle of Wight,	Winchester.
Leicester, }		Pereth,	Landaff.
Shrewsbury,	Worcester.	Glocester,	

Of these, Bristow and Gloucester were soon after made the sees of diocesan bishops: and it is observed of the others, that there were not sees for suffragans in every diocese, there being provision made but for 18 or 19 of them at most. The king therefore was not obliged by this act to give the suffragans a title within the diocese of the bishop who recommended him, since a bishop might want a suffragan of whose diocese the act had taken no notice. But, generally speaking, the suffragans' titles were given within the diocese where they were to act and assist the bishop. The learned Mr. Wharton supposes ¹ there were two

¹ In Henry Wharton's letter of Observations at the end of Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 256, upon a passage in Strype belonging to the year 1537, we read: "In the first act of parliament, made in this reign *, touching suffragan bishops, certain titles were appointed, to which the said suffragans should be consecrated, taken from several of the chief towns in England; but it was not required, that the suffragan of any particular diocese should take his title from some town in that diocese, but was left at liberty to take it from any town [in the province] mentioned in that act; which was accordingly practised indifferently till the promulgation of the second act † concerning suffragans." This passage is here exactly transcribed; except that I have added the three words included between brackets, and have also in the very beginning placed two commas, one after *parliament*, another after *reign*, that that sense may be conveyed which Wharton seems

* Anno 1534, 26 Henry VIII.

† Anno 1558, 1 Eliz.

two acts of parliament made in this reign touching suffragan bishops; and intimated, that after the promulgation of the second act, the suffragan did not take his title indifferently from any town mentioned in the act, but from some one in the diocese where he was a suffragan. But that learned man seemed to have mistaken Q. Elizabeth's revival of this act, 1558, after the repeal of it by her sister Mary, 1554, for a second act.

The occasion of the abovesaid act was, as has been intimated, that in the act passed the year before ¹, for electing and consecrating archbishops and bishops within this realm, no provision was made for the electing and consecrating suffragans. By this act therefore it was ordered, That no person should henceforth be presented to the see of Rome for the dignity of archbishop or bishop; but that, whensoever any presentment or nomination shall be made by the king, &c. every archbishop and bishop, to whose hands any such presentment shall be directed, shall, with all celerity, invest and consecrate the person nominate. This, it is observed, was done all this reign, till the establishment of a new form of consecration in the 3d year of king Edward VI. according to the form of consecration in the Roman pontifical; only, I suppose, with the omission of the oath of Fidelity and Obedience there required to be taken to the pope, which was utterly inconsistent with that enacted to be taken to the king, 28 Henry VIII. However this be, it is plain that, by this act, no directions were given for the presentment and consecration of suffragans. It was therefore ordained by this other act as above, that, for the future, every archbishop and bishop, dis-

to have intended; for most probably he only meant to insinuate, that the first act of parliament touching suffragan bishops was made in this reign, that is, Henry VIIth's. Accordingly, the two dates at the bottom, for further illustration, are also added by me. L.

¹ 25 Henry VIII.

posed to have a suffragan, should name two persons to the king, who should choose one, and present him to the archbishop of the province for consecration. This, it is observed, was making these suffragans more like the ancient Chorepiscopi, or bishops of the country, to distinguish them from the proper bishops of the city or see; they being consecrated to officiate in the diocese, and having their titles from some place in it, and not having any fixed see of their own. And yet this was not always the case of these suffragans. For instance, the bishop of London had a suffragan with the title of Bedford, in the diocese of Lincoln; the bishop of Ely another, with the title of Colchester, in the diocese of London; and the bishop of St. Asaph, for whose diocese no suffragan was provided by the act, a third with the title of Shaftesbury, in the diocese of Sarum or Bristol ¹.

. By the same act ², it was farther enacted, That all such suffragans, as shall hereafter exercise the offices aforesaid, by the commission of the bishop, for the better maintenance of his dignity, may have two benefices with cure; any former act made to the contrary notwithstanding: And that the residence of him that shall be suffragan over the diocese where he shall have commission, shall serve him for his residence as sufficiently as if he was resident upon any other his benefice.

This act the learned bishop Burnet and Mr. Joseph Bingham have represented as an attempt made to restore the Chorepiscopi under the name of Suffragan bishops. But this the famous Mr. Jeremy Collier ³, out of a violent prejudice to the bishop of

¹ The fact here referred to bears date in 1538, at which time Bristol was not the title of a diocesan, but only of a suffragan, see. See Life of archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 7. L.

² § 7, 8.

³ He mentions, from Wharton, one Peter Corbariensis as Chorepiscopus, or suffragan, to Stephen bishop of London, 1329. But it has been shewn, that a Chorepiscopus and suffragan was not the same. By the likeness of their names and order,

of Sarum, which led him to oppose almost every thing he wrote, right or wrong, thought fit to contradict. He denied that the Chorepiscopi, whom he confounds with the suffragan bishops, were put down from the 9th century, though it is matter of fact, in which all learned men are agreed, that they were laid aside at that time. It is certain Mr. Collier did not know what the Chorepiscopi were, since he asserts that their character was full and entire; whereas they had not the full and entire power of conferring orders, but were limited or confined by their commissions to the exercise of such powers only as they had granted by them from time to time. He did not know what those suffragans were, whose office, the act says, was customary in these kingdoms.

Though there was no distinct revenue provided for these suffragans, settled by the act of Henry VIII. they had a very handsome maintenance, being commonly dignitaries of the church, and possessed of very considerable cures.

Thus Dr. Richard Rogers¹, the last suffragan bishop of Dover, was dean of Canterbury, master of Eastbridge Hospital, and rector of Chart-Magna, to which he was inducted, January 19, 1567.

Archbishop Cranmer is said to have made a distinction between the diocesan bishops and these suffragans, in his treatment of them at his palace²: in that whereas the former sat
with

order, and their time of living, one would be tempted to imagine that Peter de Corbario and Petrus Corbariensis was the same man, of whom the following account is given by Murimuth: "Eodem anno 1328, Petrus de Corbario, de ordine fratrum minorum, qui de consilio et auxilio Ludovici ducis Bavarie in civitate Roma in papam se fecit coronari: Idem Petrus antipapae eundem Ludovicum in regem Romanorum, contra statum ecclesie coronavit. Ille antipapa cardinales, et alios officarios, quos verus papa solebat habere, creavit."

¹ He died May 10, 1597.

² The words of Mr. Wharton's letter, here referred to, are as follows: "In those days suffragan bishops, however usual, were treated with contempt enough, not wont to be admitted to dine at the archbishop's own table in the hall of the
" arch-

with him at his own table, the suffragans dined at a table below his, which was called the Almoner's table, at which sat the archbishop's chaplains, and all guests of the clergy beneath diocesan bishops and abbats. This table was above the steward's table, at which sat all other gentlemen. In a late account of these suffragans ¹, we are told, that Mr. Wharton, in his letter printed at the end of Strype's Memorials of archbishop Cranmer, tells us, that our archbishops and bishops treated them with contempt enough, and generally made them dine at their steward's table ². But the letter itself shews, that this is all fiction, and an abuse of the memories of our archbishops, &c. and of Mr. Wharton himself. Though indeed so far is dining at an archbishop's steward's table from being thought even now a being treated with contempt, that I have had the honour of dining there more than once, when one or two diocesan bishops sat at the upper end of it.

The learned Mr. Collier observed very wisely, that there were actually such prelates as these suffragans at the making the fore-mentioned statute. Yes, who ever denied it? Robert King, abbat of Osney, and titular bishop of Reonen, was suffragan to the bishop of Lincoln, 1541, and made bishop of Oxford, 1542, and died 1557. But was he a Chorepiscopus, ordained to any part of the diocese of Lincoln, or such a suffragan as was appointed by this act? Certainly no, as appears by his title.

“ archbishop's palace. There were generally three tables spread in the archbishop's hall, and served at the same time: The archbishop's table, at which ordinarily sat none but peers of the realm, privy-counsellors, and gentlemen of the greatest quality. The almoner's table, at which sat the chaplains, and all guests of the clergy beneath diocesan bishops and abbots. The steward's table, at which sat all other gentlemen. The suffragan bishops then were wont to sit at the almoner's table.” P. 258. I.

¹ Dr. Brett's Letter, printed above, p. 4.

² *Præfente episcopo proprio nullum locum honoris habet episcopus suffraganeus, sed tantum sedet supra canonicos.* Bauldry, *Manuale Sacrarum Cæremoniarum*, p. 444. edit. Venet. 1673.

However this be, it appears that, in conformity to this act, archbishop Cranmer, about 1540, had Richard Thornden, prebendary of Canterbury, for suffragan of Dover; in which office he continued till his death, 1558. Whether any one was appointed immediately to succeed him, I do not know; but in 1568 archbishop Parker, according to the directions of this act, recommended to the queen in writing, under his seal, Richard Rogers, B. D. and John Butler, LL. B. canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, vicar of Minstre in Tenet, and . . . ; humbly supplicating her majesty to nominate one of them, and grant him the style, name, title, and dignity, of Suffragan of Dover. Her majesty, accordingly, by her letters patent sealed with her privy seal, and dated May 12, nominated Rogers, and commanded the archbishop to consecrate him thereto; and about sixteen years after, September 6, 1584, promoted him to the deanry of Canterbury. On archbishop Grindal's death, 1583, Whitgift, who succeeded him, granted Rogers a new commission to act as suffragan of Dover; as I suppose archbishop Grindal had done on the death of Parker. However this be, the commission¹ empowered Rogers to catechise and confirm the children of the diocese and province of Canterbury, according to the reformed rites, and to ordain deacons and priests of those of the same diocese and province, and such as brought him letters dimissory from other dioceses in the province; and to do all other things pertaining to the pontifical office.

By this it seems as if, on the demise or translation of the diocesan bishop, the commission given by him to the suffragan was void, and to be renewed or not at the pleasure of the successor. Archbishop Whitgift's commission to his suffragan Rogers intimates as if he had authority given to him by it to

¹ Appendix, N^o II. a. p. 21.

exercise this episcopal office any where in the province as well as in the diocese of Canterbury ; perhaps by this was the suffragan of an archbishop distinguished from the suffragan of a diocesan or bishop of a province.

The famous Dr. George Hickes styled himself *Episcopus Suffraganeus Thetfordiensis* in the diocese of Norwich, and claimed and put in ure an authority of celebrating orders in the diocese of London, and ordained Laurence Howel priest in his oratory in the parish of St. Andrew's Oldbourne, two years after his commission was voided by the death of Dr. William Lloyd, the deprived bishop of Norwich. This was directly contrary to the practice and usage of the suffragans of the bishops of the church of England ever since the fore-mentioned act was made : And an honest and understanding man would therefore have scrupled making the declaration required to be made in the ordering of priests, that " he thought in his heart, that he was truly called " to the order and ministry of Priesthode according to the order " of this Church of England."

By the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, no manner of notice is taken of any bishops-suffragan ; only adjutors are ordered to be provided, in case a bishop be ill, of any desperate distemper, or very aged. But it seems a consideration well worthy of the goodness and wisdom of the prelate who proposed it ¹, for what causes these suffragans have been so long refused, and how far the revival of them would be serviceable to the English church. One thing seems to make them necessary in our larger dioceses, and those in which the bishops themselves do not or cannot reside ; and that is the due and regular performance of Confirmation, which ought to be celebrated once at least every year ; and at such convenient distances that people may easily resort to it ² : whereas, by the manner of

¹ Codex, &c.

² See Appendix, N^o III. p. 23.

its being performed now once perhaps in four or five years, and in so few places, and at such great distances as 15 or 16 miles, the design of it is in a manner lost. Nor is this all. The diocesan bishops are absent from their dioceses, some altogether, and others the most part of the year. Their archdeacons follow their bishop's example; and no wonder, since the habitation, or residence, of many of them is at 200 miles distance from their archdeaconries: whereas, if any regard was had to the church of Christ, such learned and good men would be made archdeacons, as were beneficed in the several archdeaconries, and lived with and among the clergy whom they inspected. But this is unhappily prevented in the province of Canterbury, by the archbishop's making so many archdeaconries his options, and disposing of them to his chaplains and favourites, however unqualified by their having cures at so great and unreasonable a distance from them.

By the canons of 1603, N^o 35. 60. 135. suffragans are supposed as then in being, and executing their office of conferring orders, confirming, and visiting the dioceses of the bishops whose suffragans they were, and as much a part of our ecclesiastical constitution as archbishops, bishops, chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and officials¹. But it has been the fate of these canons hitherto to be either defended or neglected, just as they suited mens interests, or were agreeable or not to their passions. When king George I. came to the crown, a sudden transport of heat and zeal was shewn in defence of the 55th canon, because it seemed to justify the inclination of the defenders not to pray for that prince, by men who took no more notice of the obligation of the other canons, particularly of canon 41, than if they were never made.

The 135th canon supposes suffragans to be entitled to take and receive fees for causes incident to their office. If the

¹ Canon 135.

taking these any wise clashed or interfered with those of the chancellor ¹, archdeacon, &c. one need not wonder, that the suffragans were laid aside, let them have been of what use they would. But even this canon is a proof of the observation just now made, that these canons are observed or not, as they suit the interest or inclination of people. By it, it is provided, that
 ‘ no bishop, suffragan, chancellor, commissary, archdeacon,
 ‘ official, nor any other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction what-
 ‘ soever, nor any register of any ecclesiastical courts, nor any
 ‘ minister belonging to any of the said officers or courts, shall
 ‘ hereafter, for any cause incident to their several offices, take
 ‘ or receive any other or greater fees, than such as were certified
 ‘ to the most reverend father in God, John ², late archbishop of
 ‘ Canterbury, in the year of our Lord God 1597, and were by
 ‘ him ratified and approved; under pain that every such judge,
 ‘ officer, or minister offending herein, shall be suspended from
 ‘ the exercise of their several offices, for the space of six months
 ‘ for every such offence.’

By the 136th canon, a table of these rates and fees is appointed to be placed by the registers, in the registry, &c. a copy of which in the year 1671 was printed by the right reverend Dr. Anthony Sparrow, then lord bishop of Exeter.

It is further provided by the 135th canon, ‘ that no fee or
 ‘ money shall be received, either by the archbishop, or any bishop
 ‘ or suffragan, either directly or indirectly, for admitting of any
 ‘ into sacred orders; nor, that any other person or persons under
 ‘ the said archbishop, bishop, or suffragan, shall, for parchment,
 ‘ writing, wax, sealing, or any other respect thereunto appertain-
 ‘ ing, take above ten shillings.’

¹ By a paper in the Appendix, N° II. b. p. 22, it appears, the suffragan and archdeacon joined in the execution of the bishop's orders: the suffragan signing first as the superior officer.

² Whitgift.

A P P E N D I X. N° I.

An extract from an instrument of Archbishop PECKHAM, requiring the bishop of LICHFIELD, in consideration of his infirmities, to provide a suffragan,

—— qui circumeat, prædicando, ecclesias dedicando, virgines consecrando, ordines celebrando, parvulos confirmando, et alia exequendo quæ ad episcopale officium requiruntur.

An extract from archbishop CRANMER's commission to RICHARD YNGWORTH, S. T. P. prior of the house of Langley Regis, suffragan of Dover;

—— “ ad confirmandum, sacri chrismatis unctione, pueros quoscunque infra civitatem et dioc' nostras Cant', et jurisdictiones nostras, et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant' immediatas, ac jurisdictionem nostram villæ Calisæ, et Marchias ejusdem.— Nec non altaria, calices, vestimenta, et alia ecclesiæ ornamenta quæcunque et ea concernentia benedicendum; locaque profana, si quæ inveneris, de quibus te inquirere volumus, a divinorum celebratione legitime suspendendum. Ecclesias etiam et cœmeteria, sanguinis vel feminis effusione polluta forsan, vel polluenda, reconciliandum, ecclesias et altaria noviter ædificata consecrandum: Omnes ordines minores quibuscunque civitatis, dioceseos, et jurisdictionumstrarum prædictarum ipsos ordines a te recipere volentibus et ad hoc habilibus conferendum; ac etiam oleum sanctum chrismatis et sacræ unctionis consecrandum; cæteraque omnia et singula, quæ ad officium pontificale in præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum, quovismodo pertinent, vel pertinere poterunt, faciendum, exercendum, et expediendum, tibi, tenore presentium ¹, committimus vices nostras et plenam in Domino potestatem.

N° II. a.

A commission from Archbishop WHITGIFT, to Dr. RICHARD ROGERS, dean of Canterbury, and bishop suffragan of Dover, 1583 ².

Johannes, divina providentia, Cantuar' archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, dilecto nobis in Christo venerabili confratri nostro Ricardo Rogers, episcopo suffraganeo sedis Dover, nostræ Cantuar' dioceseos, salutem et fraternam

¹ Such commission as the bishop shall think requisite, reasonable, and convenient
Codex Jur. Eccles. Anglic. Appendix.

² From the Register of Archbishop Whitgift.

in Domino charitatem. Ad catechizand' et confirmand' pueros quorumcunque subditorum utriusque sexus nostræ dioceſeos et provinciæ Cauntuar', juxta morem et ritum modernos ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in ea parte pie et salubriter editos et ordinatos; nec non sacros diaconatus et presbyteratus ordines quibuscunque subditis nostræ dioc' et provinciæ Cantuar', et aliis personis literas dimissorias suorum dioceſanorum, et titulos sufficientes exhibentibus, si eas habiles et idoneas tam moribus et ætate quam etiam literatura inveneris (super quibus conscientiam tuam coram Altissimo oneramus), nullumque alium legitimum eis in ea parte obſiſtat impedimentum, juxta et secundum morem et ritum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in ea parte piè et salubriter ordinatum et sancitum, conferendos, ipsosque et eorum quemlibet ad hujusmodi sacros ordines admittend' et promovendum'; cæteraque omnia et singula alia ad officium pontificale in præmissis, vel in aliquo præmissorum, spectanda et pertinenda. Et quæ in ea parte necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet requisita, fraternitati vestræ vices nostras committimus, et plenam in Domino, tenore præsentium, concedimus facultatem. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum præsentibus apponi fecimus, Datum in manerio nostro de Lambeth, undecimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo tertio, et nostræ translationis primo.

N^o II. b.

To our lovinge Frende Mr. BROMELL (Vicar) of Minster
in Thanet. (An Original.)

Salutem in Christo. We have received letters from our very good lord the archbishop of Cant' his Grace, whereby, accordyng to such directions as his Grace hath from her Majestie and the Lords of her most honourable Councell, We are to will, require and charge you, that, calling to yow the churche-wardens, side-men, and others, such as you shall thinke most convenient, you and they make a true, plaine, and particular answere to these articles subscribed, and thereunt sett your and their hands, and the same your answere yow send to us to Cant' at or before the fourteenth day of January next. Dated the 12th of December, 1595.

Your very loving freinds,

RI. DOVER,
¹ CHA. FOTHERBY.

What popish recusants have you within your parish? of what estate, condition, degree, or value in lyvelyhode, and whether they be howsholders or noe?

Whether knowe you any such Popish recusants that be vagrants and fugitives from their dwellinge; and whether they wander, and to whom they commonlie resorte?

¹ Charles Fotherby was collated to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, Jan. 28, 1596, Le Neve. But this is a mistake (as appears by Reg. Whitgift, part II. vol. 26. b.) for 1594, when Redman was promoted to the see of Norwich, June 10.

Whether

Whether have you anie sectarie recusants within your parish, of what estate, condition, and degre in livelihood they be; and whether they bee householders or noe?

Whether knowe you any sectarie recusants that be vagrants and sumtimes from their dwelling; and whether they wander, and to whom they commonly resort?

Whether be anye indited by order of Lawe, and what penalties bene answerable to her majestie?

N^o III.

An extract of a letter written to the most reverend Dr. WILLIAM WAKE, lord archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, concerning Confirmation, May 14, 1724, with some additions.

——— Your Grace will excuse my adding, on the account of your approaching visitation, somewhat relating to that part of it, the confirming the youth of your diocese. Of the abuses of this excellent institution, I have too often had occasion to be very sensible, and in my narrow sphere have done all I could to remedy them. But I am but one, and I see the current of my brethren and the people run strong against me. The common opinion is, that Confirmation is only having the Bishop's blessing, and that children of any age are capable of that. Nay, it has been attempted to be maintained to me, that a bare ability of saying or repeating the words of the Church Catechism is all the qualification which our Church requires for persons being admitted to confirmation. According to these false notions, has your Grace abundance more trouble given you than needs, whenever your Grace confirms. In pursuance of the first, that Confirmation is only being bishoped, or receiving the bishop's blessing, or, as a poor ignorant old woman at Canterbury called it, "the bishop's polling the folks," because he laid his hands on their heads, your Grace has those come to be confirmed who have many of them been confirmed twice or thrice, and some every time your Grace or your predecessor have confirmed in your diocese; because, as they say, they can't have a good thing too often. Agreeable to the other, children in hanging-sleeves, who have no other reason for coming than seeing a bishop, are presented to your Grace to be confirmed. This it is that makes Confirmations so tumultuous and disorderly, and so very unlike a religious solemnity.

I have often had occasion to observe, that our common people have by tradition too many of the principles of Paganism and Popery. Now, according to the Manual *in usum Sarum*, Godfathers, &c. were ordered "to keep the children from fire and water to the age of seven yeres, and then in all goodlye haste to bring them to be confirmed of my lord of the dyocese, or of his depute."

Our canonist Lyndwood's gloss on the word *pueros* is, that by the word *puer proprie intelligitur qui est major septennio, sed minor 14 annis*. By the Trent Catechism twelve years old is ordered to be the latest time, or oldest age of persons to be confirmed, and it is intimated as if it had been usual for children to be confirmed

before they were seven years old. And so Vicecomes cites *Edmundus Cantuar. in speculo ecclesiæ*, as affirming, that *infra quinque annos ad ultimum postquam natus fuerit infans potest confirmari*. Though indeed any age almost after they could speak might be sufficient then, when the children to be confirmed were only to be learned by rote the *Pater-noster*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, in Latin; and Confirmation was only the bishop's signing them with the sign of the cross, and confirming them with the ointment of salvation.

But I need not observe to your Grace, that this can never be the intention of our Reformed Church, which though it mention no age in particular, yet has sufficiently intimated that they who are confirmed ought to be somewhat more than children, that they should be come to years of discretions. Thus the very title of the order of Confirmation runs: "The Order of Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon those that are baptized, and come to years of discretion." The exhortation to god-fathers, &c. supposes the infant able to learn what a solemn vow, promise, and profession, he hath at baptism made by them; and the solemn question asked them by the bishop at their confirmation, "Whether they do, in the presence of God and of that congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that was made in their name at their Baptism," plainly supposes, that they know and are sensible what it is: that they have learned what was promised and undertaken for them at their baptism, and that not by rote or in an unknown tongue, as parrots and magpies talk and chatter; but in such a manner as to understand and be sensible of the solemn vow, promise, and profession, which was then made in their names by their sureties. Were all who are admitted to confirmation thus qualified, I need not observe how useful this ordinance would be, nor how many the good effects of it. But this will never be, unless the bishops themselves interpose, and actually repel children who come to be confirmed, or declare they will confirm none who are not come to years of discretion.

I beg leave to observe further to your Grace, that it would very much contribute to your Grace's ease, and the more solemn and orderly administration of this useful and wholesome ordinance, if, as canon LXI. requires ministers to prepare children or young persons for confirmation, and the Rubric orders that the curate of every parish shall either bring, or send in writing, the names of all such persons within his parish as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop to be confirmed; so care be taken that none be presented to your Grace but such whose names are in such lists. This I mention the rather, because experience has shewn me, that, for want of this order, the minister is little regarded on these occasions, since they know very well, they can get to be confirmed whether he approves them or not.

In the second council at Oxford it was ordered, that the parish priests should frequently admonish parents to bring their baptised children to confirmation, whenever they heard of the bishop's being near them. On this our canonist Lyndwood² noted, that the common usage was, for bishops to appoint the places where they confirmed at such convenient distances, that no one should have occasion to go above seven miles from their own homes to attend on them.

¹ By the 112th canon, requiring all of the age of sixteen to receive the Communion at Easter, one would imagine that it was thought, that under that age was not reckoned being come to years of discretion.

² P. 34. ed. Oxon. 1679.

Some Account of that Species of PRELATES
formerly existing in England, usually called
“ BISHOPS *in Partibus Infidelium*.”

In a Letter from the Rev. Mr. PEGGE to Dr. DUCAREL.

DEAR SIR,

AN occasion was offered in a late Memoir, read at the Society of Antiquaries, April 23, 1784¹, to say something of our Suffragan Bishops, whose titles were borrowed from places *in partibus infidelium*, commonly called bishops *in partibus*, of which we find several before the Reformation, that is, before the statute 26 Hen. VIII. by which these suffragan, or assisting prelates, now usually called coadjutors², were all to take their titles from places here at home; the several places are therein mentioned. But as the subject is not common, and the nature and employments of this species of prelates may not be understood generally, or by all, and the matter moreover seems not foreign to the design of the antiquarian institution, it may not be improper to resume it, and to treat it somewhat more distinctly in a particular paper; and this is proposed to be done in the following diatribe.

The mode of proceeding appears to have been this. The diocesan who wanted an assistant, or one of these bishops *in partibus*, preferred his petition to the pope, declaring the grounds and reasons of his application, recommending the person by

¹ And ordered to be printed in the Seventh Volume of the *Archæologia*.

² The word in bishop Longland's register, to be cited below, is *coepiscopus*.

name whom he wished to have, and giving him a laudable character. This we learn from the register of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, where his lordship's supplication to Clement VII. dated 13 May, 1529, in this behalf, is entered. The instrument being short, I propose to annex it to this memoir ¹. The observations I make upon it, are these.

1. The pope's leave and consent were in these times absolutely necessary.

2. The title being never once mentioned in the body of the prayer seems to shew, that the designation and appointment of that rested entirely with his holiness; and indeed well it might, as these suffragans had no baronies.

3. That though in this case the party was to be consecrated, 'ut in causis præmissis, ceterisque, circa pastorem curam *infra diocesis meam* et alibi exercendis in exonerationem conscientie meæ mihi suffragari possit;' yet on other occasions there was a limitation. Thus, 15 July, 1533, Thomas Swillington was appointed suffragan to bishop Longland, but his district was confined to the two archdeaconries of Lincoln and Leicester ². And the power of Matthew Makerell, A. 1535, extended no farther than the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow ³.

4. The investiture of Halam, the person recommended by Longland and prior of Newstedde near Stamford, with the episcopal character, did not require him to relinquish his station as a prior, or prevent his continuance in religion; since there is reason to think he remained in that post till his death ⁴, and that he had doubtless a subprior to officiate for him in the house, on all occasions of absence. Thus again, Robert Kynge, installed abbat of Osney, A. 1541, was nevertheless a suffragan

¹ See p. 35.

² Bishop Longland's Register, A. 1533.

³ Ibid. A. 1535.

⁴ See the Memoir on the Winkburne Seal.

of bishop Longland, by the foreign title of *Reonen*, was actually consecrated before that year, and remained such when he surrendered his monasteries ¹. All shewing, that the profession of religion, as they called it, was by no means inconsistent with the enjoyment of a prelacy *in partibus*, were the parties in esteem for their morals and learning. They had their respective houses, I apprehend, by commendam ².

Now to avoid the trouble and expence of seeking to Rome, which also took up much time, both the monasteries ³ and the diocesans ⁴ often employed Irish prelates to perform the necessary episcopal duties and offices: The exempt monasteries, for those are what I now speak of, would also call in any other English bishop, but their own natural diocesan ⁵.

At the time of the Reformation, a very material alteration, as one may easily imagine, was made, in the business of appointing these *coepiscopi*. An act passed 26 Henry VIII. appointing towns in England for their titles, as Dover, Nottingham, Hull, &c. to the number of twenty-six; and there have been several such suffragans with English titles since the Reformation. But I shall concern myself no farther with these extraordinary prelates, than to add the two following remarks from my late friend Dr. Thomas Brett ⁶, and two instruments of archbishop Cranmer ⁷.

First, as to the mode of creating; if a bishop desires a suffragan, he, according to the act of Henry VIII. is to present two persons to the king, who chuses one of them, gives him the title of

¹ See the Memoir on the Winkburne Seal.

² Thus Episcopus Neapolitanus was commendator of the priory of Christ church, Hants. Burnet, Ref. I. p. 148. 2d paging.

³ M. Paris, in Vit. p. 78. 82. Thorn, Chron. col. 2038.

⁴ Mem. of Rog. de Weseham, p. 39. Thorn, Chron. col. 2039.

⁵ Thorn, Chron. col. 1835. 2119. M. Paris, in Vit. p. 78.

⁶ Drake, Eborac, p. 540.

⁷ Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, p. 40, 41. of Appendix.

one of the towns mentioned in the act, and orders the consecration.

2. In 1592, John Sterne was consecrated bishop of Colchester, and was the last we meet with.

As to the nature of these suffragans, whether of foreign or domestic titles, Monf. Rapin and Mr. Wharton¹ represent them as Chorepiscopi; which certainly is not much amiss, though they were not exactly the same, as may appear in the sequel.

The Chorepiscopi of the primitive church were such as performed the episcopal function in country-places, as the name imports, whilst other prelates resided and officiated in cities². They were assistants to these latter; for, as Mr. Bingham informs³, when the dioceses became enlarged by the conversion of pagans in villages⁴ at a great distance from the city church, the urbical prelates appointed and associated these adjutors themselves, who therefore were sometimes styled *Vicarii*⁵. They dwindled at last into Archpresbyters and rural deans, so that their episcopal character was totally abolished⁶. However, they continued long in England⁷, Lanfranc being the person that extinguished them here⁸. Matters continued in this state, till about the year 1325, when, as Mr. Wharton, who had penetrated deeply into this business, remarks, our prelates *in partibus* were first instituted⁹.

¹ Rapin's Hist. vol. I. p. 803. Wharton, A. S. I. p. 64.

² Spelman, Gloss.

³ Bingham, Antiq. of Christian Church, lib. II. ch. 14.

⁴ They were termed Pagans, from *Pagi*, villages.

⁵ Spelman, Gloss. The bishops *in partibus* were also called *Vicarii*. Thorn, Chron. col. 2039. Wharton, A. S. I. p. 238. 791.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 491. Collier, Hist. I. p. 213.

⁸ Collier, Hist. I. p. 213.

⁹ Wharton, in Strype's Cranmer, p. 256 of Appendix, where he says, he could exhibit a succession of the suffragan bishops in question for about 200 years before the Reformation. The first I have met with is A. 1325.

The

The origin and occasion of this new establishment, here was, to be aiding and assisting to the archbishops, and bishops with large dioceses, and also to perform all prelatical duties in exempt monasteries. Mr. Strype observes, in regard to the former, that before the Reformation, ‘the bishops diocesans, either for their own ease, or because of their necessary absence from their dioceses, in ambassies abroad, or attendance upon the court or civil affairs, procured [them] to be consecrated, to reside in their steads ¹.’ And it is undoubtedly true, that in these times, the great secular ecclesiastics, archbishops and bishops, were often engaged in the high offices of lord chancellor, lord treasurer, &c. and frequently sent abroad upon embassies; they were subject moreover to age and infirmities; and some of their dioceses, as well as provinces, were immensely large and extensive, as Lincoln and Lichfield, for example.

In regard to the monasteries; ‘most of the great abbies,’ says Dr. Brett, ‘procured Bulls from Rome to exempt them from episcopal jurisdiction, and to be immediately subject to the Pope only. But having occasion for episcopal offices to be performed in their monasteries, to consecrate altars, chalices, vestments, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, and to confirm novices taken into their houses, they found, if on such occasions they should apply to any diocesan bishop, it would be taken as a submission to his jurisdiction; and therefore they got one of their own monks to be consecrated a bishop, with some foreign title (most commonly a title in Greece, or some part of the Greek church), who could therefore challenge no jurisdiction in any part of England; though, with the consent of those who had jurisdiction here, he might exercise any part of the episcopal function ².’ Now as to procuring their

¹ Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, p. 36. and Dr. Brett’s *Letter in Drake’s Ebor*, p. 540.

² Dr. Brett, l. c.

own monks to be ordained bishops, I have not found any instances of that, in such authorities as I have had an opportunity of seeing; on the contrary, whenever the exempt religious houses wanted the service of a bishop, they would call in and use any other prelate, English, British¹, or Irish², but their own, for fear this latter should make a precedent of the case, as the learned doctor has stated, and found a claim of right, or ordinary jurisdiction, upon it. Thus, when the bishop of St. Asaph made chrism, and holy oil, in the great abbey of St. Alban's, Matthew Paris remarks pointedly, '*eodem episcopo nullatenus vices episcopi Lincolnienfis gerente in aliquo* ³.' The doctor, however, has very rightly observed, that these suffragans, though they had foreign titles, were all Englishmen⁴.

The next thing to be considered seems to be, what kind of offices these *coepiscopi* were permitted to exercise, whence the true nature of their employment and constitution will be more fully developed. Their offices may be ranged thus, from Mr. Strype⁵.

They confirmed children; but Dr. Brett seems to understand by this, the confirming of novices taken into religious houses.

They blessed altars, chalices, vestments, &c.

They suspended profane and unconsecrated places, and reconciled polluted churches and church-yards. Dr. Harris, who always wrote in haste, gives it thus: 'To suspend from places and churches, and to restore to them,' applying it to persons;

¹ M. Paris, p. 384. Richard bishop of Bangor resided then at St. Alban's.

² Thorn, Chron. inter X Script. col. 1835. 2119. M. Paris, in Vit. p. 78. 82.

³ M. Paris, in Vit. p. 82.

⁴ See him, l. c.

⁵ Strype, Life of Cranmer, p. 62. Appendix, No XXII. adding Dr. Harris, Hist. of Kent, p. 491. and M. Paris, in Vit. p. 82.

but

but in the original of Mr. Strype, l. c. it relates to places not consecrated, or profaned.

They consecrated and dedicated new churches or chapels.

They conferred the lesser orders, creating readers, subdeacons, exorcists, &c.

They made chrism and holy oil.

They baptized, blessed, and consecrated bells¹; but this is not mentioned by Mr. Strype; probably because when archbishop Cranmer's commission passed, from which he borrowed his account, this foolish ceremony had ceased.

Lastly, they granted indulgences for a few days².

The state and condition of our suffragans was not very variable; they wore the pontifical habit indeed upon occasions, as appears from the effigies of Thomas Swillington in the Winkburne seal, and were stiled Lords³, though, having no baronies or jurisdiction, they were not peers, or lords of parliament. However, they had no voice in synods and councils⁴, as their predecessors the chorepiscopi had⁵. They were limited often as to district, having only certain archdeaconries out of many assigned them⁶; and at and after the Reformation the commission by which they acted was revocable⁷, and this was but a natural consequence of their appointment by their respective diocesans, and their enjoying no jurisdiction; but whether it was so more anciently with the Chorepiscopi may be doubted. Lastly, though the archbishop of Canterbury shewed his suffragan extraordinary respect whenever he attended him, yet he was treated at the

¹ M. Paris, in Vit. p. 82.

² Wharton, A. S. I. p. 349.

³ Dr. Brett, l. c.

⁴ Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, p. 285. of Appendix.

⁵ Mr. Bingham, l. c.

⁶ See the Memoir on the Winkburne seal, ut supra.

⁷ Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, N° XXII. of Append.

palace,

palace, as Mr. Wharton expresses it, *with contempt enough*, being not admitted to dine at the archbishop's own table, but at the almoner's, or second table ¹. Little is known in regard to the maintenance of these suffragans; and yet one cannot but suppose, that as they were designed to represent the person of the diocesan and to act for him, some stipend adequate to their dignity and the support of that must have been assigned them. Nothing, however, of this kind appears either in Longland's petition to the Pope, or Archbishop Cranmer's commission to Richard Thornden ²; and therefore we are left to imagine, that some private agreement, or stipulation, passed between the parties, the diocesan and suffragan, in respect of the allowance; and this, whatever it was, would certainly be increased by the perquisites and presents, the suffragan would occasionally receive from those whom he served and obliged with his episcopal functions.

Queen Mary, acting always in opposition to her father in religious matters, restored these bishops *in partibus* ³; but in the next reign they were again suppressed, and the replaced English titles continued almost to the end of that reign, as we have seen above.

I should be happy, Sir, if I could here present you with a tolerable list of the bishops *in partibus*; Dr. Brett speaks of a catalogue he could give of between 30 and 40 suffragans with foreign titles ⁴. Mr. Drake says, the names of several of these subordinate prelates occur in the registers at York, and wonders so exact a man as Mr. Torre omitted taking a catalogue of them ⁵: but the words of Mr. Wharton on this subject are still

¹ Wharton, in Strype's Cranmer, p. 258. Dr. Brett commits a small mistake here, by seating him at the third, or steward's table.

² Dr. Brett, l. c.

³ Harris, Hist. of Kent, p. 491.

⁴ Dr. Brett, l. c. ⁵ Drake's Ebor. p. 539.

more remarkable; 'that if it pleased God to permit him to finish 'his *Anglia Sacra*, he should exhibit a perfect succession of 'suffragan bishops in almost all the dioceses of England, for 'about 200 years before the Reformation'. This was written about 1693, but a year before he died; so that, I fear, his labours on this head are entirely lost, and the damage irreparable, as no one, I am persuaded, is, at this time, so well qualified to perform the task as Mr. Wharton was. And yet these suffragans were doubtless men of some figure and consequence in their day, and had obtained a character for prudence, sobriety, and learning, all which may be predicated, with some degree of certainty, of Robert Kynge above-mentioned, who in 1542 was made the first bishop of Oxford for his great and conspicuous merits.

The titles I have been able to recover are only these few.

Carboniensis Petrus, 1325. Thorn, Chron. col. 2039. The place must be in Hungary; for the same person, col. 2038 is called *Petrus episcopus Hungariae*. He was suffragan to archbishop of Canterbury Walter Reynolds. Thorn, l. c.

Chalcedon. Matthew Makerell, abbot of Burlings, 1535. Register of Longland bishop of Lincoln, whose suffragan he was; see before. He was to exercise jurisdiction within the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow. Chalcedon is in Bithynia.

Callipolis. John Young, 1517. Wood Ath. Ox. I. 663. Gallipoli in Thrace.

Hungary. v. *Carboniensis*.

Hippolitaneus. John. Strype, Life of Cranmer, p. 37. 71. This is conceived to be a corruption, and to mean Hippo in Numidia. See Appendix, p. 256.

John. Suffragan to archbishop Edmund 1240. Ang. Sac. I. p. 349.

Lacedemon. Thomas Woulf. Wood, Ath. Oxon. I. col. 650.

Lydensis. Thomas Bele or Beel. Wood, ibid. p. 666. Judæa².

Monyonenfis. John Bell, bishop of Mayo in Ireland, as in Mr. Batteley's Cant. Sacra, p. 602. where he is referred to A. D. 1492, and is the same whom Dr. Harris, History of Kent, p. 491, corruptly calls Monyonensis.

¹ Strype, Cranmer, p. 256. of Appendix. See p. 36.

² Round a bishop, cut in black strokes, on a white stone in the abbey church at Dorchester, in the county of Oxford, is this inscription:

Hic jacet d'us Joannes quodam p'oratus de ranton in com. Staffordie, postea abbas mon' de Dorchester, Lincoln dioces', nec non ep'us lidensis, cujus . . .

He was prior of Dorchester about 1510. Willis, Mit. Ab. II. 176. where the epitaph is incorrectly given.

- Majerenfis*, or *Megarenfis*. Thomas Vivian. Wood, Athen. I. col. 649. Megara in Greece.
- Neapolitanus*. John Draper, prior of Christ Church, Hants, surrendered his house 31 Henry VIII. Burnet, Hist. of Ref. I. p. 148. Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 204. Geographers give us eight places of this name; it was probably that in Palestine.
- Negrepont*. John Hatton. Strype, Cranmer, p. 37. Eubœa.
 — Richard Wilson. Wood, Ath. I. col. 656.
- Navatenfis*. William Bottleham. 1382. Strype, Cranmer, p. 36. but this is thought, by Mr. Wharton, to be a corruption of Landavenfis. Ibid. p. 255. 2d paging.
- Philadelphia*. Thomas Halam. See Memoir on the Winkburne Seal.
 — Thomas Swillington, July 15. 1533. Ibid. His jurisdiction was limited to the archdeacons of Lincoln and Leicesters.
- Reonenf*. Robert Kynge, first bishop of Oxford. Greece. Memoir on the Winkburne Seal.
- Sidon*. Thomas Chetham, suffragan to cardinal Pole. Harris, Hist. of Kent, p. 491.
 — Thomas Wellys, living 1511. Wharton, Ang. Sac. I. p. 790. Strype, Cranmer, p. 36. 58. and Append. p. 255. Harris, p. 491. Wood, Ath. I. col. 664.
 — Christopher, 1535. Strype, Cranmer, p. 37.
- Syrinenfis*, or *Syrimenfis*. John Thornden, alias Thornton. Wood, I. col. 654. Sirmium.
- Tynenfis*. Thomas Cornish. Wood, I. col. 650. an island in the Archipelago, Tine, or Tenos.
- Upsallensis* ¹. Siward, called a *Chorepiscopus*, 1043. Harris, Hist. of Kent, p. 491. Sweden.

It is necessary here to remark, for a conclusion, that some suffragans were ordained without any title, as *Bishops of the Universal Church*: such was Richard Martyn, Strype, Cranmer, p. 37. Wharton, Ang. Sac. I. p. 790. 64. These being limited to no diocese, could certainly exercise their function, when required, in all places; and the proceeding seems to be much more rational than assigning a see in *Partibus Infidelium*.

I am, S I R,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

Whittington,
 Sept. 10, 1784.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

¹ In the north cross aisle of Wells cathedral is an altar tomb, inscribed round the ledge,
 Obiit supradictus dominus Thomas Tinenfis ep'us tercio die mensis Julii, anno Domini mcccccxiii.
 cujus anime men.

Extract from Bishop *LONGLAND*'s Memorandums, anno Domini 1529, by favour of Messieurs *FOSTER* and *FARDELL*, 1784.

Sanctissimo simul ac beatissimo Patri et Domino summoque pontifici, suis humilissimus atque addictissimus Johannes, Dei summâ benignitate, et ipsius gratiâ, Lincolnienſis epſus, felicitatem in Domino ſempiternam, et ſubjectionem omnimodam tant' ſanctitati debitam, uſque ad pedum oſcula beatorum. Quoniam, pater ſanctiſſime, nra diœceſis longe lateque diffunditur, adeo quidem ut cum per ejus amplitudinem, tum per varias inſuper cauſas rationabiles, juſtas et graves, ſepiſſime nobis emergentes ¹, ſic intereſſe non poſſumus et officio fungi, ut onera ſingula huic ecclſiæ nre conſueta et debita ſufficienter et plene perimplere valeamus, et vra ſanctitas apſlica ſuâ maximâ benignitate ad ſupplicationem episcoporum in conſimili negotio conſuevit viros aliquot de quorum vita et honeſtate eidem ſanctitati conſtare poterit, in Coepiſcopos atque ſuffraganeos ex cauſis ejuſcemodi juſtis et legitimis promovere, non diffiſus ſum humiliter, ſupplicanter, et ex intimis præcordiis beatiffime vre ſanctitati venerabilem et religioſum virum Thomam Halam, priorem domûs five prioratus de Newſtede juxta Stanſfordiam, ordinis ſancti Auguſtini Lincoln' diœceſis, moribus et ſacrarum ltrarum ſcientia peditum ac pollentem cômendatiſſimum facere, humiliter et devote ſupplicans, quatenus eundem Thomam priorem in ſuffraganeum et Coepiſcopum ex vra gratia ſingulari promovere dignetur veſtra ſanctitas, ut in cauſis premiſſis ceteriſque circa paſtorales curam infra diœceſim meam et alibi exercendis, in exonerationem conſciencie mee, mihi ſuffragari poſſit. Sique veſtra ſanctitas premiſſa humilime poſtulata conceſſerit, mihiſque jam in hac neceſſitate ſubvenerit, rem Deo gratam ecclſe Lincoln' perneceſſarium atque utilem, et mihi imprimis optatam atque acceptiſſimam faciet. Et ego quantas poſſum veſtre ſanctitati gratias habiturus ſum, et fideliter ac ſemper oraturus, ut ipſa veſtra ſanctitas diutiſſime feliciffima vivat, atque eccleſie claves inter Chriſti fideles in pace cuſtodiat et feliciffime gubernet. Dat' in ædibus meis Holburnenſibus juxta Londinum, tertiis idibus Maias.

¹ Longland was at this time confeſſor to the king.

** In Dr. Brett's "Account of Church-Government and
 " Governours," 2d edit. 1710, p. 242, 243, is a translation of
 Henry Wharton's Latin in his 8vo "Hist. De Ep'is et Decanis
 " Londinensib', &c." p. 124. The passage in the original ends
 thus: "De Petro [episcopo Corbanensi, seu (ut alibi dici solet)
 " Corbariensi] aliisque sedis Londinensis Chorepiscopis, fusius
 " posthac (Deo volente) agemus in opere peculiari de Chore-
 " piscopis Angliæ; quorum successionem propemodum justam
 " in singulis ferè diocesibus contexui; et in diocesi sane Lon-
 " dinensi haud pauciores quam 28 (quorum Petrus fuit se-
 " cundus) inter annos 1312 et 1540 isto munere perfunctos
 " inveni." Upon which Brett had this observation: "Now the
 " collection made by this very learned and industrious antiquary,
 " as far as relates to the diocese of London at least, must needs
 " be a continued succession. For the space of time between
 " the years 1312 and 1540 is but 228 years, in which time a
 " succession of 28 Chorepiscopi will admit of but eight years
 " continuance for each person in that office one with another.
 " But this great man died so soon, that he lived not to publish
 " this and many other useful books he had designed for the
 " publick." See Mr. Lewis's preceding Essay, for a passage
 occurring in Wharton's Letter, above referred to, p. 256. See
 before, p. 33. All that has been recovered on this subject is
 here subjoined.

A
L I S T
O F T H E
Suffragan Bishops in England,

Drawn up by the late

Rev. H E N R Y W H A R T O N, M. A.

A N D

Faithfully transcribed from his original MANUSCRIPTS

I N T H E

L A M B E T H L I B R A R Y,

A. D. 1769.

LIST OF WHARTON'S MSS.

As numbered (1784) in the LAMBETH LIBRARY.

Formerly A.	now 577.
B.	578.
C.	579.
D.	580.
E.	581.
F.	582.
G.	1052.
H.	956.
I.	583.
K.	584.
L.	585.
M.	943.
N.	959.
O.	586.
P.	587.
Q.	588.
R.	589.
S.	590.
T.	wanting.
U.	wanting.
W.	592.
X.	593.
Y.	594.
Z.	595.

A. A. B. B. given by H. W. to the Library of St. John's
College, Oxon.

D. D. wanting.

F. F. wanting.

K. K. wanting.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis CANTUARIENSIS.

Siwardus	Ep̃us Upfallensis, abbas Abendonix Eadfini archiep̃i Chorep̃us factus 1044. obiit 1049. Vide Ang. Sac. I. 106. 167. 55. 238. 791. S. 20.
Godwinus	Ep̃us S. Martini obiit 1061. 7 id. Martii. Vide Angl. Sacr. tom. I. p. 798. 150. 390.
Anschitillus	Ep̃um fuisse Somnerus conjicit Antiq. Cant. p. 300. Certe in concilio London' 1075. proxime post ep̃os ante omnes abbates subscripsit.
Robertus	Ep̃us Olomufensis 1221. S. 148. F. 117.
Johannes	Suffraganeus ep̃us archiep̃i Cant' 1240. I. 349. Ep̃us Moraviensis 1283. S. 151.
[Laurentius de S. Martino.]	Ep̃us Roffensis 1254. F. 104.
Walterus	Ep̃us Rosanensis 1273. S. 148. F. 117.
Carbricus	Ep̃us Mathhotensis 1273. S. 148. F. 117. Ep̃us Clonfertensis suffraganeus in diocesi Cant' 1296. F. 102.
Johannes	Ep̃us Landavenfis 1312. L. 22. 463.
Rolandus	Ep̃us Ardmacanensis 1323. S. 148. F. 117.
Petrus	Ep̃us Corbanienfis 1324. F. 104. ab archiep̃o tunc postulatus a monachis Cant' sed non da[tus].
Hamo de Hethe.	Ep̃us Roffensis 1333. F. 104.
Cæsarius	Ep̃us B. Mariæ de Rosis, suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' 1349. F. 105. L. 19.
Ricardus	Archiep̃us Nazarenus, suffraganeus ejusdem 1349. F. 136. S. 26. 136.
[Joh. Pascall]	Ep̃us Landavenfis 1348. L. 19. 24. 461.
Benedictus	Ep̃us Bangorensis 1416. S. 30.
Johannes	Ep̃us Dromorensis suffraganeus 1419. 1426. S. 30.
Johannes	Ep̃us Anchoradensis 1424. S. 30.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Roffensis 1435. 1452. S. 30.
Johannes	Ep̃us Olenfis 1443. S. 30. Ep̃us Joppenfis et prior de Comwell suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' fuit ab anno 1471. Vide L. 82.
Richardus	Ep̃us Roffensis, suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' ab anno 1439 ad 1465, quando obiit in rectoria sua de Otteford. Vide L. 80. 82.
Johannes	Ep̃us Insulensis, et rector eccl̃e de Mersham, suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' fuit ab anno 1465 ad 1467. Vide L. 82. S. 29.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Sidoniensis, suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' ab anno 1468. Erat ex ordine nigrorum canonicorum L. 82. Ep̃us Dorobernensis ordinis Carmel. Suffraganeus archiep̃i Cant' fuit ab anno 1469.

Ricardus

Richardus Martin	Sine certo titulo suffraganeus archiepi Cant' Vide I. 64. 790. S. 30. 134. 31.
Thomas Wells	Epus Sidoniæ suffraganeus archiepi Cant. Vide I. 64. 790. K. 228. S. 32.
Johannes Thornton	Epus Syrymenfis, suffraganeus Warhami archiepi Cant'. Vide O. 559. 639, 640. K. 228. R. 172. F. 111. 116.
Richardus Yngworth	Prior de Langley. Epus suffraganeus Dovorensis. Vide R. 23. B. 358. F. 116. R. 172. S. 33. L. 759. B. 358.
Richardus Thornden	Epus Dovorensis. Vide B. 360. O. 586. F. 134. S. 33. B. 360.
Thomas Chetham	Epus Sidonienfis, suffraganeus archiepi Cant'. Vide B. 361. O. 586.
Richardus Rogers	Epus Dovorensis. Vide B. 361. O. 587.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis LONDINENSIS.

David	Epus Menevensis 1312. 1327. S. 2. 6.
Petrus	Epus Corbarienfis, obiit 1331. R. 158. F. 81. S. 6. 7.
Richardus	Archiepus Nazarenfis 1361. L. 379.
Willelmus	Epus Tornacenfis, consecratus 1385. L. 379.
Johannes	Epus Derenfis 1392. L. 379.
Johannes	Epus Glasguenfis 1393. L. 379.
Willelmus	Epus Basiliensfis 1394. 1399. L. 379.
Willielmus	Epus Bangorenfis 1418. L. 380.
Johannes	Epus Surronenfis. 1417. 1422. L. 380.
Johannes	Epus Dromorenfis 1423. 1432. L. 379, 380.
Johannes	Epus Lismorenfis 1424. L. 380.
Richardus	Epus Rofenfis 1434. 1441. L. 380.
Johannes	Epus Olenfis 1436. 1446. L. 380.
Johannes	Epus Clonfertenfis 1443. L. 380.
Thomas	Epus Rathburenfis [vel Rathlurenfis] 1489. L. 380, 381. S. 134. [Vide Waræum de Præsulibus Hibern. p. 67.]
Jacobus	Epus Darenfis 1491. L. 380. S. 134.
Thomas	Epus Pavadenfis 1492. L. 380. S. 165.
Johannes	Epus Olenenfis 1497. L. 381.
Georgius	Epus Dromorenfis 1497. L. 381.
Johannes	Epus Majonenfis 1499. L. 381.
Richardus	Epus Olonenfis 1501. L. 381.
Edwardus	Epus Calliponenfis 1503. L. 381.
Thomas Wolf	Epus Lacedæmonenfis, amotus circa 1510. R. 172. L. 381.
Johannes Younge	Epus Callipolenfis, consecratus 1513. R. 173. L. 381, 382.

Thomas

Thomas Bele	Ep̃us Lyddenfis, floruit 1520—1530. R. 172. L. 381. 376.
Thomas Chetham	Ep̃us Sidonienfis, floruit 1530—1537. B. 361. L. 381. F. 49.
Johannes Hodgskyn	Ep̃us Bedfordenfis, consecratus 1537. R. 23. 172. L. 376. L. 382. B. 358.
Johannes Holt	Ep̃us Lyddenfis, obiit 1540. R. 171.
Johannes Sterne	. . . consecratus 1592. B. 361.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis WINTONIENSIS.

Ep̃us Neopolitanus, 1539. R. 171.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis ELIENSIS.

Willelmus	Ep̃us Panadenfis 1524. R. 171.
Willelmus More	Ep̃us Colcestrenfis, consecratus 1536. I. 550. 676. 685. R. 172. B. 357.
Nicolaus Shaxton	. . . 1547—1557. B. 362.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis NORWICENSIS.

Gilbertus de Norwico.	Ep̃us Hamenfis, obiit 1287. F. 99. R. 158. S. 148.
Benediſtus de Norfolcia	Ep̃us Cardicenfis 1340. R. 158.
Thomas Pascal	Ep̃us Scutarienfis 1340. R. 134. 158.
Thomas Edwardſton	Archiep̃us obiit 1396. R. 158.
Johannes Leyceſter	Archiep̃us Smirnenfis 1413—1423. L. 609. 622. F. 99. R. 158. S. 148.
Robertus	Ep̃us Imelicenfis 1424. L. 609. 622.
Robertus	Ep̃us Gradenfis 1426—1446. L. 609. 613.
Thomas Scropes, alias Bradley	Ep̃us Dromorenfis, 1450—1477. L. 613. F. 99. R. 159. T. 31.
Johannes	Ep̃us Roffenſis 1466—1474. L. 613.
Florentius Wolley	Clowchorienſis Ep̃us 1478—1486. L. 613. F. 116.
Edmundus	Ep̃us Calcedonenſis 1502. L. 609.
. Underwood	Ep̃us 1531. L. 611.
Johannes Salisbury	Ep̃us Thetfordenſis, consecratus 1536. I. 419. R. 172. B. 357.
Thomas Mannyng	Ep̃us Ipſwicenſis, consecratus 1536. I. 419. R. 172. S. 154. B. 357.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis LICHFELDENSIS.

Johannes Stokes	Ep̃us Glascuenfis 1321. I. 447.
Johannes	Ep̃us Triburiensis 1407. R. 171. S. 156.
Johannes	Ep̃us Insulensis 1450. S. 156.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Sodorensis 1452. S. 31. 156.
Johannes Bell	Ep̃us Dunensis et Conorensis 1453. S. 31.
	Ep̃us Majorensis 1503. L. 466. F. 149. 157.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis WELLENSIS.

Sigfridus	Ep̃us ex Norwegiâ ante Conquestum I. p. ult.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Christopolitanus 1385. S. 47.
Johannes Grenlan	Ep̃us Soltaniensis 1401. L. 727. I. 571.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Chryfopolitanus 1403. L. 727.
Stephanus	Ep̃us Roffensis 1410. L. 727.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Katensis 1414—1436. L. 727.
Johannes	Ep̃us Olenfis 1437—1443. L. 727.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Akadensis 1443—1451. L. 727. R. 171.
Jacobus idem	Ep̃us Bangorensis 1453, 1454. L. 727.
Johannes	Ep̃us Tinenfis 1459—1479. L. 727, 728. I. 574. R. 171.
Johannes	Ep̃us Roffensis 1479. 1481. L. 728. R. 171.
Thomas Barett	Ep̃us Enachdunensis 1482—1485. L. 728. R. 171.
Thomas Cornish	Ep̃us Tinenfis 1486—1513. L. 728. I. 575. R. 172. F. 116. S. 103.
Thomas Wolf	Ep̃us Lacedæmonensis 1513. L. 728. I. 577. R. 172.
Thomas Chard	Ep̃us Solubriensis 1514—1516. L. 728. I. 577. B. 359.
Johannes	Ep̃us Majorensis 1519. L. 728. I. 577. R. 171.
Hugo	Ep̃us Midenfis 1519. L. 728.
Willelmus Gilbert	Ep̃us Majorensis 1519—1526. L. 728. I. 577. R. 172.
Willelmus Finche	Ep̃us Tauntonensis, consecratus 1538. I. 577. R. 172. B. 359.
Alexander Barkeley	Ep̃us . . . obiit 1552. R. 171.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis LINCOLNIENSIS.

Ælfgarus	Ex-episcopus Helmeamenfis 1016. I. pag. ult.
Elwinus	Ex-ep̃us Helmeamenfis 1025. I. 405. 608.
Osmundus	Ep̃us ex Suediâ 1060. Vide Scriptor. Ang. XV. p. 514.
Garniel	Ep̃us Sodorensis, circa 1100. L. 173.
Christiernus	Ep̃us ex Daniâ 1070. Vide Chronol. Sax. Gibsoni, p. 176.
Galfridus Grandefelde	Ep̃us . . . 1340. R. 158.

Willelmus

Willelmus Egmunde	Ep̃us Piffinenfis, 1390. R. 158.
Thomas	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1449. S. 30.
Thomas	Ep̃us Rathlurenfis 1484. S. 134.
Johannes	Ep̃us Callipolenfis 1522. S. 32.
Johannes Tynmouth	Ep̃us Argofienfis obiit 1524. R. 172. S. 135.
Mattheus Makarel	Ep̃us 1535. R. 171.
Robertus Kyng	Ep̃us Rovenenfis 1539. R. 172. F. 118. B. 357.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioceſis SARISBURIENSIS.

Rodulphus	Ep̃us de Norwegià 1050. L. 54.
Godefridus	Ep̃us Affavenfis 1165—1175. L. 54.
	Ep̃us Menevenfis 1316. S. 114.
Robertus Petyt	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1326. S. 114.
Robertus	Ep̃us Senaſcopolenfis 1388. S. 124. F. 159. L. 379.
Johannes	Ep̃us Sodorenfis 1390. S. 124.
Johannes	Ep̃us Glaſguenſis 1396. S. 120.
Henricus	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1397. S. 120.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Chryſopolitanus 1401—1406. S. 120.
Johannes	Ep̃us Kallipolenfis 1407. S. 120.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Solubrienfis 1409. S. 121.
Johannes	Ep̃us Soltanienfis 1409. S. 121.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Katenenſis 1414—1438. S. 121. 123. 126.
Johannes	Ep̃us Ciconenſis 1420. S. 123.
Johannes	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1421. S. 123. 126. 129.
Johannes	Archiepiſ Tuamenſis 1425. S. 123.
Robertus	Ep̃us Imelacenſis 1435—1441. S. 126. 129.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Akadenſis 1443—1449. S. 129.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Landavenſis 1453. S. 133.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Roſienſis 1454. S. 132.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Bangorienſis 1455. S. 132.
Simon	Ep̃us Connerenſis 1459—1481. S. 132.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Ardakadenſis 1466. S. 132.
Auguſtinus	Ep̃us Liddenſis 1493—1499. S. 134.
Johannes Bell	Ep̃us Mironenſis 1501. L. 84. 466. F. 146.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Salonienſis 1508—1517. S. 136.
Johannes	Ep̃us Argolicenſis 1510. S. 135.
Rogerus	Ep̃us Liddenſis 1517. S. 136.
Johannes Pynnock	Ep̃us Syenenſis 1518—1535. S. 136. 137.
Thomas Bickley, alias Morley	Ep̃us Marlebergenſis, conf. 1537. R. 172. B. 358.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis HEREFORDENSIS.

Robertus	Ep̃us Prifinensis 1360. L. 769.
Johannes Warre	Ep̃us Cumanagienfis 1371. L. 769.
Robertus	Ep̃us Archilienfis 1386. L. 769.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Dunkeldenfis 1404. L. 769.
Matthæus	Ep̃us Ebronensis, circa 1410. L. 769.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Akadenfis, circa 1430. L. 770.
Galfridus	Ep̃us Kildarenfis 1447. L. 770.
Johannes	Ep̃us Roffenfis, circa 1475. L. 770.
Robertus	Ep̃us Menevenfis . . . L. 770.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Olonenfis, circa 1480. L. 770.
Thomas Hartperry	Ep̃us Clonenfis, circa 1490. L. 770.
Philippus Pinfon	Archiep̃us Tuamenfis 1503. R. 172.
Radulfus	Ep̃us Aſcalonenfis 1504. L. 770.
Thomas	Ep̃us Lachorenfis, circa 1510. L. 770.
Andreas Whitmay	Ep̃us Chryſopolitanus, circa 1540. L. 771.
Johannes	Ep̃us Panadenfis, circa 1545. 771.

CHOREPISCOPUS Dioecesis CARLEOLENSIS.

Johannes Kite	Archiep̃us Thebanus et ep̃us Carleol. factus 1521. G. 152.
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CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis WIGORNIENSIS.

Johannes de Monemutha	Ep̃us Landavenfis 1297—1390. L. 699. S. 162.
Anianus	Ep̃us Bangorenfis, 1311—1313. L. 669.
Gilbertus	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1313. L. 699.
Robertus	Ep̃us Clonfertenfis 1322. L. 699.
	Archiep̃us Nazarenfis 1350. L. 699.
Robertus	Ep̃us Prefinensis 1373—1375. L. 699.
Nicholaus	Ep̃us Dunkeldenfis 1392—1421. L. 699.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Pharenfis 1395. L. 699. S. 162.
Johannes	Ep̃us Triburienfis 1416. L. 699.
Stephanus	Ep̃us Roffenfis 1420. L. 699.
Thomas	Ep̃us Chryſopolitanus 1420. L. 699.
Richardus	Ep̃us Achadenfis 1426. 1433. L. 699.
Robertus	Ep̃us Imelacenfis 1433. L. 699.
Johannes	Ep̃us Clonfertenfis 1443. L. 699.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Achadenfis 1443. L. 699.
Henricus Holbeach	Ep̃iſcopus Briſtolienfis 1540. L. 700. I. 550. R. 172. B. 358.

Ricardus

Ricardus	Ep̃us Dunensis 1465—1479. L. 699.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Sidonienfis 1480. L. 699.
Robertus	Ep̃us Menevenfis 1481. L. 699.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Olonenfis 1482—1491. L. 699.
Hugo	Ep̃us Menevenfis 1492. L. 699.
Georgius	Ep̃us Dromorenfis 1497. L. 700.
Thomas	Ep̃us Tinenfis 1498. L. 700.
Donatus	Ep̃us Imelacenfis 1500. L. 700.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Olonenfis 1501. L. 700. R. 172.
Edwardus	Ep̃us Callipolenfis 1503. L. 700.
Radulfus	Ep̃us Afcolonenfis 1503—1523. L. 700. L. 84.
Johannes	Ep̃us Panadentis 1526—1531. L. 700.
Andreas Whitmayer	Ep̃us Chryfopolitanus 1526—1541. L. 700. R. 172. B. 358.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioceſis DUNELMENSIS.

Thomas Radcliff	Ep̃us Dromorenfis 1487. I. 778. R. 158.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Naturenfis, confecratus 1513. L. 381.
Thomas Spark	Ep̃us Berwicenfis, confecratus 1536. I. 783, 784. R. 179, 174. B. 359.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioceſis EBORACENSIS.

Auguſtinus Notyngham	Ep̃us Laodicenfis 1310. R. 160.
David	Ep̃us Recreenfis 1315. R. 173.
Rolandus	Ex Archiep̃us Armachanus 1332. R. 173.
Richardus	Ep̃us Servienfis 1370—139. L. 787.
Robertus	Ep̃us Donkeldenfis 1380—1384. L. 787.
Hugo	Archiep̃us Damascenus 1350. R. 173.
Oſwaldus	Ep̃us Candidicafenfis 1391—1397. L. 787.
Robertus Worſop	Ep̃us 1350. R. 160.
Galfridus	Ep̃us Milienfis 1361—1364. L. 787.
Thomas	Ep̃us Magnatienfis 1365. L. 787.
Robertus	Ep̃us Lambrenfis 1366. L. 787.
Willelmus de Northburge	Ep̃us Pharenfis 1400. R. 173. L. 787.
Johannes	Ep̃us Lomercienfis 1418. L. 789.
Johannes Greenlaw	Ep̃us Soltanienfis 1421. R. 173. L. 787.
Johannes	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1417—1420. L. 789.
Nicolaus	Ep̃us Dromorenfis 1420—1445. L. 789.
Richardus Meſinus	Ep̃us Dromorenfis 1460. R. 160. L. 789.
Johannes	Ep̃us Philipolenfis 1452. R. 173. L. 789.
Johannes	Ep̃us Infulenſis 1452—1463. L. 789.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Dromorenfis 1463—1501. L. 789.
Johannes Hatton	Ep̃us Nigropontenſis 1504. R. 173. L. 789.

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Richardus Wylfon	Ep̃us Nigropontanus 1515. R. 173.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Dariensis 1530. R. 173. L. 791.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Ascalonenfis 1525. L. 791.
Robertus Silvester, alias Puriglove	Ep̃us Hullenfis 1537, 1538. L. 791. B. 359. B. 362.
Ricardus Barnes	Ep̃us Notinghamienfis, 1567—1573. L. 791. B. 360.

CHOREPISCOPUS Dioecesis LANDAVENSIS.

Johannes Bird	Ep̃us Penrethanus, conf. 1537. R. 172. B. 357.
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CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis ASSAVENSIS.

Ludovicus Thomas	Ep̃us Salopienfis, conf. 1537. R. 172. B. 357.
Johannes Bradley	Ep̃us Shaftonienfis, conf. 1539. R. 172. B. 359.

CHOREPISCOPI Dioecesis EXONIENSIS.

.	Ep̃us Leghlinenfis 1275. S. 71.
Robertus	Ep̃us Clonfertenfis 1324. S. 76.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Waterfordenfis 1338. S. 81.
Ricardus filius Radulphi	Archiep̃us Armachanus 1347. S. 86. 84. 88.
Johannes Warre	Ep̃us Cumanagienfis 1355—1384. S. 87. 91, 92.
Henricus	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1395—1398. S. 93.
Henricus Nony	Ep̃us Ardachenfis 1396. S. 93.
Johannes Dunnowe	Ep̃us Limericenfis, obiit 1489. S. 103.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Solubrienfis 1415—1417. S. 93.
Ricardus	Ep̃us Catenenfis 1417. S. 94. 98.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Catenenfis 1419. S. 94.
Johannes	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1438. S. 98.
Johannes	Ep̃us Olenfis 1442. S. 98.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Akadenfis 1450. S. 97, 98.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Bangorenfis 1454. S. 97. 101.
Rodericus	Ep̃us Arlatenfis 1455. S. 97, 98. 100, 101.
Johannes	Ep̃us Clonfertenfis 1447. S. 98.
Thomas	Ep̃us Enachdunenfis 1458. S. 101.
Johannes	Ep̃us Tinenfis 1461. S. 101.
Simon	Ep̃us Connerenfis 1463. S. 101.
Jacobus	Ep̃us Ardakadenfis 1478. S. 103.
Thomas Cornish	Ep̃us Tinenfis 1487—1498. S. 97. 103, 104. 107.
Auguftinus	Ep̃us Liddenfis 1493. S. 104.
.	Ep̃us Sebastienfis 1506. S. 107.
Thomas Vivian	Ep̃us Majorenfis R. 172. Megarenfis 1518. S. 107, 108.

Johannes Bell.	Ep̃us Mironensis 1501. S. 84. 466. F. 146. 149.
Thomas Chard	Ep̃us Solubriensis 1512. R. 172. S. 105, 106, 107, 108. B. 359.
Willelmus Fawell	Ep̃us Hipponensis 1550. R. 172. S. 63. 67. 77. 107, 108. B. 360.

Chorepiscopi Cœnobiorum Exemptorum.

S. A L B A N I.

Johannes	Ep̃us Hertfertensis ante 1250. G. 646. anno 1244. Paris p. 626.
Richardus	Ep̃us Bangorensis 1254—1259. G. 646.
Cæsarius	Ep̃us B. Mariæ de Rosis 1349. L. 387.
Robertus	Ep̃us Lambrensis 1384. L. 387.

S. E D M U N D I.

Willelmus	Archiep̃us Ragusiæ Medorum 1275. L. 73.
Rolandus	Archiep̃us Armachanus 1335. L. 622.
.	Archiep̃us Damascenus 1344. L. 475.
Johannes	Ep̃us Surrentinus 1414. L. 622.
Johannes	Archiep̃us Smyrnenfis 1418. L. 622.
Robertus.	Ep̃us Imelicensis 1430. L. 622.

CHOREPISCOPUS Dioecesis WESTMON.

Ricardus [Young]	Ep̃us Bangorensis 1401. L. 615.
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CHOREPISCOPI Diocesium Incertarum.

Radulfus	Archiep̃us Tarentasiensis 1258. S. 68.
Percevallus	Ep̃us Nebiensis 1312—1332. F. 108.
Willelmus Alnwick	Ep̃us Invenacienfis 1330—1332. F. 108.
Henricus	Ep̃us Tanensis, Adamus Gabulensis, Johannes de Mon- tesono Abienfis 1345. F. 108.
Simon Akadenfis	Robertus Senascopolensis Ep̃us 1385. L. 379. F. 149.
Nicolaus de Neritono	Ep̃us Davalienfis, Jokes Mundel, Archiep̃us Trape- zuntinus 1391. F. 108, 109.
Thomas Crispolitanensis,	Johannes Sorentis, Thomas Constantienfis, Ep̃i 1401. L. 727.
Thomas Botyler	Ep̃us Christinopolitanus post Johannis ep̃i mortem factus 1395. F. 109.
Thomas	Ep̃us Lamburgenfis 1362. S. 26.

Hugo

Hugo	Archiep̃us Damascenus 1346. S. 86.
Galfridus	Archiep̃us Damascenus } Anno 1370. S. 90.
Johannes	Ep̃us Ayobanensis }
Johannes Ricardus Blunt	Ep̃us Aconensis post obitum Nicolai; Bene- dictus Nicolai; ep̃us Laodicensis, post obitum Martini; Stephanus Petri, ep̃us Nathuanensis, post translat. Johis ad Sol- taniensem. } facti 1400. F. 109.
Willelmus Gwaplode	Ep̃us Trierensis. S. 148.
Johannes Balsam	Ep̃us Archilienfis. S. 148.
Johannes Hollen	Ep̃us Islandiæ 1. 27. L. 683.
Ricardus Coventre	Ep̃us Cerinienfis. S. 148.
Robertus Hyrtlesham	Ep̃us Damascopolensis. S. 148.
David Chirburius	Ep̃us Dromorensis R. 159.
Willelmus	Ep̃us Artfordensis 1474. L. 754.
Carolus	Ep̃us Elnensis 1477. L. 460.
Johannes Bloxwych	Ep̃us Holensis. S. 148.
Thomas	Ep̃us Panadensis 1505. S. 165. F. 142.
Willelmus How	Ep̃us Aurensis 1520. R. 172.
Johannes Stanywell	Ep̃us Poletensis, abbas de Parshore 1534. Y. 144. B. 361.
Johannes Stanywell	Ep̃us Poletensis, obiit 1553. R. 172.

Episcopi Suffraganei five Chorepiscopi in Angliâ, ante Refor-
mationem, titulos acceperunt ;

Sive ab Archiepiscopatibus, atque ii erant,

Armachanus.
Casseliensis.
Dublinensis.
Damascenus seu Damascopo-
lensis.
Ragusiæ Medorum.
Heracleensis.
Smirnenfis.
Nazarenus.
Thebanus.
Tarentasiensis.
Upsallensis.
Tuamensis.
Trapezuntinus.

N. B. Impressus est *Romæ* 1514, 4to, liber cui titulus
Provinciale omnium ecclesiarum Cathedralium
universi orbis (ex libro Cancellariæ Aposto-
licæ), una cum practica stilo et formis Can-
cellariæ Apostolicæ, &c.

Ex hoc adnotavi nomina variantia ep̃a-
tuum sequentium; et in ep̃atibus, unicuique
suam, cui subjacet, metropolim assignavi.

Seu

Seu ab episcopatibus, atque ii erant,

Vel in regnis vicinis, ut

W A L L I A.

Menevensis. Menevensis iſm.
Landavenſis. Landavenſis iſm.
Bangorensis. Bangorienſis iſm.
Aſſavenſis. Aſſav. et Aſſoenſis, et de Sſco Aſap, tres diſtincti eſſatus ſunt in dſco libro.

In Scotiâ eſſatus ſunt omnes exempti iſm.

S C O T I A.

S. Andreae. S. Andreae, ordinis S. Auguſtini iſm.
Aberdonenſis. Aberdonienſis iſm.
Argatheliſis, ſeu *Liſmorenſis.* Liſmoren. iſm.
Brechinienſis. Brechinienſis iſm.
Cathaneſienſis. Cathanenſis iſm.
Dumblanenſis.
Dunkeldenſis. Dunkeldenſis iſm.
Gallovidienſis, ſeu *Candidacaſenſis*—in Angliâ, ſub Archieſſo Ebor'; ſic dſcis lib'.
Glaſcuenſis. Glaſnenſis iſm.
Inſulenſis, ſeu *Sodorenſis.* Sordorenſis iſm.
Moravienſis, ſeu *Elginenſis.* Moravienſis iſm.
Orcadenſis. Horchadenſis. ſub Arch' Nidroſienſi, iſm.
Roffenſis. Roffenſis, ſeu Roſſimacenſis, iſm.
 ſnus nſr Sixtus IV. Papa 16 cal. Sept. anno pont' 1º, eccliam S. Andreae in Scotia in Archiepalem erexit, et ei Suffraganeos dedit omnes ſupradictos. iſm.
Jubernenſis. iſm.

H I B E R N I A.

Ackadenſis Tuam. Achadenſis } diſtincti iſm.
 Alachadenſis }
Alladenſis Tuam. Aladenſis iſm
Ardachadenſis Armach. Ardakadenſis iſm.
Ardſertenſis. Caſſel. Arpferrenſis } diſtincti iſm.
 Arofordenſis }
Clonenſis Caſſel. Cluanenſis } diſtincti iſm.
 Clonenſis }
Clonſertenſis Tuam. Clonſerdenſis iſm.
Clonmacnoiſenſis Armach. omiſſus iſm.
Clochorensis Armach. Clochorensis iſm.

- Connorensis* Armach. *Convernienfis* } *distincti ibm.*
 Connorensis }
 Comarenfis }
Cercagienfis Cassel. *Coikagenfis* ibm.
Darensis Dublin. Dublin. *Caldarenfis* } *distincti ibm.*
 Darensis }
Derenfis Armach. *Dairrienfis* ibm.
Dromorensis Armach. omiffus ibm.
Duacens Tuam. *Duacens* } *distincti ibm.*
 Enachdunens }
Dunens Armach. *Lundunens* } *distincti ibm.*
 Lugudunens }
 Dunens }
Elphinens Tuam. *Elfinens* ibm.
Fenaborensis, five *Kilfenorensis* Cassel. *Funavorensis* ibm.
Fernens Dublin. *Fervens* ibm.
Imelacens Cassel. *Imelicens* ibm.
Kilmorensis, five *Triburnens*, Armach.
Laonens, five *Killalaunens*, Cassel *Laonens*.
Leghlinens Dublin. *Leglunens* ibm.
Limericens Cassel. *Limeric* vel *Lumunienfis* ibm.
Lismorens Cassel. *Lismorens* ibm.
Midenfis Armach. *Medens* ibm.
Ossorienfis Dublin. *Osnorens* ibm.
Rapotenfis Armach. *Raclobenens*, } *distincti ibm.*
 Rapotenfis, }
Rossens Cassel. *Rossens* ibm.
Waterfordens Cassel. *Watrafordens* ibm.

Sodrenfis vel Insulan'.

M A N N I A.

Sodorens seu *Mannens*, sub Arch' Nidrosiens ibm.

Additi in dicto Libro.

- Dunkaldens*. Armach.
Ergadiens. Armach.
Dundaleelglacens. Armach.
Rathluren. Armach.
Danligiorens. Armach.
Dambens. Armach.
Dunimarens. Armach.
Glandebaten. Dublin.
Insulanus. Cassel.
atbajens. Cassel.

Carithagiensis. Cassel.
Deroftulichilensis. Cassel.
Vivalacensis. Cassel.
Decellubrichensis. Cassel.
Deroscomensis. Tuam.
Decholomenfis. Tuam.
Dechow-trenfis. Tuam.
Deihelmunanachenfis. Tuam.
Suaccensis. Tuam.

Vel in partibus exteris, ut

Abienfis—Aboensis in Suetiâ sub Arch' Upsalensi.
Aconensis—sub Archiep'o Tirenfi.
Anchoradenfis—Anteradenfis, sub Patriarcha Antiocheno.
Archiliensis—[in Numidia.]
Ardinacanensis—Qre. Ardagh.
Argosienfis seu *Argolic*—sub Arch' Corinthienfi.
Arlutensis.
Ascalonensis—sub Patriarcha Hierosolymitano.
Aurensfis—in Africa sub Arch' Carthagenfi.
Ayobanensis—
Basiliensis—in Alamannia sub Arch' Bifuntino.
Calcedonenfis—[in Bithynia, sub Patr' Hierosolom'.]
Callipolerfis—sub Arch' Irachienfi.
Cardicenis—Scardonensis in Sclavoniâ sub Arch' Spalatenfi.
Cardic', sub Arch' Lariffenfi.
Ceriniensis—Coranna in Arabiâ sub Arch' Bostrenfi.
Chryseopolitanus seu Christo—in Arabia sub Arch' Bostrenfi.
Christopol', sub Arch' Phillippenfi.
Ciconensis—[Qre *Cicenensis*, interfuit Concilio Pisano, A. 1409.]
Constantienfis—in Siriâ.
Corbarienfis—in Croatia.
Cumanagiensis. Comanas, in Lybia sub Arch' Nazareno.
Davaliensis—sub Arch' Athenienfi.
Ebronensis—sub Patriarcha Hierosolymitano.
Elnensis—[Perpignan in Rouffillon—vel *Elanensis* sub Patr' Hierosol.]
Enachdunenfis—in Hibernia sub Archiep'o Tuamenfi.
Gabulensis—sub Patriarchâ Antiochino.
Gradensis—in Norwegiâ sub Arch' Nidrosienfi.
Hamenfis [in Siria.]
Hertfertensis. f. Ardfert.
Hipponensis—in Lybiâ sub Arch' Nazareno.
Holensis—[in Islandia.]
Joppensis—in Siriâ.
Islandensis.
Juvenaciensis—in Apuliâ sub Arch' Barenfi.
Katenfis, seu *Katenensis.* Cathanienfis in Sicilia sub Archiep'o Montis regalis.
Lackorenfis—sub Arch' Aquificenfi.
Lambrenfis. [Qre Lambiritanus, in Numidia.]

Lamburgensis.

Lacedæmonensis [in Peloponneso.]

Laodicensis—sub Patriarcha Antiochena.

Lamrceiensis.

Lyddensis—sub Patriarcha Hierosolymitano.

Magnetensis [Q. Magnetensis sub Archiep' Bracarenfi in Portugallia.]

Majonensis, seu *Majeren'*, in Palestina, sub Arch' Nazareno.

Marthabatefis [in secunda Thebaide.]

Megarenfis—sub Arch' Atheniensis.

Milienfis. [in Numidia.]

Mironensis—Mirensis in Libia, sub Arch' Nazareno.

Nathuanensis.

Naturensis—sub Patriarchâ C. P.

Nebiensis—Nubienfis in Corsica sub Arch' Januensi.

Necopolitanus, in Siria.

Nigropontanus—sub Arch' Atheniensis.

Olenfis seu *Olenensis*, *Olenfis* vel *Olerensis*, in Norwegiâ sub Arch' Nidrosienfi.

Olomusensis. *Olonea'* sub Arc. Patraccensi in Græciâ.

Panadenfis seu *Pavaden'* sub Patriarchâ C. P.

Pharenfis—Parensis in Sclavoniâ sub Arch' Spalatenfi.

Philippolensis—Pharensis in Norwegiâ sub Arch' Nidrosienfi.

Pissinensis—[sub archiep' Rhodi.]

Poletensis—in Sclavoniâ sub Arch' Antibarenfi.

Prifinensis. Q. *Pristinentis*, in Servia.]

Rathburenfis—in Hiberniâ sub Arc. Armachano.

Recreensis—[in Romania.]

Rosanensis—Rosenfis in Sclavoniâ sub Arch' Ragufino.

Rovenensis.

Rhedonensis—in Britanniâ minore sub Arch' Turonenfi.

Reonensis sub Arch' Atheniensis.

Salonienfis—sub Arch' Atheniensis.

Scutariensis—in Sclavoniâ, sub Arch' Antibarenfi.

Sebastiensis—in Palestinâ, sub Arch' Cæsareæ.

Senascolopolensis. *Selencovallen* in Siria, sub Arch' Apamienfi.

Servienfis—[sub Metropol' Thessalonicensi.]

Sidonienfis—sub Archiep'o Tirenfi.

Soltanienfis—Saltimi in Arabiâ sub Arch' Petraccensi. Saltimi in Siriâ.

Solubrierfis.

Sorensis. *Soranus* in Campaniâ subiectus immediatè Sedi Romanæ.

Sorensis in Sardiniâ sub Archiep'o Tauritano.

Surronensis, seu *Surrentin'*.

Syenensis. [Q. *Sion*, sub Archiep' Tarentasiensi.]

Syrymenfis—Sirmienfis in Ungariâ sub Arch' Colocenfi.

Tincris—in Sclavonia sub Arch' Spalatenfi.

Ternacensis—[Tournay, sub Archiep' Cameracensi.]

Triburiensis, in Sclavoniâ sub Arch' Ragufino.

Trerenfis.

B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A,

Nº XLI.

CONTAINING

Mr. P E G G E's S Y L L O G E
of the remaining AUTHENTIC INSCRIPTIONS
relative to the ERECTION of our ENGLISH C H U R C H E S;
Embellished with XXIX FAC-SIMILE PLATES.

[PRICE TWELVE SHILLINGS.]

AMONG the various Labours of Literary Men, there have always been certain Fragments whose Size could not secure them a general Exemption from the Wreck of Time, which their intrinsic Merit entitled them to survive; but, having been gathered up by the Curious, or thrown into Miscellaneous Collections by Booksellers, they have been recalled into Existence, and by uniting together have defended themselves from Oblivion. Original Pieces have been called in to their Aid, and formed a Phalanx that might withstand every Attack from the Critic to the Cheesemonger, and contributed to the Ornament as well as Value of Libraries.

With a similar view it is here intended to present the Publick with some valuable Articles of BRITISH TOPOGRAPHY, from printed Books and MSS. One Part of this Collection will consist of Re-publications of scarce and various Tracts; another of such MS. Papers as the Editors are already possessed of, or may receive from their Friends.

It is therefore proposed to publish a Number occasionally, not confined to the same Price or Quantity of Sheets, nor always adorned with Cuts; but paged in such a Manner, that the general Articles, or those belonging to the respective Counties, may form a separate Succession, if there should be enough published, to bind in suitable Classes; and each Tract will be completed in a single Number.

Into this Collection all Communications consistent with the Plan will be received with Thanks. And as no Correspondent will be denied the Privilege of controverting the Opinions of another, so none will be denied Admittance without a fair and impartial Reason.

A
S Y L L O G E
OF THE REMAINING
AUTHENTIC INSCRIPTIONS

RELATIVE

To the ERECTION of our ENGLISH CHURCHES;

EMBELLISHED

With a Number of COPPER PLATES, exhibiting FAC-SIMILIES
of some of the most material.

By the Rev. SAMUEL PEGGE, A. M.

. Carpm
Sic positæ quoniam fuaves misceris odores." VIRG.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS,
PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.
MDCCLXXXVII.



TO RICHARD GOUGH, ESQUIRE,
OF ENFIELD.

IN RETURN FOR HIS FRIENDLY ATTENTION AND ASSISTANCE,
HIS USEFUL AND ORNAMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS RELATIVE
TO MY SUBJECT, THE FEW FOLLOWING SHEETS ARE MOST
GRATEFULLY AND RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, AS A PUBLIC
TESTIMONY OF THAT REGARD WHEREWITH I AM,

HIS MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

Whittington,
11 May, 1787.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P R E F A C E.

THE great regard that has been paid by the polished nations of Europe since the Restoration of Learning, to Inscriptions, by the various collections formed of them, most clearly proves the importance of the subject. Inscriptions are not only most authentic, as well as lasting documents, but so generally subservient at the same time, to all the purposes, of History, Chronology, Grammar, and Orthography.

Not content with classical Inscriptions, those of the most barbarous and remote nations have been inquired after. *Palæography* of every kind has been an object of research ; and from letters as from language, much more has been deduced than a superficial acquaintance with them can justify. Conclusions have been drawn from the slightest data, and superstructures reared without foundation.

An English Antiquary casting his eye over the long list of Collectors of Inscriptions from Smetius to Muratori, must have been struck with equal surprize and regret, that while such subjects of an Antiquity preceding even the Christian Æra, have been sought after to illustrate the classic page, with an eagerness that scarce permitted the distinction of truth from forgery, no attention should have been paid to the like subjects in his own

b

country,

country, whose history they conduce to illustrate as much as those in the bulky volumes of Reinesius, Fabretti, Gruter, Gori, or Muratori, tend to throw light on the history of Greece or Rome.

The learned Camden indeed, the Editors of the Oxford Marbles, Mr. Horsley, and others, have collected the Roman Inscriptions found in our island, or imported into it from abroad. We have also a large group of authors, who have confined their labours to the assembling together the epitaphial Inscriptions on our tombs and monuments, either professedly, or occasionally inserting them in the numerous volumes of local Histories of churches, and of particular towns and districts.

It has happened, however, that the branch of Antiquity which we have chosen for the subject of the present Syllogé, has hitherto been totally neglected; and yet, it cannot be supposed, that any man ever beheld an august structure but he was instantly incited to enquire *when*, and by *whose* munificence, and for *what* purpose, the edifice was constructed; and it is through a presumption, by no means unreasonable, of the like curiosity prevailing amongst the sons of men hereafter, that when the foundation-stone of any grand fabric is laid, care is always taken to gratify it, either by an inscription, or by putting pieces of coin then current under it, in order to ascertain the precise time of its erection.

Considering then this natural and inquisitive turn of the human mind; that our cathedrals, collegiate and parish churches, chapels, and oratories, are public edifices with which every one is concerned; and that if they be impressed with any sense of religion, they must think themselves obliged to the respective founders and benefactors for them, every memorial concerning
their

their original and first construction can never fail of proving highly pleasing and acceptable to them.

Such were the motives which first suggested this little series of epigraphes, and though still it be but small, it increased beyond expectation. I put the few I had amassed, though in a very crude state, into the hands of my very learned and most respectable friend, Richard Gough, esquire; and he, from his rich store of antiquarian knowledge, his immense reading and application, soon augmented my scanty and imperfect list, with more than an equal number of articles; and, what is much more to be esteemed, caused the whole Collection to be enriched and ornamented with plates, exhibiting fac-similes of many Inscriptions at this time extant in various and distant parts of the island. To him, therefore, the reader is chiefly obliged for the present work and the good state it appears in; and especially, as without his motion and suggestion, and without his promise of liberal assistance, a promise he has most abundantly fulfilled, I, singly, should never have thought of offering it the publick.

The plan includes a vast period of time, from the first introduction of the Christian religion among the *Saxons* in this island, A. D. 596, to the reign of king *Henry VIII.* inclusive; and though no fewer than 43 churches were existing in the single county of *Derby*, small as it is, when *Domesday-book* was made, and one may suppose a proportionable number to occur in many other counties, were the experiment to be made, yet the notices of the foundations and erections of these numerous structures amount to no more, so far as Mr. Gough and I have been able to discover and register them, than about 130. It may seem wonderful to many, that so few memorials should remain; but several

things ought to be taken into consideration for the clearing and elucidating of this matter.

The few *British* churches existing in the island before the arrival of St. Augustine, A. D. 596, were probably destitute of Inscriptions, as the Christian religion, at that period, cannot be thought to have been the prevailing or the established religion of the country, though there might be many Christians in it. There is not one Inscription in the Principality of Wales that accords with our plan, though Christianity is assuredly known to have been introduced there long before Augustine's time. And so as to the heathen Temples, which that apostle of the *Saxons* found here, and converted, as has been shewn on a former occasion ¹, into Christian Churches, the originals of those fabrics are not likely to be known.

Many chapels again were, in after-times, turned into churches, or rectories, by being endowed with the tythes of their respective districts ²; and these, as we may well imagine, being but mean structures at first, and built perhaps by contribution, any lapidary or other memorial of their erection can hardly be expected to appear. This I apprehend to have been the case with my little rectory of *Whittington*, which once, as many think, was but a *chapel of ease* to the great rectory of *Chesterfield*; and other like instances, there is reason to believe, occur, in several parts of this county of *Derby*.

Lastly, it should be considered, that though Mr. Gough and myself have used our best joint endeavours to investigate the æras of the several churches, monasteries, &c. from unequivocal documents still remaining, yet many particulars may, in all

¹ *Archæologia*, IV. p. 415 & seq.

² *Wharton* on Pluralities, p. 100.

probability, have escaped us. To mention one particular or two, it appears from an Inscription reported by Brooke ¹, that *Henry de Ferrariis* founded the priory and church of *Tutbury*, in Staffordshire, A. D. 1089; for his epitaph there runs,

‘ Hic jacet Henricus de Ferrariis comes, hujus ecclesiæ fundator imago, nomine cujus anno milleno domini quater atque viceno Tutburizæque nono domus est fundata patrono.’ This is not very easy to construe; but it was intended for four rhyming hexameters ² to be formed thus :

Hic jacet Henricus de Ferrariis comes, hujus
Ecclesiæ fundator imago, nomine cujus
Anno milleno domini quater atque viceno
Tutburizæque nono domus est fundata patrono.

It is therefore a just observation of bishop Tanner ³, respecting this house at *Tutbury*, that that which is called its foundation-charter in the Monasticon, was plainly issued in the reign of *William Rufus*, who began to reign A. 1087.

Sir Thomas Brown, speaking of a chapel wherein the consistory or Bishop [of Norwich’s] court is kept, says, “ This goeth under no name, but may well be called *Beauchampe’s* Chapel, or the Chapel of our *Lady* and *All Saints*, as being built by *William Beauchampe* according to this Inscription :”

‘ In honore Marie Virginis, et omnium Sanctorum,
‘ Willielmus Beauchampe capellam hanc ordinavit,
‘ Et ex propriis sumptibus construxit.’

“ This inscription is in old letters on the outside of the wall, at the south-side of the chapel, and almost obliterated: He was buried under an arch in the wall, which was richly gilded.”

¹ Brooke, Catalogue, p. 65.

² It is amazing to observe what a number of Inscriptions, &c. authors have given us in prose, which in fact are metrical.

³ Tanner, Notitia Monast. p. 493.

As to the age of this founder, Sir Thomas says afterwards, 'He might be one of the *Beauchampes* who were Lords of *Abergavenny*, for William Lord *Abergavenny* had lands and manors in this country. And in the register of Institutions it is to be seen, that he . . . was patron of *Berg cum Apton*, five miles distance from Norwich, and presented clerks to that living, 1406, and afterwards ' Sir William Dugdale informs us, that he died 8 May, 12 Henry IV. ², 1411, but it does not appear from him, that this lord *Abergavenny* had any lands in Norfolk.

Mr. Blomefield ³ says, William Beauchamp lived in the reign of Edward II. and III. being a knight of good reputation and family, and is buried in a fine arched vault under this chapel, and his inarched monument is in the south-wall.

On the fine tower of All-Saints Church, Derby, which was formerly collegiate, is inscribed, on the outside :

' Young men and maydens, old men and boys, rejoice.' This, however, is very unproductive, as neither informing *by whom* the tower was built, nor the *time when*. Some have been ready to conjecture, it was erected by the contributions of the younger people of the town. But as it alludes to Psalm 148, ' Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the name of the Lord,' the invitation may seem to be more general, and not to be restrained to the young people alone. The tower is thought to have been built in the reign of Henry VII. and by the present appearance cannot well be supposed to be older ; and as to the authors, it is certainly most natural to imagine, that the

¹ Sir Thomas Brown, *Antiq. of Norwich*, p. 28.

² Dugdale's *Baron.* I. p. 239.

³ *Hist. of Norfolk*, II. 495.

body Collegiate, which was then in being, executed it, with the assistance of their friends and benefactors, ‘as was common.’

The elegant Epigram, as I may call it, of *William Fuller*, bishop of *Lincoln*, on *Remigius* his predecessor, first builder of the cathedral of *Lincoln*, has been in part produced, p. 27⁴; but the composition is so excellent, that the reader will not be displeased to see the whole.

Hujus fundator templi *Remigius* urna

Hæc jacet, atque brevi fit satis ampla viro.

Sit tamen ingenti tribuas æquale sepulchrum

Ejus par menti, mens ea quanta fuit !

Sit tumulus templum quod struxerat ipse, minore

Nec possit tumulo aut nobiliore tegi.

Do not the two last lines equal, in sublimity, the much admired Epitaph on Sir Christopher Wren, at St. Paul’s, London,

Monumentum si quæris, circumspice !

It is evidently the same thought, though more largely, yet finely expressed.

We frankly confess then, that, all our care and diligence notwithstanding, many inscriptions must unavoidably, through inattention, have been omitted and overlooked; future discoveries may bring more to light; and in the event, the same regard hereafter, may be paid to an old *English*, as to a *Roman* Inscription. This, however, is a reasonable conclusion, that had more of our religious structures survived the decay of time, and the havoc of some furious Reformers in the last century, the number of our articles might probably have been doubled. And though, perhaps, we could not have gone much further back into the *Saxon* ages, nor have accumulated many more of their

⁴ It is there ascribed to bishop Ruffel; but Dr. Browne Willis (*Cathedr.* II. p. 46.) gives it to bishop Fuller, and I think justly. See Fuller’s epitaph there, p. 71.

Inscriptions, we should doubtless have been able to maintain the series with less interruption from the *Norman* Conquest to Henry VIII's time.

The subject we are upon seems naturally to require that something should briefly be said on the erection of churches in general in England. When Augustine and his associates came hither from Rome, in the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and brought with them the Christian Religion, the stream of it ran muddy enough in several respects; but still those missionaries were not *Aëtians* or *Solifidians*, but on the contrary had just notions of the usefulness, the necessity, and the merit of *good works*. In regard to the poor, and the giving of alms, as there was no establishment for them in those times, they were relieved at the doors of private houses, or by the bishop and his clergy, from whom they received a portion of the tythes and oblations ¹, or at the gates of the monasteries, where provision was always amply made for them. I do not find in turning over bishop Tanner's *Notitia* more than two hospitals ² founded before the Norman Conquest, and one of them was for leprous women. As to the other species of *good works*, the founding of churches (and I may add monasteries), in places where proper edifices for the purpose were not already provided, every one could recollect, what he read in St. Luke, viii. 5. in commendation of the beneficent Centurion; 'Dignus est ut hoc ei præstes; diligit enim gentem nostram, et synagogam ipse ædificavit nobis.' And thus the kings, prelates, nobles ³, and even the inferior clergy ⁴ and monks ⁵,

¹ Wharton on Plural. p. 58. 66. 71, &c.

² Tanner, *Notitia*, p. 145. 297.

³ Wharton, p. 77. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 72. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 104.

very soon began to build churches, chapels, and oratories, in those parts that had been converted to the Faith, for the benefit and use of themselves, their households, tenants, and neighbours; whence it came to pass, that the advowsons of such churches and chapels were usually, and in the common way, vested in them. It certainly was so after the Norman conquest ¹.

It has been noted already, that there were 43 parish churches in *Derbyshire* at the Conquest, and Mr. Denne ², I observe, inclines to think those might not be all; be this, however, as it may, those fabrics had probably been erected by the great *Saxon* aldermen, thanes, and ecclesiastics. So again, the earls and nobles, of which we had 14 in *Derbyshire* (exclusive of the king, the bishop of *Chester* or *Lichfield*, and the abbat of *Burton*), and all grand land owners, proceeded no doubt to build churches after the Conquest, just as bishop *Herebert* here, in our collection, constructs the cathedral of *Norwich*, and *Remigius* that at *Lincoln*. But besides this, the 14 great principal land owners above-mentioned had many of them rich and powerful tenants, who held manors and estates of them by grants, and as these grantees were people of fortune, they were also able to build churches for themselves and their vassals, and this some of them we may be sure soon did ³. If to these liberal, single, and unassisted agents in this business, we add the probable supposition, that some fabrics, *chapels of ease* especially, were erected by the subscription of parishioners, or the contribution of labour, the rise and original of far the greatest number of our religious edifices will be satisfactorily accounted for.

¹ Nichols's Hist. of Hinckley, p. 7.

² Archæologia, VIII. p. 218—233.

³ Wharton, p. 92.

Dates or inscriptions in singular characters cut in stone, metal, or wood, have not as yet been sufficiently attended to, or, if given at all, not in their true and original form, and yet an Antiquary should be ashamed to give them otherwise. Every one must subscribe to the truth of that observation of Mr. Gough, that an alphabet, with variations drawn from Inscriptions, would be a valuable acquisition¹. Perhaps it may be said, that such kind of Inscriptions contribute but in a small degree to the great plan of Palæography; but every aid has its value, and every trait bears its part in the general design. The progress of the formation of letters is illustrated by them; and after what my friend Mr. *Astle* has lately done for the Palæography of Great Britain, as far as MSS. are concerned, which is just what P. Montfaucon did for that of Greece, little remains to be added to the *Art diplomatique* among us; especially if therewith be associated Mr. Madox's plan in his *Formulare*, and Mr. Ruddiman's, in Anderson's "Diplomata Scociæ."

In the outset of this work it is said that it was to be confined to the *building* and *repair* of churches in general, and not to be extended to their parts; nor lower in point of time than the reign of Henry VIII, nor out of *England*. In regard to N° I. and LI. amongst Mr. Gough's additions, we are sensible the former belongs to another kingdom, and the second dated 1634 goes beyond our original limits. But as we have been favoured with dates of a still later period, even down to the present time, and those on different parts of churches; in order to obviate an appearance of inconsistency in the plan, it may be proper to observe here, that it ends as at first intended at p. 118; and that the continuation carefully adheres to the real structures.

¹ Preface to British Topography, p. xxviii. 1st edit.

Should this collection be thought sufficiently interesting to the curious Antiquaries, there would be encouragement to give, as a second part, a Sylloge of Inscriptions on other buildings, on utensils, furniture, pictures, vestments, &c. all concurring for the same view, to illustrate the Palæography of England.



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*A Collection of INSCRIPTIONS, illustrating the Building or
Consecration of CHURCHES in ENGLAND.*

WHOSOEVER desires to be fully informed of the building, consecration, and dedication of Churches, may have recourse to Hospinian's Book de Templis, and Mr. Staveley's History of Churches in England. What I have here thrown together is only a collection of Inscriptions relative to the subject, with a few proper remarks ¹. Some of these inscriptions have never yet been made public, and therefore it is to be hoped will be the more acceptable to the curious and inquisitive: others may require some little illustration; and some, as I flatter myself, may prove of use, as they will evince the age when the respective fabrics, to which they belong, were erected. It is true, indeed, that churches were not always immediately consecrated upon erection, for Otto, the legate, in the very first of his canons, A. D. 1238, observes, that he himself had seen, and had heard from many, that there had been great neglect in the consecration of churches; that several of them, and even some cathedrals, had not been consecrated, though built of old;

¹ Mr. Staveley's IXth Chapter is indeed laid out, in a great measure, upon this topic, and he has produced some inscriptions; but he is very defective in that respect. I shall, however, pay regard to those he exhibits in their proper places.

wherefore he ordained, that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches, which had their walls perfected, should be consecrated by their diocesan, or some other person authorized by him, within two years ¹. And it is certain, that in pursuance of this ordinance many dedications actually ensued ². But still I am of opinion, that in a common way dedications were solemnized, as soon as conveniently could be, after the completion of the fabrics ³; and, in general, the dedication or consecration, where that can be known, necessarily implies an erection to have been perfected before that date, except in case of a re-edification.

For the preservation of some order, I shall distribute my little series into two periods. The times preceding the Norman Conquest, wherein are inserted certain inscriptions relative to the period, though composed and fixed up in after-times; secondly, the ages that have revolved since the Conquest; but without carrying the series any lower than the reign of king Henry VIII. inclusively.

It were an easy matter to enlarge this collection, by adding the numerous inscriptions that concern the parts of churches, windows, pavements, chantries, bells, fonts ⁴, &c. However, I have included such additions to churches, as are real structures, chapels, chancels, and belfreys or steeples. And I imagine this Sylloge, confined as it is to the strict subject of the consecration and erection, would have been more copious, if in the reign

¹ M. Paris, p. 449.

² See the inscription at Ashbourn, hereafter.

³ See the Canon of the Synod at *Celcyth* adduced below.

⁴ Thus I have not transcribed the inscription on the stone cross relating to the consecration of the church-yard at the Charter-house. Weever, p. 432.

of Elizabeth many inscriptions had not been demolished as remnants of superstition ¹.

Another irreparable misfortune is, that many, perhaps I might say most, of the originals of the inscriptions here registered are now destroyed and gone, insomuch that I have been obliged, except in some few instances to copy them from such books as have happened to preserve them, and in particular from honest John Weever's Funeral Monuments. The collection would certainly be more curious and valuable, could the inscriptions have been correctly traced and engraved, and the exact duct of the characters have been represented. At the same time that we should have been enabled by that means to judge with greater certainty of the age of many of them than now we are, we might transmit to posterity more correct transcripts of many of those which have long since perished, and for which we must trust to the inexperience of persons whose little acquaintance in such matters prevented their giving faithful representations of what they could not always read with precision. One recent instance in illustration of this position among many others, may be taken from the inscription in Limerick cathedral, as given in the Gentleman's Magazine for June last ², and by the historian of Limerick. But there is an actual impossibility in the case, partly from the depredations of time, and partly from the negligence and villainy of men. And, to confess the truth, the expence of plates, even of those that are still remaining, would be too great on a limited subject of this nature.

¹ Weever's Funer. Mon. p. 117.

² See Ferrar's History of Limerick, 1767, 12mo, p. 80, and Gent. Mag. July, 1786, p. 82.

N° I.

The following Inscription upon a Tablet was formerly chained
in the Church of St. Peter, Cornhill.

‘ BE hit knowne to al men, that the yeerys of our Lord God, CLXXIX, Lucius, the fyrst Christen kyng of this lond, then called Brytayne, fownded the fyrst chyrch in London, that is to say, the chyrch of Sent Peter upon Cornhyl, and fowndyd ther an archbishoppys see, and made that chyrch the metropolitant, and cheef chyrch of this kingdom, and so enduryd the space of cccc yeerys, and more; unto the commying of Sent Austen, the Apostyl of Englund, the which was sent into this lond, by Sent Gregory, the doctour of the chyrch, in the tym of king Ethelbert, and then was the archbishoppys see and pal removyd from the aforeseyd chyrch of Sent Peter upon Cornehyl, unto Derebernium, that now ys callyd Canterbury, and ther yt remeynyth to this dey. And Millet ¹ monk, whych cam into this lond with Sent Austen, was made the fyrst bishop of London, and hys see was made in Powllys chyrch. And this Lucius kyng was the fyrst foundyr of St. Peters chyrch upon Cornhyl. And he regnyd kyng in thys ilond aftyr Brute, a M.CC.XLV yeerys. And the yeerys of our Lord God a CXXIIII Lucius was crownyd kyng, and the yeerys of hys reygne were LXXVII yeerys, and he was aftyr sum cronekil beryd at London, and aftyr sum cronekil, he was beryd at Glowcester, at that plase wher the ordyr of Sent Francys standyth now.’

¹ Mellitus.

Mr. Weever, from whom this inscription is taken ¹, observes, that the truth of it is questioned in divers points by some of the learned senate of our ecclesiastical historians; and indeed, as appears from the mention of the house of Franciscans at Gloucester, it could not be written before the 13th century ², and probably not till Henry the VII's reign, if one may judge from the stile and language and the orthography of it. Mr. Stowe says, "on it was written, I know not by what authority, but of no late hand, that king Lucius founded the same, &c. &c. Now, because many have urged it very earnestly to me, to let them be further acquainted therewith, I have here inserted the same, *verbatim*, as it is there recorded in the table ³." This tabular authority is therefore much too recent in time to carry any weight with it, since it must itself depend on the evidence of foregoing authors concerning king Lucius, such as Venerable Bede and Jeffery of Monmouth. Now though the testimony of Bede be indeed very great in matters relative to the Saxon church, yet it is not always so in respect of the British; and it is the opinion of bishop Lloyd, that in this affair of king Lucius, who is supposed to have been upon the throne in the second century, he has followed no better authority than that of the *Liber Pontificalis* ⁴, which the bishop scruples not to call 'a mixen of ill contrived forgeries' ⁵. As to Jeffery, besides the prejudices that have arisen in the minds of the learned against the whole of the British history, when unsupported by concurrent

¹ Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 413.

² Tanner's Notitia, p. 151.

³ History of London, p. 210. ed. 1633. This church he observes, had been "lately repaired, if not all new built, except the steeple, which is antient."

⁴ See also Smith ad Bedam, p. 19.

⁵ Bishop Lloyd's Church Government, in Pref.

testimony, bishop Stillingfleet has solidly refuted his reverie about the Flamens, and Archflamens ¹. Upon the whole, though inscriptions, we allow, are solemn and often authoritative things, yet they are not always to be implicitly admitted, as we shall further see in some other articles below. In the present instance, as the table was destroyed in the Fire of London, 1666, and since renewed ², it is impossible to exhibit a true orthograph of it.

N° II.

THE great monastery of St. Augustine, situate without the walls of the city of Canterbury, was at first an heathen temple, then a church sacred to St. Pancrace, and at length king Ethelbert built there the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, commonly called St. Augustine's. This was about A. D. 605. and there he was interred ³.

Mr. Speed ⁴ gives us the epitaph of king Ethelbert, as it was reported to have been formerly read upon his tomb on the north side of the church, where there is a plain allusion to this fact :

Rex Ethelbertus hîc clauditur in Poliandro,
Fana pians certe Christo meat absque Meandro.

The monks, as all know, were not very exact in quantity, and we must pardon them in that ; but the latter verse as given by Speed is deficient a foot, which we have supplied from Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 241. and Dr. Browne Willis's Mitred Abbies, I. p. 42.

¹ See also Mr. Widmore's Enquiry into the first foundation of Westminster Abbey, p. 2.

² Newcourt, I. 522.

³ Thorne's Chron. inter X Scriptores.

⁴ Speed's Hist. VII. c. 9.

But the truth is what Weever has in his Preface,

Fana pians certus Christo meat absque Meandro.

for this distich is a species of the Leonine verse, where the middle or cesura rhimes, as well as the extremities, like those in Mr. Hearne's edit. of Leland's Itinerary, vol. VI. p. 141.

It is thus translated in Weever,

King Ethelbert lieth here closde in this Polyander,

For building churches sure he goes to Christ without Mæander.

The epitaph, no doubt, is a composition of the later times, and made by those monks, from whom we have received the foregoing account of this foundation. This, I think, is plain from the word *Polyandrum* or *Polyandrium*, which signifies originally *Cæmeterium*, but is here used for a tomb or sepulchre of a single person, as it often was in the later ages¹. But admitting this argument not to be conclusive, we have no reason to think this kind of jingling verse was in use in the 7th century. And Mr. Somner has a weighty observation relative to this matter, which ought to have a place here, and indeed will be applicable to many of the like cases hereafter. He says, 'the ancient custom was to put a plate of lead, with the interred party's name inscribed on it, into the grave with the corpse²; such had archbishop Dunstan, such also had Richard, Becker's immediate successor. Simon Islip is the first of the archbishops, that hath an epitaph on his tomb in the whole church of Canterbury]. About his time [A. D. 1366] I take it, they first became common and frequent³.

Fana pians is sufficiently expressive of the king's converting an heathen temple into a Christian church and monastery.

¹ Du Fresne in voce.

² Vide Matt. Paris, ad ann. Dom. 1257.

³ Somner, Antiq. of Canterbury.

The plural number is so frequently used for the singular in poetry, without any particular meaning, that I know not how far one can depend upon the following observation; but as Ethelbert was supposed by the monks to be founder also of Christ Church at Canterbury, St. Paul's at London, and St. Andrew's at Rochester, it should seem that our monkish versifier had these in view by his *Fana pians*, as well as the monastery near Canterbury.

N° III.

THE bodies of Sebert, the supposed founder of Westminster Abbey, who died A. D. 616, and of his wife Ethelgoda, who died A. D. 615, were translated from their first place of interment to the south side of the communion table in Westminster Abbey, A. D. 1308¹, where they rest within a tomb of lead, with a long epitaph, of which the following lines are part:

Ornat mores, spernit flores lucis avaræ,
 Gliscens multum Christi cultum letificare
Ecclesiam nimiam nimio studio fabricavit.
Hec ille sa manus² que fundamenta locavit, &c.

Below:

Atque domum Christo quia mundo fecit in isto,
 Nunc pro mercede celi requiescit in ede³.

Upon the wall by this tomb the image of St. Peter is depicted speaking to king Sebert in these verses,

Hic rex Seberte pausas, mihi condita per te.
 Hec loca lustravi, demum lustrando dicavi⁴.

¹ So Weever, p. 451. Walsingham, p. 93.

² Walsingham, p. 93.

³ Weever, p. 451.

⁴ Idem, p. 452.

wherein

wherein there is an allusion to the legend that St. Peter consecrated this church himself, whence we read in the record in the Tower concerning this church, 'et per ipsum beatum Petrum angelico famulante servicio, sancte crucis impressione et sacra Trinitatis perunctione dedicata'. See Dugd. Monast. I. p. 55. Widmore, p. 4. 6. 10. 15. 22. and Ailred abbot of Rievall, in his life of Edward the Confessor², who may be regarded as the founder of this legend. Some of the like dedications are reported by this author in his Differt. de Peregrin. Religiosis, p. 33. Moreover, the words, *hec illesa manus*, respect the pretended miracle, mentioned by Walsingham, of the king's hand being found fresh and found at this time.

I think it self-evident that the inscription commemorating the erection of this church had no existence till the translation of the bodies, anno 1308. See the case of bishop Erkenwald's inscription below.

The church is supposed to have been founded by Sebert, king of Essex³, anno 604, 605, or 610⁴; but it happens very unfortunately, that upon enquiry this king of Essex is found to have had no connection with the foundation of this church⁵, which was built by a person unknown⁶, and, if by any person of the name of Sebert, by one entirely different from the king of Essex, and probably about anno Dom. 730, or 740⁷; and that neither the king of Essex, nor his queen, were buried here⁸,

¹ Idem, p. 450.

² Ailred Rievall inter X Script. col. 385.

³ Ailred, abbat of Rievaulx, calls him king of East Anglia, by mistake. X Script. col. 385.

⁴ Widmore's Enq. p. 3.

⁵ Idem, p. 5. 8. 11. Hist. p. 1.

⁶ Idem.

⁷ Idem. 7.

⁸ Idem, p. 8. He was interred, according to Higden, in St. Paul's.

notwithstanding what is asserted by Mr. George Vertue ¹. In-
 somuch that these bodies, whosoever they were, could not
 possibly be theirs; and it further appears, from this state of
 things, which may be safely depended upon, that as little credit
 can be given to the monkish inscriptions on coffins and tombs,
 when destitute of other good evidence, as to the Tablets formerly
 hung up in churches.

N° IV.

THE church of the great rectory of Winwick, in Lancashire,
 was sacred to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland, as appears
 from these verses in an old barbarous character, in the upper-
 most part of the church :

Hic locus, *Oswalde*, quondam placuit tibi valde,
 Northanhumbroꝝ fueras rex, nuncque polorum
 Regna tenes, loco passus *Marcelde* vocato ².

It is here insinuated, that Oswald had been at this place;
 which indeed is possible, as Winwick was within the kingdom
 of Northumberland; and moreover, as he was slain at Mazer-
 field in Shropshire ³, here called *Marcelde*, his rout thither might
 lie this way. Oswald began his reign anno 634, and was slain
 by Penda anno 642, so that the inscription has a title to be
 placed here, though the church of Winwick perhaps was not
 built till long after. I think there was one, however, at the
 Norman Conquest ⁴.

¹ Archæol. I. p. 36.

² Camden, Brit. Lancash. col. 968.

³ Rapin, p. 50.

⁴ Domesday in Sir P. Leicester's Antiqq. p. 434. Domesday, fol. 269. b.

To the lines given by Mr. Camden as above, are now added these two, probably of the same date as the rest,

Sclatur post Christum murum renoverat istum,

Henricus Johnson curatus erat simul hic tunc.

if faithfully given, by Mr. Pennant ¹.

N° V.

WILFRID, archbishop of York, when driven from his see, came into the south of England, and with good appearance of reason is supposed, by Henry Penruddock Wyndham, esquire ², to have erected the parish church at Warnford in Hants, about A. D. 705, which was repaired or re-built by Adam de Port, who lived in the reign of Henry II. This is verified as to the facts, though not as to the time, by the inscription over the south door of the church, in deep cut capitals, partly Saxon, partly Roman.

Wilfrid fundavit, bonus Adam me renovavit.

We are not to suppose, however, that this inscription rises higher than the age of Adam, who flourished in the reign of Henry II. or later.

Now I am on the subject of these tablets, I may insert the verses over the great west doors of Lichfield cathedral, from Dr. Browne Willis.

Ofwyus est Lichfield fundator, sed reparator

Offa fuit, regum fama perennis erit :

Rex Stephanus, Rex Henricus, primusque Richardus,

Rex et Johannes, plurima dona dabant ³.

¹ Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 13.

² Archæologia, V. p. 360.

³ Dr. Browne Willis's Cathedrals, I. p. 377.

Oswy, king of Northumberland, acceded anno Dom. 643, and anno 655 slew Penda king of Mercia in battle, and took possession of his kingdom; soon after which this fact of the building of the church at Lichfield must be supposed to take place. He died A. D. 670.

Ofric, a tributary prince to Ethelred king of Mercia, founded a nunnery at Gloucester, about A. D. 681. It afterwards became a great monastery, and indeed is the present cathedral. Ofric died anno 729, and was first buried in St. Petronell's chapel, then in our Lady's chapel, and afterwards under a fair tombstone on the north side of the high altar, at the foot of which tomb is this inscription written on the wall.

Ofricus Rex primus fundator hujus monasterii, 681¹.

This inscription, however, is recent, being but little older than the Reformation. The former at Lichfield probably owes its rise to some repair or re-building of the church long after Oswi's time.

Nº VI.

St. Erkenwald, third² bishop of London, who died about A. D. 685, founded two monasteries, one at Chertsey, and the other at Barking in Essex. These foundations were both of them commemorated on a Tablet in St. Paul's, London.

‘ Is priusquam episcopus factus esset duo preclara con-
 ‘ struxit monasteria sumptibus suis, de bonis que jure here-
 ‘ ditario³ sibi⁴ obvenērunt, unum sibi in finibus australium

¹ Willis Mit. Abbeys, I. p. 110.

² Rather *fourth*, as Wharton, p. 16.

³ Offe Orientalium Saxonum regis erat filius. Weever, p. 358. Rather of Anna king of the East Angles. Tanneri Notitia Mon. p. 117. But see there, p. 534; and Wharton de Episc. Lond. p. 16.

⁴ i. e. illi. This is common with the monkish writers. See Temple church, below; Weever, p. 451.

‘ Saxonum,

‘Saxonum, loco qui Certesey vocatur, alterum Edelburge
 ‘forori sue, femine laudatissime, ad Bercking in ditone
 ‘Orientalium Saxonum, &c.’¹.

Erkenwald moreover enlarged the church of St. Paul, as we learn from the same inscription.

‘Idem Erkenwaldus celeberrimum hoc S. Pauli templum
 ‘novis edificiis auxit, &c.’

Whence you may observe, that *celeberrimum hoc S. Pauli templum* could never be the language of Erkenwald’s time, neither would he have been buried in the church; so that we may be assured the inscription was not written till the translation of his bones, anno 1140; and indeed, as Weever observes, the whole of it is compiled from Bede², and the annals of this church. See the case of king Sebert’s inscription above.

This inscription shared the fate with that before-mentioned at St. Peter’s, and has never been replaced.

Nº VII.

INA, the illustrious king of Wesssex, acceded to the throne A. D. 688, and resigned it A. 727, and re-built the church at Glastonbury, in a stately manner, dedicating it to Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul; and just under the roof thereof a good number of verses, taken chiefly from the 1vth book of Venantius Fortunatus, were written round. What relates to our present purpose is as follows. After speaking of the saints, Peter and Paul, the epigraphe proceeds thus :

¹ Weever, p. 358. Maitland, p. 1168. Dugd. Hist. of St. Paul’s, p. 115. edit. 2d.

² Beda, iv. c. 6.

Anglia plaude lubens ¹, mittit tibi Roma salutem,
 Fulgor apostolicus Glastoniam irradiat.
 A facie hostili duo propugnacula furgunt
 Quod ² fidei turreis urbs caput orbis habet.
 Hæc pius egregio rex Ina refertus amore
 Dona ³ suo populo non moritura dedit.
 Totus in affectu divæ pietatis inhærens,
 Ecclesiæque juges amplificavit opes.
 Melchisedeck noster merito, rex atque sacerdos,
 Complevit veræ relligionis ⁴ opus.
 Publica jura regens, ut celsa palatia servans
 Unica pontificum gloria et norma fuit.
 Hinc abiens, illinc ⁵ meritorum fulget honore,
 Hic quoque gestorum laude perennis erit ⁶.

Ina at last became a monk at Rome; and the verses, methinks, evidently point at that event; whence one may infer they were inscribed on the building after his time.

N° VIII.

ALMOST upon the very mouth of the Tine stands Girwy, now Yarrow; where venerable Bede was born, and where a little monastery heretofore flourished. When, and by whom, it was founded, may be learnt from this inscription, which is fairly legible to this day in the church-wall.

¹ *Libens* Gul. Malmesb. de antiq. Glaston. eccl. p. 310.

² *Quos* Malmesb. rectius, meaning the two apostles Peter and Paul.

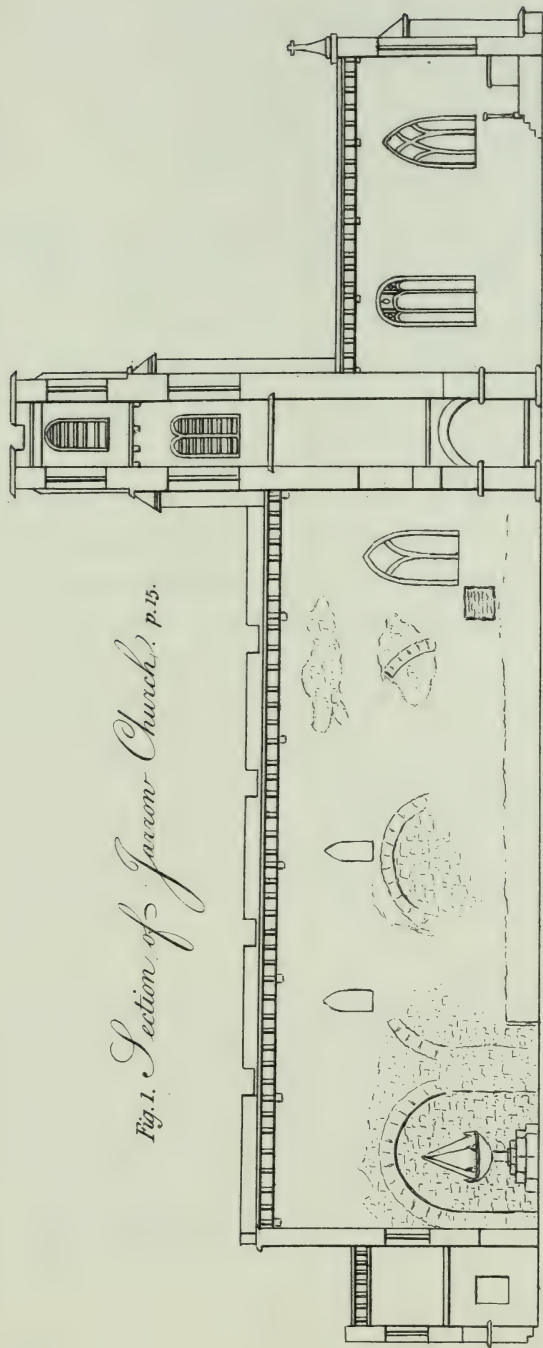
³ *Bona* Malmesb. male.

⁴ *Religionis* Malmesb. male.

⁵ *Illic* Malmesb. rectè.

⁶ Camden, Brit. col. 78.

Fig. 1. Section of Jarrow Church, p. 15.



PDEDICATIO BASILICAE
 SCIPAVLI VIII KL MAI
 ANNO XVECFRIDI REG
 GEOLFRIDI ABBEVSDEM
 Q' ECCLES DO AVCTORE
 CONDITORIS ANNO IIII

Fig. 2. Jarrow, p. 15.

IODDADVXI/SSIT.H N
 REGIAMAVAMCONSTRVI
 ATQVE DC DGRINHONO
 RES TRINITATIS PROANIMAE
 MANISVVELFRICIQDEHOF
 LOCASVTAEALDREDVSVERO
 EPSQVIEANDEDDCAVITIID
 BVSAPLX IIII AVEANNO\$ REG
 NIEADWARDREGISANGLORV

Fig. 3. p. 16. Monkseybury.

DEDICATIO BASILICAE.
 SCI PAVLI VIII KL; MAI
 ANNO XVI ECFRIDI REG.
 CEOLFRIDI ABB; EIVSDEM
 Q' ECCLES: DO: AVCTORE
 CONDITORIS. ANNO III².

This, I presume, may be the first and oldest inscription we have of the kind; N^o I. being the composition of much later times. 'In this inscription Bishop Gibson says, the xvi shou'd be 'xv. for king Egfrid reigned no more than fifteen years; and so sir James Ware has given it in his notes upon Bede's History of the Abbots of Wiremouth; and so Dr. Smith corrects it in a note 'on the same work³.' The bishop proceeds, 'It ought not to 'be inferred from the inscription, that Ceolfrid was the founder 'of this monastery; since it appears from Bede's account, that 'he was only constituted first abbot of the place by *Benedictus* 'Biscopius, who sent him hither (with a colony of about seventeen 'monks) from *Weremouth*.' It proves, however, that abbot Ceolfrid built the church, though perhaps not the rest of the monastery, and that the dedication ensued very soon after the erection of the fabric, in the year 684.

A correct *fac simile* copy of this inscription may be seen in the plate.

¹ Dr. Smith in his fine edition of Bede's History, p. 296. gives it *Ecclesiæ*. There is no difference, as to the sense, between *Basilicæ* and *Ecclesiæ* in this case; but I should imagine Camden's reading *Basilicæ* to be the truth, because he has taken occasion from thence to add a brief explanation of this term; and indeed Dr. Smith's transcript is more a running copy of the inscription than a formal and literal delineation of it. It occurs in Leland Coll. iv. p. 42.

² Camden's Britannia, col. 956. Leland Coll. iv. p. 42. where xv is put for xvi. and Q. M. for Q.

³ Smith ad Bedam, p. 296.

Ramsey abbey, in the county of Huntingdon, a rich and noble foundation, whose abbat was a mitred one, was erected by Ailwin, *totius Angliæ Aldermanus*, A. D. 969, ‘*Sic enim e fe- pulchro ejus aliquando legebatur in ecclesia Ramefiensi, quam, anno Dom. 969, magnifice fundavit.*

‘*Hic requiescit D. Ailwinus inclyti regis Eadgari cognatus, totius Angliæ Aldermanus, et hujus sacri cœnobii miraculosus fundator*’.

The statue remains in the parish church, but the inscription is gone.

N° IX.

Oddo and Dodo, two brothers, A. D. 715, founded a monastery at Tewkesbury, in the place where their palace stood, as appears by this inscription, given by Leland from the abbey register, as the inscription on the wall over the door of the chapel by the gate of Deerhurst priory, where Almeric brother of Oddo and Dodo were buried.

HANC AVLAM REGIAM DODO DVX CONSECRARI FECIT
IN ECCLESIAM².

This afterwards became the famous mitred abbey of Tewkesbury.

N° X.

There is a long interval between A. D. 715, the date of the last inscription, and A. D. 1058, to which year the Oxford marble, N° CXC in Mr. Maittaire’s edition, is to be referred.

¹ Spelman Glossar. p. 25. Willis Mit. Abbeys, p. 151. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 17.

² Camden, col. 271.

✠ ODDA DVX IVSSIT HANC
REGIAM AVLAM CONSTRVI
ATQVE DEDICARI IN HONO-
RE S. TRINITATIS PRO ANIMA GER-
MANI SUI ELFRICI QVE DE HOC
LOCO ASSVMPTA EALDREDVS VERO
EPS. QVI EANDEM DEDICAVIT II IDI-
BVS APL. XIII. AVTEM ANNO S. REG-
NI EADWARDI REGIS ANGLORVM.

Mr. Powel, 1675, dug up this inscription on a square stone in his orchard at Deerhurst, in the county of Gloucester¹, a village about a mile from Tewkesbury, in the abbat's house called *the Hall*, whence perhaps it may be doubted whether *regia aula* in this inscription ought to be esteemed a church. But to those who consider the formal dedication of it to the Holy Trinity, a different patronage from that of the abbey of Tewkesbury, which was sacred to the Blessed Virgin, and that the bishop of the diocese was concerned in the consecration of it, it will appear probable at least, that *regia aula* is the translation of and consequently equivalent to *Basilica*. *Aula* is no uncommon term in these ages for a church, or the nave of a church. Hence Du Fresne, 'Aula, ecclesia, basilica, templum, interdum sola ecclesiæ navis, Gall. *Le Nef*,' and see above, N° IX. A. D. 715; and yet I am not certain that that can be so understood, as there was a palace, or *Aula regia*, there before. I conceive that when the

¹ For *in honorem*. This is common in these times. See the Ashbourn and Postling inscription below. Thorne, col. 1760. 1780. Ailred Abbas Rievaulx, col. 385. Weever, c. 381. 450. 633. So in commemoratione. Dr. Gibson, however, in Camden, col. 272, gives it *in honorem*.

² For ASSVMPTA, as in Camden, col. 272.

³ Pro *pridie idus*, ut rectè monet Cl. Maittaire in indice, quod infimam, inquit, Latinitatem sapit. See the 2d Series, N° II.

⁴ Regni S. Camden, col. 272, which is better, the other being, I think, a mistake of the cutter.

⁵ Camd. col. 272, where the inscription is given by bishop Gibson. We have copied it in pl. I. from the splendid edition of the Oxford Marbles, among which it is now preserved.

solemnity of the consecration was celebrated, the place did not belong to the abbat of Tewkesbury, of whom no notice is taken in the inscription, but accrued to him by some means afterwards, when this house became so flourishing after the Conquest; and consequently that the abbat's hall or mansion was probably erected afterwards at this place. It seems at this time to have been the seat of Odda's and Elfric's family; but, as these are common names amongst the Saxons, there is no knowing, with any certainty, who Odda and his defunct brother were. Ælfric succeeded duke Ælfhere in his province, A. D. 983, and was living anno 1003, but was slain in battle by king Cnut, anno 1016, as the Saxon chronicle; so that he cannot be supposed to be the person that died peaceably, as it should seem, at the place where this stone was found. As for Odda, the duke or alderman, he possibly might be the same with him that was appointed earl of Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Wales, A. D. 1048, and was living anno 1052¹, but a few years before the date of our inscription; as likewise the same with him who subscribed that charter of king Edward, whereby he united the bishoprick of Cornwall to that of Exeter²; and in Leland's *Collectanea*³, as Dr. Prideaux observes, mention is made of Odda the earl, successor of Ælfhere⁴, who restored those lands to the monks of Pershore, which Ælfhere had taken from them, and died A. D. 1056.

It is somewhat extraordinary that Dr. Prideaux could not find the name of Ealdred in any Catalogue of the English prelates; but says, he supposes him to be the same person with that bishop Ealdred who was sent by king Edward to the Pope for a dispensation from a vow he had rashly made. This learned man did not advert to Aldred and Ealred's being one and the

¹ Chron. Sax. p. 165. Henr. Hunt. p. 366, where he is called *Odo*. But this we apprehend to be the same name.

² Prideaux in *Marm.* Oxon. p. 506.

³ I. 287.

⁴ Not *son* of Ælfhere, as Dr. Prideaux.

same name; else had he consulted the only catalogue of bishops which ought first to have been consulted, that of the bishops of Worcester, he would have found him there under the first name, with circumstances clearly evincing he was the prelate here intended, namely, that he began to sit anno Dom. 1048, and was translated to York anno 1060¹, two years after 1058, the date here specified; but he actually held this see with the primacy of York, and did not die till 1068 or 1069. Bishop Pearson saw this, for in the margin of his book he writes, ‘est in catal. Wigorniensis, ubi Aldredus dicitur, et mentio ejus fit apud Matth. Westm. anno 1057.’ Notes ad Ep. Blefensis, p. 732².

As the inscription is not given in the Saxon character, as one might reasonably expect, and not a single letter of that appears, I should imagine it was cut many years after the fact. And indeed *S. Regni*, by which I presume is meant *Sacri Regni*, a very singular phrase at best, seems to import as much, it not being usual to speak in this manner of a prince whilst living, but after his canonization. Dean Prideaux seems not to have been aware of this, and therefore reckons the inscription to have been as old as the fact³, which passed 14 Edw. Conf. or 1058: for my part, though it relates to a transaction in the Saxon times, and therefore I have placed it here, I cannot esteem it to be more ancient than the Post-Normannic times, when the fame of Edward’s sanctity came to be celebrated; perhaps not till about A. D. 1150, when Ailredus Rievallensis wrote the Life of St. Edward; unless we suppose that it might have been cut and set up when the Confessor gave Derehurst with all the lands belonging thereto to the abbey of St. Denis in France, to which it became a cell of Benedictine monks⁴.

¹ Bishop Godwin, p. 453. and p. 662. edit. Richardson.

² Maittaire, p. 588.

³ Ubi sup.

⁴ Tanner, Not. Mon. p. 140.

N° XI.

As remarkable and curious an inscription as any in this whole assemblage is the following Saxon one over the south door of Kirkdale church in Rydale, on a stone seven feet by near two, commemorating the purchase and repairs of St. Gregory's church there in the Confessor's reign:

*Orm, Gamul's suna bohte Sanctus Gregorius minster thonne bit
wes al to brochan & to falan. Chebille & man newan from
grundes Cbriste & Sanctus Gregorius in Eadward dagum cñg
in Tofti dagum eorl.*

i. e. "Orm, Gamul's son, bought St. Gregory's church when it was all ruined and fallen down. Chebille and others renewed it from the ground to Christ and St. Gregory in Edward's days the king, and Tofti's days the earl."

Under the dial,

*And Haward me wrobt and Brand pr's.
This is dages sæl meria
To sunna tillum wenteres :*

i. e. "And Hawarth me made and Brand the priest:
This is a draft exhibiting the time of day
While the sun is passing to and from the winter solstice."

The date of this inscription must be before Tofti earl of Northumberland and 4th son of Godwin earl of Kent was slain at Stamford-bridge near York, 1066, and between 1056 and 1065. The architecture of the church is Ante-Normannic. Orm had large possessions in Kirkby in the North Riding, Rydale wapen-take,

take, which entitled him to the rank of Thane, and he married Etheldrith one of the five daughters of Aldred earl of Northumberland, by whom he had several daughters if not a son. The Conqueror gave his estates to Hugh Fitz Baldric. They were afterwards possessed by Roger d'Estoteville and Nigil de Albin, the lords Wake and Latimer, and now jointly by Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Whitehead, and Mr. Gibson ¹.

See pl. II. fig. 1.

N^o XII.

On a circular stone, in the church of Aldbrough, in Holderness, is this other Saxon inscription :

Ulf bet areran cyrice, for Hanum and for Gundbart saula.

This is of *no great antiquity*, though the commentator on it, Archæologia, VI. p. 39, is pleased to call it so; for by his own account, p. 43, Ulf lived in the Confessor's time.

Now as Domesday Book is silent as to the existence of any church at Aldbrough, one has reason to think there was no church there then; consequently, that it is of later erection; wherefore, if *Ulf* built a church there as the inscription imports, in the Confessor's time, it must have been destroyed by some means soon after, as it lay in ruins at the time of the general Survey. This stone, which apparently belonged to *Ulf's* building, was happily preserved it seems, and, when the present church was erected, by a laudable care was placed where it now stands. If so, it does not at all imply that the present structure was built by the Saxons, as the Commentator asserts; indeed he confesses *it now has a more modern appearance*; but would ascribe that to a succession of repairs, &c. Such a total alteration, however, could not well happen. The lower part of the south wall of the chancel, he observes, is built with hewn stone, such as was

¹ Archæologia, V. p. 188. and plate.

generally

generally used in our most ancient cathedral churches, which surely should evince, that this church is not older than they, and consequently not Saxon. The same may be inferred from the elliptic arch at the chancel-door, and those between the columns in the inside of the church, a form, I presume, unknown to the Saxons; besides, the whole fabric of the church bespeaks at first view (see the plate) a Post-Normanic erection. But does not the zig-zag work on the door-case, you will say, shew it to be of Saxon architecture? Not at all, as this kind of ornament appears often in structures erected since the Conquest¹; and therefore was not *peculiar to the Saxon architecture*, as Mr. Brooke avers. I should imagine the present fabric to have been built by Odo, earl of Champagne and Albemarle, or his son Stephen.

Het aræran. The Saxons having no passives, such was their common language, answering to *jussit fabricaris*, instead of *fabricari*.

The rude figure of six lines, crossing each other at right angles, meant doubtless to represent three crosses, in allusion to the Trinity. But this church, according to Mr. Ecton, is dedicated to St. Bartholomew.

See pl. II. fig. 2.

N° XIII.

The late learned White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, whose father was vicar of Postling in Kent², gave notice of an inscription on a brass plate in that church³, of which Mr. Robert Paine⁴, vicar of the place, took a copy afterwards,

¹ Archæologia, VI. p. 66. 388.

² Newton's Life of Bishop Kennet, p. 1.

³ Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 609. or 444.

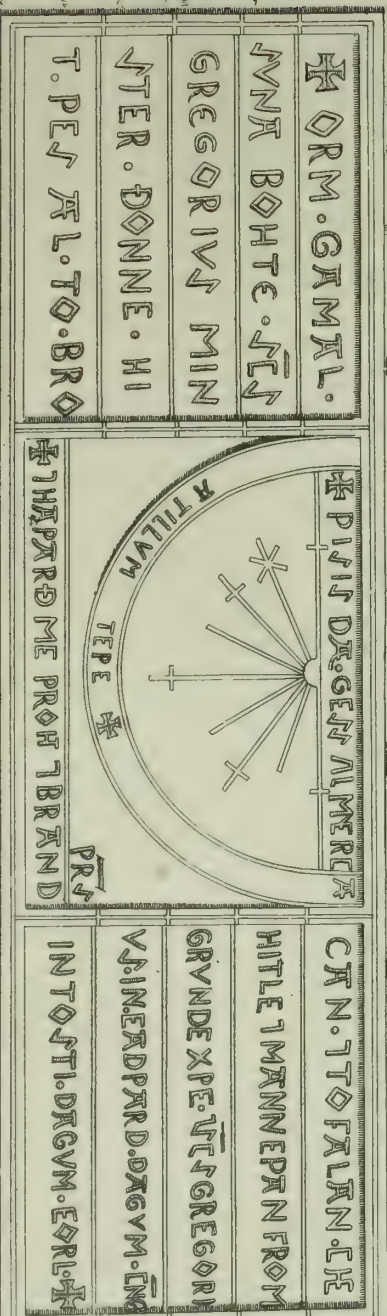
⁴ He died in 1742.

and

Fig. 1.
ALDBOROUGH



KIRKDALE
Fig. 2. p. 86.



XIX KL SEPT BH
 S EVSEBII CFSR
 & hEC' ECCTA
 FVIT DEDICATA
 IN HONORE SCĒ
 Dī MATRS MRE

Postling.

and sent it to the Rev. Dr. Daniel Waterland, who had been his tutor at Magdalen College, Cambridge; but neither he, nor any one else, could make any tolerable sense of it; and indeed it was not likely they should, as the transcript was very inaccurately taken by Mr. Paine, who was little versed in these matters. This I much suspected upon sight of the copy, which Mr. Lewis was pleased to send to me; and, as I then was living at Godmersham in Kent, I rode over to the place, and cleaning the stone (for the inscription is cut in stone, and not on brass) in the best manner I could, I took an impression of it in clay, which was easily done, as the stone is but small. By this means, I obtained a most perfect and exact copy of this inscription, which afforded an easy and complete sense; and as it has never been published, it is here given, pl. III. according both to the size of the stone and the dimension of the letters, &c.

The stone is in the chancel under a north window, and the church, as Mr. Somner informs us¹, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The year of the consecration is not mentioned. I judge it, however, to precede the Norman æra in time, as the Saxon character prevails so much in it.

Bishop Kennet observes, that such an inscription, or more often a picture or image of the Saint to whom any church was dedicated, was usually preserved in the chancel in former times. Hence Dr. Harris writes, ‘ At a synod held at *Celcyth*, under ‘ Walfred archbishop of *Canterbury*, A. D. 816, in which synod ‘ the first form of consecrating churches in *England* was esta- ‘ blished; here, I say, it was ordained, that when any church is

¹ Antiq. Cantuar. In Append. p. 80.

‘ built,

‘ built, it shall be consecrated by the proper diocesan ; and he
 ‘ shall provide that the saint to whom the church is dedicated, be
 ‘ pictured, engraved, or somehow expressed, either on the wall,
 ‘ the altar, or in *some proper tablet*. And archbishop Winchelsea
 ‘ made a decree, which was confirmed by his successor, Walter
 ‘ Reynolds, that the parishioners in all parish churches in this pro-
 ‘ vince should do the like, and preserve an image or picture of the
 ‘ Saint, in the chancel of that church which was dedicated to
 ‘ him ’.

Many persons have conceived an opinion that the solemnity of the dedication of churches was generally performed on the Saint’s day to whom the respective churches were sacred ; but that does not appear to have been always the case, and perhaps seldom was. A church is here consecrated to the honour of the blessed Virgin on the Feast of St. Eusebius.

It seems to have been sufficient that the church was dedicated *in honorem*, or *in nomine Sancti*, or *in commemoratione*.

Nº XIV.

The church at Warnford in Hampshire is said, by Mr. Camden, col. 146, to have been *rebuilt* by Adam de Portu, who flourished in the time of the Conqueror ; consequently the old church must have been erected in the Saxon times. The inscription run thus, according to bishop Gibson,

Ade hic de Portu solis benedicat ab ortu
 Gens cruce signata, per quem sic sum renovata.

Dr. Harris’s History of Kent, p. 242. See Weever, p. 452. 560.

The bishop goes on, ‘ And as by these [lines] the *repairer* is discovered, so is the *founder* of it by three others upon the south-side :

‘ Fratres orate, prece vestra sanctificate

‘ Templi factores, seniores et juniores,

‘ Wilfrid fundavit, bonus Adam sic renovavit.’

The inscription was evidently composed and put up after the Conquest, and probably when Adam rebuilt the church ; however, the first erection of the church was owing to Wilfrid (a plain Saxon name), whoever he was ; and I have accordingly placed the account of it here, though the exact time is not known.

Mr. Wyndham supposes the shell remaining here 52 feet by 48, and near 30 feet high, with 4 well-proportioned columns, with their bases and capitals entire, and the doors round arched, called *King John's House*, and the *Old House*, to be the original church erected here by Wilfrid, whom he conceives to have been the archbishop of York of that name, who retired to these parts, A. D. 679, from the resentment of Egfrid king of Northumberland. He apprehends the present church, which stands about 20 yards from it, and whose walls runs parallel with it, to have been the work of Adam de Port¹.

¹ Archæolog. V. 375. & seq.

The SECOND SERIES, beginning at the Norman Conquest.

N° XV.

By archbishop Lanfranc's council, held A. D. 1075, certain fees were directed to be removed from villages to cities ¹, and soon after the see of Thetford was translated to Norwich, where Herbert the bishop built a very beautiful cathedral, the first stone whereof, in the reign of William Rufus, and in the year of our Lord 1094 ², or 1096, he himself laid, with this inscription :

DOMINVS HERBERTVS POSVIT
PRIMUM LAPIDEM IN NOMINE PA-
TRIS, FILII, ET SPIRITVS SANCTI.
AMEN ³.

Whence we may collect the new fabrick was sacred to the Holy Trinity, as now it is. This founder died 22 July, A. D. 1119 ⁴, and was here interred by the high altar, and on his monument were engraven these verses, expressive of the foundation of the church by him :

Inclytus Herbertus jacet hic ut pistica nardus
Virtutum redolens floribus et meritis.

A quo fundatus locus est hic, edificatus
Ingenti studio, nec modico precio, &c.

- - - - -
- - - - -

Quem . . . undecimas Julio promente kalendas
Abstulit ultima fors, et rapuit cita mors, &c. ⁵

¹ Johnson's Collection of Eccles. Laws, tom. II.

² Tanner's Notitia, p. 338.

³ Camden col. 462. Weever, p. 788.

⁴ Godwin, p. 428.

⁵ Weever, p. 788. Blomefield's Norfolk, II. 333. And see note below.

+ HILAE T W
FILPVAITAE NVK
SISANOVKE REMGFI
FOLIS O HANTEL EAM
FELI PATYME REGASTYK
P CENI DYI IVRA REGSWH
R. AC NREGSWH O AN
GHANOS VITA ERFT

L NOV B OBN

N° XVI.

Remigius, the first bishop of Lincoln, died A. D. 1092, and no historical fact is more certain than that he built the cathedral of Lincoln. One memorial of it is extant in the inscription on a plate of lead found at the cathedral, with the body of William Deincourt, and still preserved there, in which, William, who died in the reign of William Rufus, and was the prelate's contemporary, is said to be the kinsman of Remigius, *Qui banc ecclesiam fecit* ¹. The same is asserted in the inscription on a tablet placed afterwards on Remigius's tomb by his successor bishop Ruffel:

Hujus fundator templi Remigius urna

Hâc jacet, &c.

And again, Sit tumulus templum quod struxerat ipse, &c. ²

N° XVII.

William de Albini or Dawbenny, earl of Arundel, butler to king Henry I. ³, founded the priory of Wymondeham, or Windham, in Norfolk, before A. D. 1107. He died 3 Henry II. A. D. 1156. and upon his monument at Windham this epitaph was engraven; but destroyed at the dissolution:

Hunc Pincerna locum fundavit, et hic jacet, illa

Quæ dedit huic domui, jam sine fine tenet ⁴.

It is very evident that the inscription was written and engraven long after the earl's decease; the turn, which alludes to a passage

¹ Dugd. Baron. I. p. 386. T. Hearne, in his edit. of Sprott, p. Lxi. These copies are so unfaithful, that I have inserted a new one, taken by my friend Mr. Gough, who allowed me the use of the plate engraved at his expense. See pl. IV.

² Willis's Cathedr. II. p. 46.

³ Brooke supposes he only served that office at the coronation.

⁴ Weever, p. 809. seq.

very common in epitaphs, *quod donavi, habeo* ¹, does not at all suit the style of the 12th century, but is certainly the production of a wiser and more recent pen.

N° XVIII.

A. D. 1185, Heraclius, Patriarch of St. Jerufalem, came to England in king Henry the Second's reign; and, whilst he resided here, dedicated the Temple-church in London, as appears by the following inscription, formerly in the stone-work over the little door next the cloister, but broken by the workmen in the year 1695 :

² ✠ ANNO AB INCARNA-
TIONE DOMINI M°C.LXXXV°.
DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONO-
RE ³ BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRA
SCE RESURRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRI-
ARCHA, IIII IDUS ⁴ FEBRUARII. Q¹ ⁵ EAM ANNATIM
PETENTIBVS DE IIIVNTA S¹ ⁶ PENITENTIA LX DIES INDULSIT ⁷.

This inscription was written within an half circle in great Saxon characters; and in it, not only the year and the day of consecration were specified, but likewise the names of the saint and of the person that officiated on the occasion. An indulgence was also added, and it is the first instance of the kind which we have hitherto met with. This church had probably been rebuilt at this time, though Mr. Weever insinuates he thought it far more ancient ⁸.

¹ Weever, p. 581. & 607. ubi malè, *habui*.

² A fac-simile copy of this inscription, happily preserved and faithfully transcribed by that able antiquary Mr. George Holmes, in Strype's edition of Stow, 1709, Book III. p. 272, may be seen in Plate V. And consult Dugd. Orig. p. 144. 146. et omnino, p. 173.

³ See Series I. N° XIII. p. 23.

⁴ See the former Series, N° II.

⁵ *Qui* Dugd.

⁶ *Sibi*. Weever and Dugd. See Series, I. N° III. p. 8.

⁷ Speed's Hist. p. 522. Weever, p. 441. Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 173.

⁸ Weever, l. c.

✠ ANNO AB INCARNA

TIONE DOMINI M^o CLXXXV.

DEDICATA: HEC ECCLESIA IN BONO

REBET: MARIEA DÑO CRACLIO DEI GRĀ

SCE RESURRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRI

ARCBA III IDVS FEBRUARII Q^a CA ANNATIUM.

PETETIB DE IVNTA SPENITETIA LX DIES INDVLSIT.

Temple Church.

N° XIX.

Richard elected abbat of St. Albans, A. D. 1097, and de-funct, A. D. 1119, built a chapel there to the honour of St. Cuthbert, in which he was entombed, with this epitaph :

Abbas Richardus jacet hic, ut pistica nardus

Redolens virtutum floribus et meritis.

A quo fundatus locus est hic, edificatus

Ingenti studio nec modico precio.

Quem nonas decimas Februo promente kalendas

Abstulit ultima fors, et rapuit cita mors ¹.

Dr. Browne Willis says, this abbat died 17 cal. Jun. ², or 16 May: and Matth. Paris, in *Vitis abbatum*, p. 56, agrees with him. Yet the epitaph here expressly says he died 19 kal. of March, or 11 February, for so this passage is to be interpreted, as is plain from N° XV. p. 26. But how March comes to have 19 calends, one is at a loss to imagine, unless it were that the poet found it difficult to express the day by its proper term; or perhaps was loath to vary the form of the verse, for it is evident from a comparison of this epitaph with that of N° XV. that they were both copied from one common original, or some previous composition in vogue at the time when these epitaphs were placed on their respective prelates. This was often the case, as is evident from the appearance of this distich in so many different churches :

Quisquis eris qui transferis ista, perlege, plora,

Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me precor ora.

¹ Weever, p. 558.

² Willis's *Mitred Abbies*, p. 19.

And that whimsical conceit:

Qu A d t D p
o nguis irus rifti ulcedine avit.
H Sa m Ch m l

This chapel, in process of time, became so ruinous that it was in danger of falling. When William de Trumpington, abbat, who acceded A. D. 1214, and died A. D. 1235, rebuilt it, and dedicated it to St. Cuthbert, St. John Baptist, and St. Agnes, that is, he joined to the original Saint two favourite ones of his own. Upon the dedication he caused these verses to be insculped over the high altar:

Confessor Cuthberte Dei, Baptista Johannes,
Agnes virgo, tribus vobis hec ara sacrat^r.

N° XX.

The little village of *Caster*, which stands a mile from the river Nen, seems to have been a part of *Dormanchester*, by the inlaid chequer pavements found there; though we read this more modern inscription upon the church-wall:

XV. KL. MAII DEDICATIO HVIVS ECCLESIAE MCXXIIII.

The fifteenth of the kalends of May, in the year one thousand one hundred twenty-four, was the dedication of this church². But Dr. Stukeley, *Itin. Cur. I.* p. 83. edit. 1776, says it was wrong translated by Mr. Camden, and reads,

XV° KLS MAI. DEDICATIO HVI. ECLE. A. D. M°CXIIII.

and see his print, N° 13. vol. II. In a MS paper in Mr. Gough's

¹ Weever, p. 560.

² Camd. col. 522.

possession,

possession, the doctor says, "the dedication of this church was originally wrote 1100, the 14 is added since."

I have given a new copy of it taken by Mr. Gough, 1782, and inserted in his edition of Camden's Britannia:

XVRI
MAI MEDIO
TIO. HVPECE
AD (D) CXLII

Nº XXI.

Roger de Laci, father of John Laci, earl of Lincoln, died A. D. 1211, and was buried with his wife Maud at the monastery of Stanlaw in Cheshire, which had been founded by them, as appears from the two last lines of the epitaph:

Qui legis, absque morâ pro fundatoribus ora ¹.

The house was removed afterwards to Whalley in Lancashire ²: and *Fundatoribus*, I apprehend, is here used in a lax sense, John earl of Lincoln being the proper founder ³.

¹ Dugd. Bar. I p. 101.

² Tanner, p. 61.

³ Ibidem.

N° XXII.

In Ashbourn church, in the county of Derby, we have the following inscription on a brass plate, seven inches and an half long, and four and an half high :

ANNO AB INCARNACIONE DNI M°CC°XLI°
VIII° KL MAII DEDICATA EST HEC ECC'IA
ET HOC ALTARE CONSECRATUM IN HO-
NORE ¹ S'C'I OSWALDI REGIS ET MARTI
RIS A VENERABILI PATRE DOMINO
HVGONE DE PATISHVL COVENTRENSI
EPISCOPO.

See pl. VI.

The church had been, I suppose, rebuilt at this time, and it carries now the appearance of that age. The vicarage, as I think, was at this time ordained, and some other regulations made.

It is a common persuasion that our churches were always dedicated upon the Saint's day to whom they were sacred. But this is by no means true, since sometimes they are consecrated to Saints whose holydays fell in winter : whereas the solemnity of the dedication was generally performed at a more favorable time of the year ; and even the wake or feast of the dedication, which is always kept in the summer, evidently shews this. But to be more particular ; the viiith of the calends of May, or 24 Apr. was not St. Oswald's day, to whom this church at Ashbourne was sacred ; for his festival was 5 August ².

So the Postling inscription above ³ indicates the church, then dedicated to the blessed Virgin, to have been consecrated 19 kal.

¹ See the first Series, N° X II.

² Wharton, A. S. i. p. 154.

³ P. 22. N° XIII.

ANÞO:ÞB:INCARNACIONE:ÐŪ Ō:CC:XLI
VIII REOŪN:DEDICAZA:EST:HECECCIA
EŌ:ŋOC:ATARE:CONSECRATŪM:IN:ŋO
NORE:SCĪ:OSWALDI:REGIS:ET:OZARZI
RIS:A:VENERABILI:PATRE:DOMINO:
ŋVGONE:DEPAZISHVL:COVENTRENSI
EPISCOPO

Gylbourn.

Fig 1. p. 33.

VXIT O IN AETVM RONTNVS
ELVIS O HO

Fig. 2. p. 115.

Orate p̄ aīa dñi Johis cardes milit⁶ quondam dñi de p̄p̄e cythou
campusle clonze et cotfode et hū² cantuane et capelle
fundator² anno dñi m̄o CCC mo septuagiesmo quarto

Sept. or 14 Aug. the day of St. Eusebius, the very day before the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption.

This consecration ensued very soon upon Otto's injunction, A. D. 1238.

N° XXIII.

Henry III. who rebuilt Westminster Abbey, died 16 Nov. 1273, and this jingling epitaph was annexed to his tomb :

Tertius Henricus jacet hic, pietatis amicus,
Ecclesiam stravit istam, *quam post renovavit*,
Reddet ei munus qui regnat trinus et unus.

Tertius Henricus est templi conditor hujus.

Dulce bellum inexpertis ¹.

At that time a new shrine was made for Edward the Confessor, who was the peculiar patron of king Henry ; and this is noted, together with the name of the artist, in the following lines :

Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod ' Petrus duxit in actum,
Romanus civis,' homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti presentis amicus ².

What is included within the commas was remaining April, 1741, and in June following they were picked out and erased ³. The cavities of the letters on the cement are still very apparent ; and Mr. Gough, 1781, read at the East end, or head of the shrine,

—uxit in actum Romanus civis ho—

cut in the most antient simple Gothic characters of the XIth century, with abbreviations ⁴. In the translation of this in

¹ Weever, p. 455. Archæol. I. p. 34.

² Archæol. I. p. 34. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Sepulch. Monuments of Great Britain, p. 3. whence it is here copied, as pl. VII.

Rapin¹, it is said, *in the year of our Lord 1270*, which must be wrong. The Roman here mentioned was Petrus Cavallini, concerning whom see Mr. George Vertue's memoir in *Archæologia*. I. 34.

N° XXIV.

The Carmelite friary at Norwich was founded A. D. 1256, or 1268², by Philip Cowgate, a merchant there, who became himself a friar there, and died 23 April, 1283, as appears from his epitaph on his tomb³, preserved by John Bale⁴:

Frater Philippus Cowgate magnus mercator, primus
Fundator conventus ante ingressum ordinis, obiit 23 Aprilis,
1283.

N° XXV.

In John Bale's book of the Carmelites, Weever found the foundation of the Carmelite friars at Sandwich in Kent, as also certain *epitaphs* made to the memory of divers of the fraternitie therein interred; in this manner following:

Anno Domini M.CC.LXXII. fundatus erat conventus

Sandwici, per Henricum Cowfeld de Alemania.⁵

We must suppose that wherever there was a convent of friars there was a chapel of course; and both the founder, who it seems was a foreigner settled here probably as a merchant, and the time of the foundation, are expressed in this epitaph, or rather epigraph.

¹ Hist. of Eng. I.

² Tanner, p. 361.

³ Or rather the entry of his death, in John Bale's MS obituary, as in the instance next following.

⁴ See also Weever, p. 807, from whom it is here taken.

⁵ Weever, p. 263.

N° XXVI.

To give another *table*, Mr. Staveley fays, “ in the church of Stoke-Golding, or Goldingham, in the county of Leiceſter, on a table ſet within the wall [in the North aile], there is this inſcription ¹;

ROBERT. DE
CAMPANIA
MIL. ET MARGARE-
TA VXOR EIVS
FILIA ROGERI
DE STOKE MILI-
TIS FVNDARE
RVT HANC EC-
CLESIA IN HO-
NORE S. MARG-
ARETE VIRGI-
NIS TEMP'E ED. I.”

This memorial ſtyles it a church ², though generally eſteemed, and, as Mr. Burton has it, a chapel within the pariſh of Hinckley in the ſame county. The founders, the Saint, and the time, are all mentioned, but the laſt not precifely; whence I conceive the Table was written in an after-age.

N° XXVII.

It is with the utmoſt diffidence I adduce the following notices from York; for though, as we have ſeen, Tablets where there was no other memorial of the Patron-Saint, were directed

¹ Mr. Staveley's copy being erroneous, the inſcription is here printed as tranſcribed by Mr. Nichols in September 1781.

² The pariſh of Stoke is in every reſpect diſtinct, except that the rectory of Stoke and the vicarage of Hinckley ſtill continue to be united in the ſame perſon. See Mr. Nichols's Hiſtory of Hinckley, p. 91.

to be affixed in churches¹, yet the Tablets in our cathedrals, being compositions framed oftentimes long after the events they were designed to commemorate, have been found to be legendary, and not always to be depended upon without good and sufficient collateral evidence. These at York, however, have the good fortune of being so corroborated, and therefore I thought I might be justified in exhibiting them.

John Le Romain, archbishop of York, was a great Benefactor to the church of York, for ‘*History* informs us,’ says Mr. Drake, ‘that April 7, 1291, the foundation of the nave of this great church of St. Peter was laid from the west end eastward; there being then present, John le Romain archbishop, Henry de Newark dean, and Peter de Rofs precentor of the church; the rest of the canons in their richest copes attending;’ before whom the said archbishop, invoking the grace of the Holy Ghost, in great devotion laid the first stone with his own hands². This is agreeable to the account the *Table* bears, which still hangs up in the vestry, containing these words:

An. Dom. MCCXCI.

Inceptum est novum opus corporis eccl. Ebor.
per Johannem Romanum Archiepiscopum ejusdem.
Et infra XL annos quasi completum per Will-
ielmum de Melton Archiepiscopum³.

The Tablet, you observe, discovers nothing but the date, the name of the founder, and the time the building took up in erecting, and consequently was penned long after the fact it concerns.

¹ Th. Stubbs.

² See the former Series, N° IV.

³ Drake’s Eborac. p. 473.

After the nave of the church of York was finished, the choir continued in deformity, and was no way answerable to the west end of the church lately erected; whereupon archbishop John Thoresby laid the first stone of a new choir, July 21, 1361; and the Table in the vestry bears this testimony of it:

“An. Dom. M CCC.LXI. inceptum est novum opus chori eccl.
“Ebor. per Johan. de Thoresby Archiepiscopum ¹.”

N^o XXVIII.

Over the entrance into the porch of Hawkesworth church, in Nottinghamshire, is ingraven on a stone:

“Gauterus et uxor ejus Cecelina fecerunt facere ² ecclesiam
“istam in honorem Domini nostri Jesu, et beatæ Mariæ Virginis
“et omnium sanctorum Dei simul ³.”

This fabric, I suppose, was sacred to All Saints, though Dr. Browne Willis does not afford us the Patron ⁴; it being not unusual, as was observed before, for God, or Jesus, as here, and St. Mary, to be joined with the proper patron of the church.

As to the time, and the founders Gauterus and his wife Cecelina, it is difficult to determine these. Part of this town was soc to Aflactune of Walter de Ayncourt's fee; but the name of the wife of the first Walter D'Ayncourt, who came in with the

¹ Drake's Eborac. p. 473.

² The active for the passive is common in these times. So the French *feire fist* in the Baldock inscription, N^o XXIX. Memoirs of Roger de Weicham, p. 58. Annal. Dunst. p. 313. R. Swapham, p. 105, ter; 107, bis; 112. Tho. Sprut, p. 260. Hoveden, p. 665. Hence the Saxon, *Elfred mee heht grewyrca*. Hickes Thes. I. p. 142. Mr. Sparke suspects a fault in R. Swapham, p. 104. So also p. 98; he notes *ita MS.* but without just cause.

³ Thoroton, p. 137.

⁴ Willis, Cathedr. I. p. 213.

Conqueror,

Conqueror, was Maud ¹; and indeed the church at Hawkesworth seems not to have been in being then; for when his son Ralph D'Ayncourt founded the priory at Thurgarton, and gave all his churches to that foundation, Hawkesworth is not named amongst them ². So that one would suppose the person intended in the inscription was his grandson Walter D'Ayncourt, who flourished 14. Henry II. But, after all, the Inscription may appertain to Walter De Aflacton; for Walter, son of William de Aflacton ³, which family held the fee of Deyncourt in Hawkworth ⁴, was a benefactor to Thurgarton; and, though he is not mentioned in the genealogy of this family of Aflacton given us by Mr. Thoroton, p. 138, yet he certainly belonged to it, and might flourish about the reign of Edward I. or II. as his donation to Thurgarton was confirmed by king Edward III. ⁵. Dr. Thoroton also mentions, p. 307, Walter son of Pagan de Aflacton, who probably was of the same family, and might be the person we are enquiring after. So intricate is this affair.

¹ Thoroton, p. 111.

² Ibid. p. 110. 302.

³ Ibid. p. 136; but p. 303. he is called Walter, son of Walter, son of William.

⁴ Ibid. p. 136.

⁵ Ibid. p. 303.

N° XXIX.

The church of Baldock in Hertfordshire, it seems, was built, though the precise time be not known, by Reginald de Argentein, as appeared from a stone in the middle aisle there, with a cross fleury. The inscription round it is thus given by Weever ¹:

Reignauld de Argentein ci gift
Qui cest chappell feire ² fist
Fuit chevalier Sainct Mairie
Chescini ³ pardon pour l'alme prie.

And thus by him translated :

Reginald de Argentyne here is laid,
That caused this chappell to be made.
He was a knight of Seynt Mary the Virgin,
Therefore prey pardon for his sin.

But this is a gross mistake. What remained of this inscription, 1783, shews that he was a knight, and that the Virgin Mary is to be intreated for his soul by every good man. It is to be read thus:

Reynaud: de: Argenten: ci: gift:
- - - - chapele: fere: fist:
Fu: chevaler: Seynt: - - -
Prodom: ky: pur: alme: prie:

or *Prodom* may be *Pardone*, and *Fu* may be *Pru* for *Preu* ⁴.

As this inscription is in old French, I conceive it may belong to the 13th or 14th century.

¹ P. 554.

² See N° XXVIII. p. 37.

³ *Chescun*, or *Chacun*.

⁴ See Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, p. cxvii.

N° XXX.

The chapel at Cressy hall in Surfleet in Holland in the county of Lincoln, Dr. Stukeley says, 'is old, *built* or licensed at least 'anno 1309, as the inscription over the door tells us ¹.'

N° XXXI.

When the sanctuary church at Westminster was pulled down, A. D. 1750, a stone was found there, and viewed by Dr. Stukeley in 1751, on which was fairly cut,

MCCCXXIII.

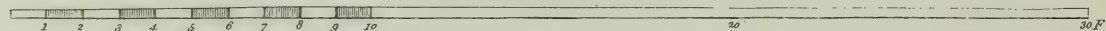
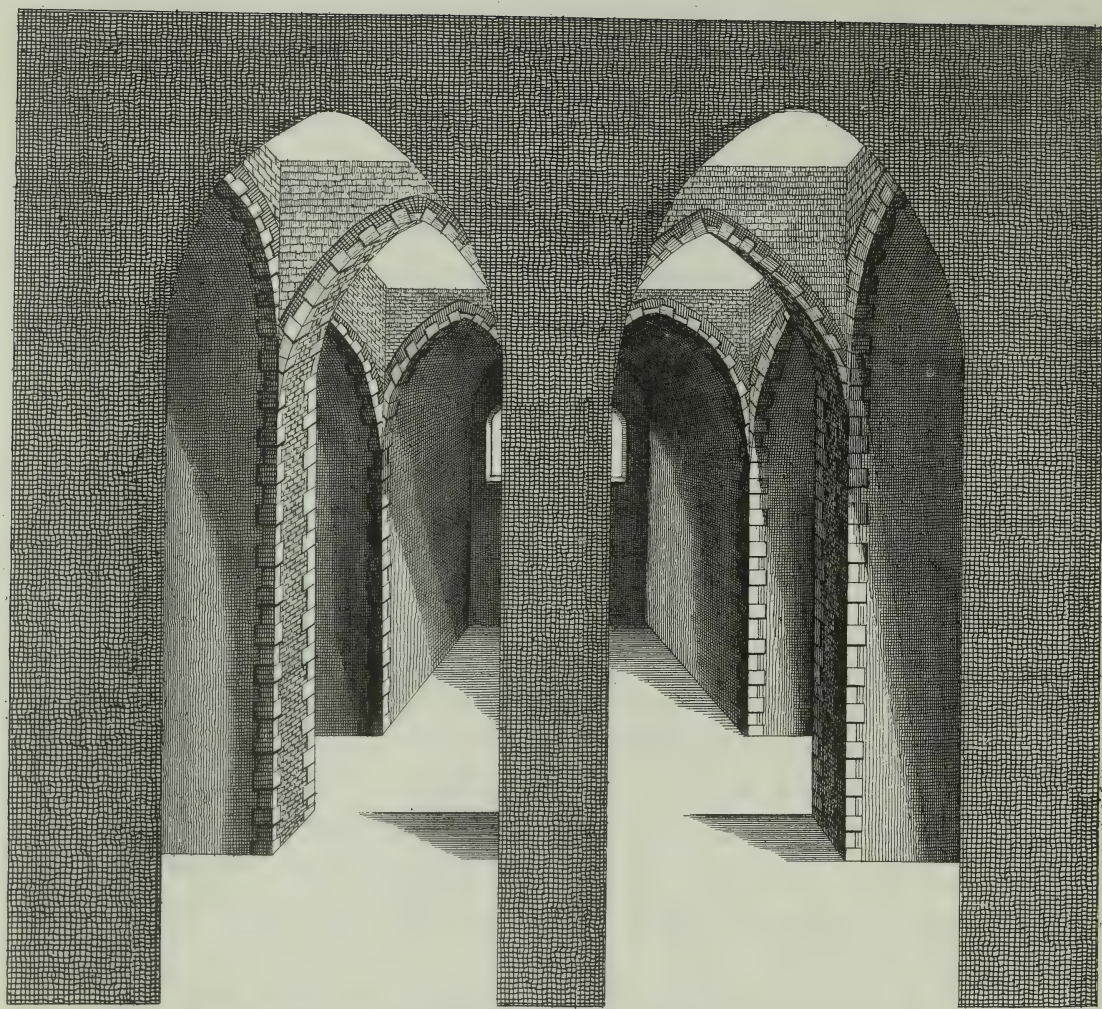
which the doctor esteemed to be the date of some reparation of the lower church; a real foundation stone, or consecration stone, being *always* affixed in a compartment over a door, or in a more conspicuous place ².

Dr. Stukeley supposed this building to have been erected by the Confessor, when he built the first abbey church at Westminster, and the peculiar purpose of it to have been the asylum or sanctuary of those who fled to the cathedral; or it may be much older. It went afterwards by the name of the *Clochard*, or belfry, to which use Edward III. converted it (Stowe says about 1347), or rather built a dome on the S. E. corner, over the old stair-case, for bells. Mr. Widmore found it called the Belfry, in a charter of Edward I, 1290; and supposed it used as such, till Islip built the present towers ³. Mr. Vertue,

¹ Itin. I. p. 18. The Dr. (Ibid. p. 21.) says, he has a copy of the foundation of the church of Quapode in the county of Lincoln. One knows not what he means by these words, unless it be the endowment of the chapel as a parish church by the abbots of Croyland.

² Archæol. I. p. 41.

³ P. 12.



*A View of the Vaults under the Old Tower called the Quaker's Tavern
in the Almonry at Westminster.*

in a letter to Dr. Ducarel, dated June 22, 1750, was of the same opinion, and that this bellfrey was, like that at Salisbury, a distinct building from the church. Mr. Widmore thus writes to the same, May 8, 1750: "There is likewise in the sanctuary a stone building', used at present, and for more than 200 years past, as the cellar of a tavern, called *The Quaker's tavern*, the side or front of which toward the church being now of late by the pulling down of some houses laid open, carries the appearance of great antiquity, and by some hath been imagined to have been a chapel, and even older than the present building of the church. The time I find it mentioned is in a charter of Edward I. dated December 3, a. r. 9. It is there called the Belfrey (*Berefredum*), and it continued to be used as such, or at least to go by that name, till the present towers at the west end of the church were built by abbot Islip."

N^o XXXII.

In the north window of Buckland church, Hertfordshire, near the pulpit, was the following inscription:

Nicholi de Bokeland², qui istam ecclesiam cum capella Beate Mariæ construxit, anno Dom. 1348³.

¹ A view of the vaults under the old tower of this curious building is here annexed (Plate VIII.) from an original drawing in the collection of Nathaniel Chauncy, esq.

² Mr. Salmon, History of Hertfordshire, p. 304, 305, says, "In the north window, where is the inscription for Nicolas de Bokeland, is in little the figure of a man in armour; and above, within a round bordure of Azure; a field of a sort of Ermine, 2 falcons perched Or, their breasts toward one other, their heads turned backward. In this we find the same Nicolas de Bokeland built also the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary; where this stood we are not informed; but as there is part of one at *Cheping*, in this parish, now converted to a barn, we may presume it was this. There is no mention of this Nicholas in the register as patron of the living, which he must probably have been if he built the church, nor any of his name that presented to it about this time." But he may have been lord of the manor, as the succession is interrupted from the reign of Edward III. to that of Edward IV. or he may have had other reasons for his munificence.

³ Newcourt, Repertor. I. 813. Chauncy, p. 116.

We are to suppose the words *Orate pro anima* were prefixed to this inscription, but were broken and gone ; as is every fragment of painting in the windows of this church.

N° XXXIII.

John Lord Cobham, who died 1407, last Lord Cobham of that surname, was the builder of Cowling castle, and the founder of Cobham college, in Kent. This last foundation, A. D. 1362¹, is just mentioned in the French inscription on his monument in the church at Cobham, which he repaired in the handsome manner in which it at present appears :

[De terre fust fait et fourme]

Est in terre [retourne

Cobham founder de ceste place]

Mercy de m'alme² eyt le Seint Trinite.

The words in hooks are supplied from Weever³ and Thorpe. His figure in brass holding the church in his hand, is here copied in plate IX. by permission of Mr. Thorpe, from a valuable work of his, now in the press, under the title of “ Antiquities in Kent, “ within the Diocese of Rochester,” intended as a companion to his father's “ Registrum Roffense.”

The circumstance of his founding the college is noticed also occasionally in the following epitaphs on the successive lords of this manor, his immediate heirs, in the church of this place :

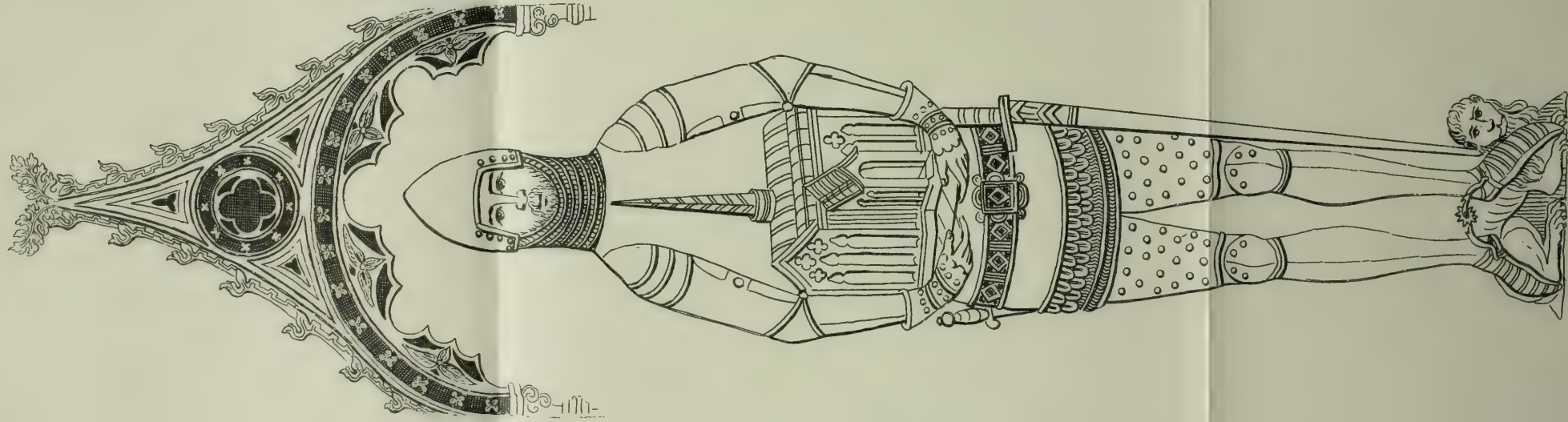
Hic jacet d'ns Reginaldus Braybroke, miles, filius Gerardi
Braybroke, militis, ac maritus d'ne Johanne de Cobhm,
heredis d'ni Johannis de Cobhm, *fundatoris istius Col[legii:*
qui quidem] Reginaldus obiit apud Myddelburgh in
Flandria viceffimo die mensis Sept[embris anno] mil-

¹ Tanner, Notitia, p. 226.

² *Mesme*, Weever.

³ Weever, p. 328.

Jehan de cobham foundeur de ceste place qui fut nommée & Mercy de malmie o est la semte Grinite



De terre sup lait et fourme & Et en verre a terre sup retournee

Imo quadringentifimo quinto. Cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen. AMEN.¹.

And again in this :

Hic jacet [Nicholau]s Hawberk, miles, quondam maritus d'ne Johanne de Cobhm, heredis d'ni Joh'is de Cobhm, fundatoris [istius Collegii, qui quidem] Nicholaus obiit apud Castrum de Cowling² nono Octobris, anno Domini millmo quadringentesimo septimo³, cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.

N° XXXIV.

The church of Wanlip, in Leicestershire, was founded before 1393, as may be collected from the following inscription on a flat stone, given us by Mr. Staveley, p. 138, in the chancel of the said church :

' Here lies Thomas Wallis, knight, lord of Anlip, and Dame
' Katrin his wife, which in her time made the kirk of Anlip,
' and hallowed the kirkend first, in worship of God, and
' our Lady, and Seint Nicholas, That God have their souls
' and mercy. An. Dn'i millesimo ccc nonagesimo tertio.'

Somewhat differing from that which Mr. Burton⁴ gives upon the place :

' Here lyeth Thomas Walsh, knight, and Dame Katharine
' his wife, who in their time made the kirk of Wanlip,
' and hallowed it and the church-yard, to the worship of
' God and Saint Nicholas, 1393⁵.'

¹ Regist. Roff. p. 764. This inscription is given from a copy of it in its present state taken by Mr. Gough, supplied from Weever and Thorpe. Weever, p. 329. Reg. Roff. lb.

² Weever omits *de Cowling*.

³ Weever adds *die*.

⁴ Whose inscriptions, as far as I have had opportunities of comparing them, are very little to be depended on for accuracy; nor do those of Staveley, taking them in general, appear much preferable. J. N.

⁵ Burton, Descript. of Leicestershire, p. 299.

The act is here ascribed both to the man and his wife; and in the following inscription, in the east window, produced also by Mr. Burton ¹, it is attributed to him solely:

‘Orate pro anima Thomæ Walsſh, militis, qui hoc templum
‘fieri fecit M.CCC.LXXXXIII. et pro anima Katherinæ uxoris
‘ejus.’

Whence I suppose *in her time*, as given by Mr. Staveley, means *in their time*, *her* being then often used for *their*, as *bern* was for *them*, &c. However, we have here the builder, the time, and the faint; whereupon it is to be observed, that God and Saint Mary were joined, in Mr. Staveley’s copy, with the peculiar faint, as was common.

Nº XXXV.

William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal ², who died July 31, 1395 ³, founded the college of Maidstone, where he was buried under a plain grave-stone (a lowly tombe, says Mr. Weever, for such an high-born prelate), upon which his pourtraiture is delineated [I suppose in brass], and this epitaph inlaid with brass about the verge:

Nomine Willelmus en Courtnaius reverendus,
Qui se post obitum legaverat hic tumulandum,
In presenti loco quam jam fundarat ab imo
Omnibus et sanctis titulo sacrauit honoris.
Ultima lux Julii fit vite terminus illi.
M. ter C. quinto decies nonoque sub anno ⁴.

¹ Burton, Descript. of Leicestershire, p. 298.

² This last preferment, which took place 1378, while he was bishop of London, I suppose, is true, as Walsingham, p. 219, Fuller, Weever, bishop Godwin, all note it. Yet Parker, Somner, and Battely, are silent.

³ Weever has 1396, which accords not with the epitaph. Yet Somner also gives it so, as does Mr. Battely, p. 74, who, by an evident mistake, makes him also to have been translated that year to Canterbury.

⁴ Weever, p. 285.

The college at Maidstone, it seems, was sacred to All Saints, and was re-built by the Archbishop before the year 1395. And one would suppose, from the words of the above epitaph, that the founder was there interred; but Mr. Somner has shewn, he was buried at Canterbury ¹, so that this monument at Maidstone is only a cenotaph; or he may have erected the tomb and devised the inscription in his life; for the king being at Canterbury when he was to be buried over-ruled the archbishop's own appointment, and ordered that his body should be deposited in his cathedral.

N° XXXVI.

David Kenric, born at Ashley, in the county of Stafford, was a soldier under Edward the Black Prince; and ‘notwithstanding,’ says Dr. Plott, ‘the little piety that attends the camp, was the ‘founder or re-builder of this church [of Ashley], where there ‘remains to this day a statue of him to the shoulders, and ‘against the wall within such a border as is commonly put about ‘the *Sentences* in churches, this inscription *in perpetuam rei ‘memoriam* :

Manubias Deo.

David Kenricus (pietas ejus memoriæ)

Hoc virtutis *premiolum* dicavit.

Mira cano, pietas sævis reperitur in armis;

Ædificat bellum sternere quod soleat.

Hanc sacram struxit *miles* memorabilis ædem,

Principe sub *nigro*, quem meruisse ferunt.

David Kenricus, Davide beatior illo,

Templum cui superis ædificare nefas ².

¹ Somner, p. 135. Battely, p. 74. Parker, p. 405.

² Plott's Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, p. 295.

This founder flourished, it seems, in the time of the Black Prince, and therefore I give the inscription here; but the composition is of a much more recent cast, and no doubt was placed here many ages after the erection of the fabric of the church. It contains, however, a memorial of the founder of this church, with a lax denotation of the time of its building or re-building.

N° XXXVII.

Edward duke of York, in the second year of the reign of king Henry V. built the fair church at Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire, as appears by an inscription there, in rude and barbarous verses, as Mr. Camden terms them; which being omitted by him, are here given as transcribed in June, 1786, by the Rev. John Pridden, F. S. A.¹

In Festi Martyrii processu Martiniani,
Ecclesiæ prima fuit hujus Petra locata;
Anno Christi primocentum quatuor ac mille,
Cum deca quinta Henrici quinti tunc imin-
-ente secundo.²

These lines only convey to us the year and day of laying the first stone of the building, 1415; and, homely as they are at best, they are very faultily transcribed by Mr. Staveley²:

Nor are they better taken in Dr. Stukeley's Itinerary, I. p. 35.

In festo Martyrii processus Martiniani
Ecclesiæ prima fuit hujus petra locata
Anno Christi primum centum ac mille,
Cum deca quinta H. V. tunc imminente 2da.

¹ See the History of that town, in Mr. Nichols's Bibl. Brit. Top. N° XL. p. 33.

² Who gives *processu ecclesiæ Ao quinto*, p. 140.

N° XXXVIII.

Sir Richard Whittington built and founded a college in London, about A. D. 1424, by new building the church of St. Michael Pater Noster in the Royall, and making it the college of St. Spirit and St. Mary. His epitaph expresses this transaction thus :

Flos mercatorum, fundator presbyterorum

Sic et egenorum, testis fit cetus eorum.

Omnibus exemptum barathrum vincendo malosum ¹,

Condedit hoc templum Michaelis quod speciosum, &c. ² :

N° XXXIX.

Simon Eyre, Lord Mayor, A. D. 1445, built Leaden-Hall for a common granary for the city, and a fair large chapel on the east side of the square, 'over the porch whereof was painted, *Dextra Domini exaltavit me* ; and on the north wall, *Honorandus famosus mercator Symon Eyre, hujus operis fundator* ³.' He died A. D. 1459.

N° XL.

'In the church of St. Laurence in Ipswich,' says Mr. Staveley, citing Weever's Funeral Monuments ⁴, 'not long since, upon the removal of a pew, a stone was found, whereon was engraven this epitaph :

Subjacet hic lapide John Bottold vir probus ipse,

Ipsius ⁵ ecclesiæ primus inceptor fuit iste.

Cujus anime Domine misereris tu bone Christe.

Obiit M.cccc.xxxi littera dominicalis G.'

¹ *Molosum*, Weever.

Weever, p. 412.

⁵ *Ipsius*. Weever, rectè.

² Weever, p. 407, seq.

⁴ Stowe's Survey of London, p. 163.

The founder is here only mentioned with a vague and lax date, whence we only learn the church was built some years before 1431.

N° XLI.

John de Whethamsted was chosen abbat of St. Alban's A. D. 1420, and resigned A. D. 1440, being the sixth abbat of his name. He built a chapel for the convent, and therein had these lines inscribed:

Turma senectutis, plebs egra, cohorsque salutis
In vestris precibus aræ sacra cum celebratis,
Hanc propter fabricam sextum memorate Johannem ¹.

This abbat repaired, or rather built anew, the church of Redburne, and re-consecrated the altar, over which these verses were written upon the wall:

In semel X terno C quater I quoque querno
Ara refecrata, domus hec variisque novata ².

I suppose the date intended is mccccxxxiiii, *querno* being put for *quaterno*, and *refecrata* for re-consecrated, a word seldom occurring.

N° XLII.

William Boydale, vicar of Chiswick, founded the Belfrey there, as appears from his epitaph:

Hic jacet Will. Boydale, principalis vicarius hujus ecclesie,
Et fundator campanilis ejusdem, qui ob. 15 Octob. 1435.

¹ Weever, p. 564.

² Ibid. p. 565.

N° XLIII.

John Barton the younger founded a chapel in the church of Thornton, in the county of Bucks, and under the effigies of a man and woman, kneeling at desks in the east window, was written :

Orate pro Johanne Barton, juniore, Domino de Thornton, conditore istius capelle, et pro Isabella, uxore ejus, quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.

This founder's will is dated 1433, and it was in pursuance thereof that the said chapel was erected ¹.

N° XLIV.

The chapel of the church of Woolwich, and the belfrey or steeple, were built some time before 1464, by William Prene, rector of that church :

Hic jacet Dominus Will. Prene, rector hujus ecclesie, viz. tempore regis Edwardi quarti, et postea rector ecclesie de Lymming, qui fieri fecit istam capellam et campanile hujus ecclesie, et in vita sua multa alia bona ob. 1 die Decemb. 1464 ².

This church was re-built about 1736, and this memorial lost ³.

N° XLV.

Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, whilst he was bishop of London, built the chapel, or upper end of the church at Sudbury, as appears by this inscription in the glass window :

¹ Willis, History of Bucks, p. 301. but I presume the date of the will should be 1433, for archbishop Chicheley was not living A. D. 1443, from whose register Dr. Willis cites; and see p. 302.

² Weever, p. 337.

³ Thorpe Reg. Roff. 973. Haisted's Kent, I. 48.

Orate pro Domino Symone Thepold, alias Sudbury, qui istam capellam fundavit, anno Domini M.CCCC.LXV, in commemoratione ¹ omnium animarum dedicat, dat, consecrat ².

This is very full, the time, the founder, and the patron, being all expressed.

N° XLVI.

The chapel, or fide isle of the church of Shoreham, in Kent, was founded by Thomas Buckland, as we learn from this inscription on his tomb, extant in Weever's time ³, but not to be found in Mr. Thorpe's list ⁴.

Orate pro bono statu Thome Buckland istius capelle fundatoris, et . . . uxoris.

Preston, in this parish, was the seat of an eminent family, says Philipot, called Buckland, who bore for their cognifance, Arg. an Eagle S. beaked and unguled Or ⁵. Sir Thomas de Buckland of this place had Buckland in Maidstone, and Buckland likewise in *Ludsdowen*, and flourished in the reign of Edward the Third, and in several deeds, to which he was witness, subscribes himself *miles*. In brief, after this family had continued possessors of this mansion, until the latter end of Henry the Sixth, it devolved to Thomas Buckland, who dying without issue male, Alice, his only daughter and heir, by matching with Thomas Polhil, of Polhil-street, in Derling, cast it into the inheritance of that family ⁶; and this last Thomas Buckland, I presume, was about Edward IV's time, or A. D. 1470, the founder of this chapel; the church of Shoreham, which gives name to the deanery, having been erected long before.

¹ As in *honore* above. See Series I. N° X. p. 17.

² Weever, p. 743.

³ Ibid. p. 331.

⁴ Reg. Ross. p. 1012.

⁵ Philipot's Villare Cant. p. 328.

⁶ Ibid.

N° XLVII.

“ The church of St. Mary Radcliffe, at Bristol, famed,” says Mr. Staveley ¹, “ for the prime and most beautiful parish then in England, was built 1474, by William Cannings, merchant, citizen and alderman, and five times mayor of Bristol ; but in his old age took upon him the order of priesthood.” The inscriptions on his tomb in this church have never been printed, nor have I been able to obtain a copy of them.

N° XLVIII.

“ In the church of St. Laurence in Ipswich, not long since, upon the removal of a pew, a stone was found, whereon was engraven this epitaph :

*Subjacet hic lapide Jobn Bottold, vir probus ipse.
Istius ecclesie primus inceptor fuit iste,
Cujus anime Domine misereris hic bone Christe,
Obiit MCCCCXXXI litera dominicalis G. 2.*”

N° XLIX.

15 Edward IV. 1475, Alice, dutchess of Suffolk, widow of duke William Delapole, departed this life, upon the 9th of June, and was buried in the parish church of Ewelme in the county of Oxford, on the south side of the high altar, under a rich tomb of alabaster, with her image thereon, in the habit of a vowess crowned, and this epitaph :

Orate pro anima serenissimæ principissæ Aliciæ
Ducissæ Suffolciæ, hujus ecclesiæ patronæ ³ ; et primæ
Fundatricis hujus elemosynariæ ⁴ ; quæ obiit xx die
Mensis Maii, an. MCCCCLXXV, litera dominicali A.”

¹ P. 140.

² Ibid.

³ Not *fundatoris*, as Dugdale most incorrectly cites Leland. Bar. II. p. 189.

⁴ This hospital, contiguous to the church, is erroneously said to have been founded on her estate at Ewelme by her *husband*. Dugd. Bar. II. p. 187.

We have this inscription from Leland¹; for it has been long torn off the tomb, which still remains, with a beautiful figure of the dutchefs.

N° L.

Ashford, in Kent.

‘ How ancient the first foundation of this church is, I am not able to say, but it is certain the fabrick that now is was repaired at least, if not re-built, at the proper costs and charge of Sir John Fogge, knight, a gentleman of this parish, who was buried in this church. There being no date remaining on his tomb, and there having been several Sir John Fogges of that family, I know not how to fix exactly the time of the church’s foundation; but if the same Sir John Fogge built both church and college, as very probably he did, he was comptroller of the house, and privy counsellor to king Edward IV. who began his reign 1460, and died A. D. 1483; and by the best discovery I can make of the time in which the church was built, it was toward the latter end of the aforesaid king’s reign.’

Here follows the epitaph of the above Sir John Fogge, from his tomb in the chancel at Ashford. There were four verses about the verge, but two only remain :

Edwardi quarti regis specialis amator,
Semper catholicus populi vulgaris amicus.

On the north side of the monument are these lines, which are most to our purpose :

Plenius hic sequitur : quid fecerat iste Johannes²,
Sumptibus ex propriis : hanc ecclesiam renovavit,
Cum campanili : quod funditus edificavit;
Pluribus atque libris chorus hic per eum veneratur,

¹ Itin. II. 5, 6, 7.

² This shews that the two lost lines about the verge contained his name, and probably the date of his death, which otherwise would be wanting.

Dr. William Warren’s papers in the college at Ashford.

Ac ornamentis altare Dei decoratur,
Vestibulum ditans, et plura jocalia donans,
Ut patet intuitu pro posteribus memoranda
Ad laudem Domini, cui nunc fit laus et in evum. Amen.

I think it very plain that Sir John Fogge did not build the church, but only repaired it. On the outside of the church-porch are the arms of Fogge, a Fesse charged with three Mulletts between three Annulets.

N° LI.

The church of Great Chart, in Kent, had, it is said, a number of founders; for ‘ in a north window of the north chapell have
‘ beene, says Weever, sixteen pourtraitures of men in glasse, all
‘ kneeling, whereof most remaine, whose names are as followeth:
‘ *Jobannes Webb, Jobannes Hofewyff, Thomas Wred, Jobannes Tur-*
‘ *lepyn, Willelmus Malemayne, Jobannes Litibey, Jobannes Bockon,*
‘ *Jobannes Cbillinton, Jobannes Atte, Jobannes Yardberst,* In
‘ midst of whom, as the priests then are, *Dominus Ricbardus*
‘ *Medburst, and Dominus Walterus Wilcock.* Now, as it goes by
‘ tradition from the father to the sonne, these were the builders
‘ of the church ¹.’ But this cannot be fact, for the orthography
of these names do not betoken any great antiquity, and there-
fore I should rather suppose they contributed to the glasing and
embellishment of this window, and are here commemorated as
such benefactors are in a number of other churches.

James Goldwell, however, born at this place, rector of its
church ², and afterwards bishop of Norwich, was a ‘ *Repairer*
‘ of this church, as appears by this broken inscription in the top
‘ cross window :

‘ Magistro Jacobo Goldwell ecclesie Sancti Pauli,
‘ London. qui hoc opus repara’³

¹ Weever, p. 296.

² Blomefield Norf. II. 383. from a MS. in Caius Coll. Library at Cambridge.

³ Weever, ubi sup.

Mr. Newcourt says, 'he repaired, and for the most part re-built the church of Great Chart in Kent, and died A. D. 1498'; but this work was performed, as is evident from the inscription, whilst he was only prebendary of St. Paul's, viz. before 1472, when he resigned his last prebend and the archdeaconry of Essex². But he was a benefactor to this church after he was made a bishop, for 'in the east window it is thus to be read in the glass:

'Memoriale reverendi patris Domini Jacobi Goldwell, episcopi
'Norwici³.

'And in the midst of the east-window, in the south chapel of this church, is the picture of the foresaid bishop Goldwell, kneeling, and in every quarry a golden well or fountain (his rebus or name devise), and cross the window inscribed,

'- - - - Jacobo Goldwell, episcopo Norwicen. qui - - - opus
'fundavit, ann. Christi M.CCCC.LXXVII.'

'whereby, says Weever, it appears, that this bishop was founder of this chapel. The corner stone of the foundation of this chapel on the outside is made like a grave-stone, with a cross cut thereupon⁴.'

I imagine, upon the whole, that James Goldwell had only repaired the window mentioned in the first inscription above whilst he was prebendary of St. Paul's, and that the rest of his performances at this place were done in 1477, after he was bishop.

² Newcourt's Repertorium, I. p. 71, and Godwin, p. 440.

³ Ibid

³ Weever, l.c.

⁴ Ibid.

Nº LII.

John Cowal, rector of Stratton St. Michael's, in Norfolk, A. D. 1487, re-built the chancel there, as we are informed by his tomb-stone in the middle thereof, the brass now loose :

‘ Orate pro anima Johannis Cowal, quondam ¹ rectoris
 ‘ istius ecclesie, qui istam cancellam de novo fieri fecit,
 ‘ anno Domini M.cccc.lxxxvii, et pro quibus tenetur
 ‘ orare . . . ².

The last clause, *et pro quibus tenetur orare*, is very particular. I should suppose the founder, in collecting money for the erection of his building, had engaged to pray for the souls of such as were disposed to be benefactors; and, besides fulfilling his promise in his own person whilst he lived, is hereby willing to devolve the same office on all Christian people whatsoever, that should happen to read his epitaph.

He died 1509 ³.

¹ *Nuper*, late. Mr. Hearne, Præf. ad Annal. Dunst. p. 1x. from these words in the annals, ‘ Eodem anno [M.ccc.xlii] quinto idus Aprilis mortuus est bonæ memoræ Ricardus de Morins, quondam prior de Dunstaple,’ collects, first, very rightly, that Richard died A. D. 1242, and then, very wrongly, that the word *quondam* shews he was out of his office when he died; but *quondam* here only means *late* prior of Dunstaple, without implying any thing of a resignation, as Mr. Hearne contends. See those Annals, p. 288. Chron. Petriburg. p. 98. also the epitaphs on tombstones perpetually in Somner’s Antiquities of Canterbury, Mr. Drake’s Eboracum, and Browne Willis’s Survey of Cathedrals, where, besides the frequent use of *quondam* in this sense, you will find *nuper* and *quondam* applied promiscuously. See also M. Paris in Vitis Abbat. S. Alb. p. 136. sæpe.

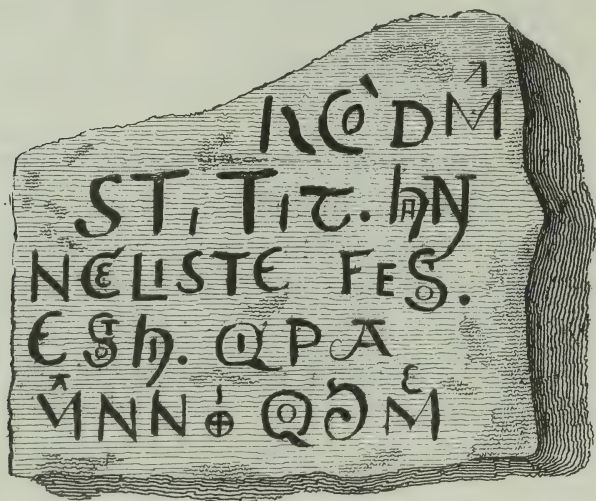
² Weever, p. 814.

³ Blomefield, III. p. 132.

N° LIII.

On a square Stone in the Steeple of ST. GEORGE'S Church in Southwark, pulled down, A. D. 1733, in order to be re-built, was the inscription here exhibited as plate X.

Plate X. p. 56.



I received it many years ago from the Rev. Mr. John Lewis, vicar of Margate in Kent¹; but it is so mutilated, that I dare not attempt to fill it up, and can only say that it seems to import that an alderman of London laid the first stone, or perhaps erected the steeple, on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist. The name of the founder, and the date of the year, if it ever was expressed, is now irrecoverable, insomuch that one is at a loss where to place it properly².

¹ Copies of it were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Frederick, 1734, and by Mr. Ames, 1737, and from their minutes it was engraved in plate XIII. of *Archaeologia*, vol. II. where Mr. Gough adduces it as a specimen of the combination of letters derived from the Romans, and used by us in the 11th and 12th centuries.

² See Heylin's *St. George asserted*, p. 293, 294.

Nº LIV.

King James IV. of Scotland, A. D. 1500, erected and dedicated a church on the bank of the Tweed, in the jubilee year, in consequence of a vow to the Virgin Mary, when he was in danger of drowning in crossing the Tweed, from an intrigue with the lady of Ford castle, A. D. 1500, 'according to an old inscription upon the church, mostly now defaced'.

"This Gothic structure is much admired. It is entirely of stone; the roof rests on what the masons here call *point cast* arches, which are supported by 19 buttresses. William Robertson, esq; proprietor of a large estate in the parish of Ladykirk, added a handsome steeple, 1743, and paved the greatest part of the church with stone at his own expence, 1763."

Nº LV.

'King Henry the Seventh (they are the words of John Weever, for the burial only of himself, his children, and their posterity, adjoyned thereunto [to the church of Westminster-abbey] a chappell, which, in regard of the beauty, and curious contrived work thereof, is called of Leland *orbis miraculum*, the wonder of the world. The first stone of this admirable structure, consecrated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, was laid by the hands of John Islip, abbot of this monastery, Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter, and others, in the 15th year of his reign, the 24th day of January, upon which stone this inscription was engraven :

¹ Notes on Flodden Field, published by Robert Lambe, p. 95.

Illustrissimus Henricus Septimus rex Anglie et Francie, et
 Dominus Hibernie, posuit hanc petram in honore ¹ beate
 Virginis Marie xxiiii die Januarii, anno Domini mccccxii,
 et anno dicti regis Henrici Septimi decimo octavo ².

N° LVI.

The hospital of the Savoy, London, re-built and endowed;
 A. D. 1505, by king Henry VII. had a chapel belonging to it,
 erected at the same time; and concerning both, this inscription
 was fixed over the gate towards the street:

1505 ³.

Hospitium hoc inopi turbe Savoia vocatum

Septimus Henricus fundavit ab imo solo ⁴.

which I presume ought to be read, as the metre requires,

Septimus Henricus solo fundavit ab imo.

Yet Newcourt gives it as above; but then he copies there from
 John Weever.

The hospital being suppressed by Edward VI. a little before
 his death, was refounded by Mary, 1557, when “the ladies of
 “the court and maidens of honour stored the same of new
 “with beds, bedding, and other furniture, in very ample manner.”
 Upon the accession of Elizabeth, the chapel of this hospital was
 converted into a parish church, for the tenements thereof near
 adjoining, and others ⁵. The rest was appropriated to barracks,
 and for the German and French protestants to meet in ⁶. The hall

¹ See Series I. N° X. p. 17.

² Weever, p. 450.

³ Maitland has it, 1509, p. 1338, *malè*; for see Tanner's Notit. p. 326.

⁴ Weever, p. 445. Newcourt, I. p. 696.

⁵ Weever, p. 446. Maitland, p. 1338.

⁶ See the plan and views of this hospital published by the Society of Antiquaries,
 1750, Vet. Mon. II. pl. 12, 13, 14.

served

Amſy - et - meule - peult - eltre
Thom's Rolletō petit - orones

hocoꝝ icept . ꝑ Thoma
Rolleton à dñi 1516

Mayfield?

served as a warehouse to Mr. Nutt, who resided as a printer under the law patent; and in 1776, being then occupied by Messrs Cox and Bigg, printers, was so much damaged by an accidental fire, that it has since been entirely pulled down.

N° LVII.

On the west side of the steeple of the church of Mayfield, in Staffordshire, we read cut in stone, in the black letter, above the window :

Ainsy et mieule peult estre.
Thom's Rolleston' petit orones.

And below, or under the window, is written :

Hoc op' i'cept' p Thoma'
Rolleston, A° D'ni 1515.

On the south side of the same steeple you have,

SCE Johannes
T R Or ¹.

See plate XI.

Thomas Rolleston, of the Lea in Derbyshire, married Elizabeth daughter of Mr. John Turvile, of Newhall, in the county of Leicesters²; and, I presume, being lord of the manor of Mayfield, A. D. 1515, erected this steeple. It appears, from a visitation of Derbyshire, that the motto of the family of Rolleston was *Ainsi, et meilleur peut estre*, the same in sense with the above. The church of Mayfield is dedicated to St. John Baptist³. T R in the inscription on the south side are the initials of Thomas Rolleston, and *or* means *ora*, that is *pro me*. In the window, Rolleston and Winckfeld quarterly impales O. 3 chevrons

¹ This was copied by Mr. Stringer of Lichfield, Oct. 1786. And see Dr. Plott's Nat. Hist. of Staff. p. 296.

² MS Visitation, penes me, p. 44. Dr. Plott says he was of the ancient family of Rolleston of Rolleston. Hist. of Staff. p. 296.

³ Ecton.

vaire, the arms of 'Turvile'. And Dr. Plott testifies, that under the arms in the church he found the same motto, though the French not so old ².

N° LIX.

' Anno 1517, John Taylor, says Dr. Plott, Dr. of Laws, archdeacon of Derby and Buckingham, and master of the Rolls, temp. Henry VIII. one of the Trimelli, mentioned § 19. of this chapter, built the chapel of Barton [under Needwood, in Staffordshire] upon or near the place where the *Cottage* stood wherein he was born, as is plain from the inscriptions in *Saxon* ³ characters in relieve work over every other pillar of the north and south sides of the *Navis* of the said chapel.

' *I. T. borum trium Gemellorum* ⁴ *natu maximus*, being over the first pillar.

' *Decretorum Doctor*, ☉ *sacrorum canonum professor*, over the third.

' *Archidiaconus Derbie* ☉ *Bukkyngham, nec non* ☉, over the fifth, and

' *Magister Rotulorum illustrissimi Regis H. VIII. a°. reg. sui* 20 ⁵, over the seventh.

' These armes, viz. Sa. on a chevron Argent 3 violets slipped, the flowers of the second, the stalks and leaves Or, between 3 childrens heads coupéd at the shoulders also of the second, haired and vested of the third. In a chief of the same a text *℥* ⁶ Az. between two roses Gu. seeded of the chief, being placed

¹ Thoroton, Antiq. of Nott. Plate I.

² Dr. Plott, l. c.

³ Rather old English capitals of the time.

⁴ *Trimellorum*, it should have been.

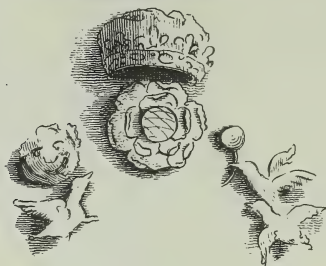
⁵ There is a mistake either here, or above in 1517; these numbers not corresponding Henry acceded A. 1509, and the 20th of his reign commenced A° 1528, and yet 1517 is as plainly carved on the outside of the steeple, as A. R. 20 on the pillar within.

⁶ Rather a *tau* T.

' inter-



Barton under Needwood.



I: T: ARCH: BURIETOR

I: T: HOB: TRIV: OE
MELLO: NAT
V: MAXIMVS:

DECRETOR: DOCTOR:
ET: SACRORV: CANO
NV: PROFESSOR:

ARCHIDIACONVS:
DERBIE: ET: BVRBY:
HAM: NEON: ET:

MAGISTER: ROTVLO: IL
LUSTRISSIMI: REGIS:
M: VIJ: A: REO: SVI: ZO



‘ interchangeably over the 2d, 4th, 6th, and 8th pillars, there
 ‘ being but eight pillars in all, viz. 4 on each side of the chapel,
 ‘ which is a neat piece of work, somewhat of the form of Henry
 ‘ the Seventh’s at Westminster, perhaps so built in honour and
 ‘ imitation of his great patron, who gave him his education and
 ‘ preferment afterwards ¹.’

On the steeple without is the date 1517, between the founder’s initials and *archidiac. Derby* & *Bucking* and *I. T. arch. Bukig* & *Derb.* See the annexed plate.

N° LX.

Dr. Stukeley ², speaking of Westenhanger, in Kent, says,
 ‘ an inscription of the chapel there is now made a stone step in
 ‘ the house of Mr. Smith of Stanford; thus copied by Mr.
 ‘ Godfrey ³:

IVIL. V. ET. XX A L’INCARNATION NOSTRE CHRIST. ET
 LE XII. ANN DV TRES
 HAVLT ET TRES . . . SANT ET TRES EXCELLENT PRINCE
 NOSTRE . . .
 ET ROY HERY VIII ET A L’HONEVR DV DIEV ET
 DE LA GLORIEVSE
 VIERGE MARIE FVT FAICTE ET ACHEVEE CESTE CHA-
 PELLE PAR MESSIRE EDOVARD
 POYNINGS CHEVALIER DE LA NOBLE ORDRE DU GARTIER
 ET CONTREROYLER DE LA
 MASON DU ROY CVY DIEU DOINT ⁴ SA GRACEET BONNE
 VIE ET LONGVE
 ET PARADIS A LA FIN. AMEN ⁵.’

The inscription is apparently deficient at the beginning, and also misread. One may supply and correct it thus: LE ANN

¹ Plott’s Nat. Hist. of Staff. p. 296.

² Stukeley, Itin. I. p. 132, note, 2d edit.

³ I suppose of Norton-Court.

⁴ F. *doint* for *donne*.

⁵ See also Harris’s History of Kent, and Gough’s edition of Camden’s Britannia, I. 247, where the house is particularly described.

MIL. V^o ET XX; for as Henry VIII. acceded 22 Apr. 1509, his 12th year was not finished till 22 Apr. 1520.

Sir Edward Poynings, then lord of Westenhanger, was knight of the garter, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and author of the famous law called after him. Dying 12 Hen. VIII. without lawful issue, this house escheated to the crown; but the king gave it to his natural son Thomas Poynings, on whose death it reverted again.

N^o LXI.

Bishop Skevington was principally concerned in re-building the cathedral church of Bangor¹; and on the outside of the tower is this inscription: ‘ Thomas Skevyngton, Episcopus
‘ Bangorie, hoc campanile et ecclesiam fieri fecit, anno partus
‘ virginei MCCCCXXXII².

N^o LXII.

The church of St. Mildred, Canterbury, was burnt down A. 1246, in Henry III’s time, but was afterwards re-built; and in Henry VIII’s time, Thomas Atwood, or Wood, ‘ built the
‘ south side chancel or chapel, for a peculiar place of sepulture
‘ for himself and his family: divers of whom lie there interred,
‘ under fair grave-stones, sometimes inlaid with brass; all not
‘ worn, but shamefully torn away, even founder’s and all; who
‘ yet hath a remembrance left of him in the glass³. It ran thus:

‘ Orate pro animabus Thomæ Wood, armigeri, custodis,
‘ contrarotular. hospitii reverendissimi patris in Christo

¹ Dr. Browne Willis’ Survey of Bangor, p. 16. 97.

² Idem, Ibid. p. 21.

³ Somner, Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 166.

‘ Domini — majoris hujus civitatis, qui in honore ¹
 ‘ Jesu hanc capellam fieri fecit, et Margaretæ uxoris ejus
 ‘ filiæ Johannis Moyle, armigeri. Orate pro eis ².’

It seems he was four times mayor of Canterbury, and was comptroller of the household to archbishop Warham, I presume, though his name was somewhat obliterated, who began to sit A. 1504, and died A. 1532. He was mayor for the first time A. 1500, and for the last time A. 1530; so that this chapel was probably erected by him about A. D. 1520.

N^o LXIII.

At Aughton, a village situate between Bubwith and Ellerton, on the east bank of the river Derwent, about 6 or 7 computed miles from Howden in Yorkshire, the steeple was erected by Christopher, the second son of Sir Robert Aske; for the inscription upon it runs,

Christofer, le second fitz de Robart Aske
 chr oblier ne doy anno D'i 1536 ³.

Aughton, it is thought, first belonged to the family of that name, then to the De la Hays, and lastly to the Askes, and was probably the dwelling-place of Sir Robert Aske, who in the reign of king Henry VIII. was concerned, as chief, in the Yorkshire rebellion called *the Pilgrimage of Grace*. It seems there is the effigies of an Asker, called in the Yorkshire dialect an Aske or Newt, cut in two different places of the steeple, not far above the foundation; as likewise on the south side of it the arms of this family, O. 3 bars Az. under which the above inscription is placed in strong raised letters ⁴.

¹ See Series I. N^o X. p. 17.

² Somner, Append. p. 70. Weever, 238.

³ Gent. Magazine, 1754, p. 359.

⁴ Ibid.

The Askes were of Saxon original, and lords of Pontefract; and Robert, who put himself at the head of *the Pilgrimage of Grace*, and was indeed a person of great abilities, had the honour of knighthood, as appears from this very inscription¹; and yet, I do not know how, many of our writers that mention the northern insurrection in the year 1536, occasioned by the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, such as Fabian, Fuller, Rapin, &c. only call him Robert Aske, or Robert Aske, *esq.* Nay, Dr. Fuller, in his *Church History*, lib. VI. p. 313, calls him a *mean gentleman*; and Sir William Dugdale, from whom one might expect greater accuracy, calls him only Robert Aske².

As to the inscription, I divide it thus: ‘Christofer le second, fitz de Robert Ask, chr. oblier ne doy, an° D’i 1536.’ It is capable of two interpretations; the first is this; ‘I Christopher, the second son of Robert Ask, knight, ought not to forget the year of our Lord 1536.’ Whereupon I observe first, that *chr* is an usual abbreviation of *chevalier*, or knight; 2dly, That *doy*³ is the old antiquated first person of the present tense of the French verb *devoir*, as may be seen in the old French Grammar prefixed to Howel’s edition of Cotgrave’s French Dictionary, London, 1650, fol. under the title of “Irregular verbs of the third conjugation.” I have therefore prefixed at the beginning of my translation above the pronoun of the first person, though there be nothing in the original to answer it. 3dly, It may be a question, which I shall not decide, in what sense it was intended, that Christopher Ask ought not to forget the year 1536, whether by way of regret, or from a motive of

¹ See also Fiddes’ Life of Wolsey, Append. p. 139.

² Dugd. Baron. I. 374.

³ *Doie*, qu’il doive. Lacombe, Dict. du vieux langue Française.

gratitude

gratitude and thankfulness. If for the first reason, then this erection of the steeple did not take place till the close of the year 1537, or after; that is, not till after the execution of his father, in the beginning of that year, for his transactions in 1536, and his relapsing into rebellion afterwards. But if the benefactor meant to express his thankfulness by this fabric, as is more likely, then I am of opinion, it must have been erected immediately upon the disbanding of the rebels in 1536, when Sir Robert Ask, the father of the founder, was honoured, as Stowe relates, with gifts, and had obtained part, though but a small part, of his demands; and consequently before the execution of the said Robert, which did not happen till A. D. 1537.

But this inscription is capable of another interpretation, which, for my own part, I incline to follow, but without prescribing to others. I would suppose, by a prosopopœia, the steeple itself to speak these words, as is very usual on such occasions; and then the sense will be ‘I ought not to forget Christopher, second son of Sir Robert Ask, knight, A. D. 1536.’ The date will then be independent of the rest; and if we take it thus, we shall have the precise year of the building, or rather of the *finishing* of this steeple, to wit, just before, as we may naturally imagine, the breaking out of the northern rebellion, which I think did not happen till the *latter end* of the year 1536¹.

Or, in the same sense, perhaps the inscription may be rendered “Christofer, &c. ought not *to be forgotten*.”

Mr. Gough, who examined this church with attention in 1785, found on the side of the steeple under a niche these arms, quarterly, 1. cheque; 2. three moles; 3. four annulets; 4. a plain cross. Another shield has *Ask*, quartering, 2. Ermine

¹ Gent. Magaz. 1754, Vol. XXIV. p. 407.

a cross ingrailed ; 3. Barry four mascles in fess ; 4. a plain cross ; 5. on a chief 3 roundels. 6. seems on a chief 3 mullets ; in the centre of all a crescent. Under a niche the initials, pl. XIV. fig. 1.

On one buttress the newt, as represented in the same plate ; on another *A/k* impaling Barry, the 4 mascles in fess.

The old chancel is entirely ruined, but within the present remain brasses for Richard Ask and his wife Margaret. On the north side of the church is a round moat called the Castle-hill, surrounded by a deep ditch.

Fig. 2. p. 67.

BECCIA DEDICATA EST IN HONORE
 SCENITATIS ET BEMARIE VII ID
 MARTII ADNO DUCONE LINCOLNIESI EP
 AHO AB ICARNACIONE DNI MCXCII
 TEPORE ICARDI REGIS

Fig. 1. p. 66.

S III B

I B A



Fig. 3. p. 68

TRK PATER NOR
 TAR:Θ:AVΘOYAR
 IA:PVRLEALUIC
 PVRDΘLE:EPVI
 DQCALOTΘC:TV
 IORECTICOS:
 OIRRA:CVRRAD
 TΘ:IVRS:OE BAR
 DVNAVERA: A
 OIED:XS

Fig. 5. p. 83.

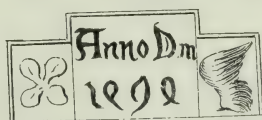


Fig. 4. p. 74.



A P P E N D I X, of I N S C R I P T I O N S

which have occurred since the work was at press.

N° I.

Robert Fitz Haimon, who founded Tewksbury abbey 1102, and died 1107, was removed from the chapter-house to a chapel built by abbot Parker 1397 on the south side of the choir. His inscription, as given by Leland ¹, but now gone, was,

Hic jacet Robertus filius Haymonis hujus loci fundator.

N° II.

It is said there is an inscription on the walls of Brampton chapel near Chesterfield, importing its erection, 1155. It was consecrated 1153 by Brendan, bishop of Ardfert, as suffragan to Roger de Weseham, bishop of Lichfield and Coventy. Mr. Pegge ² thinks here was a chapel before, being implied in the charter of Rufus.

N° III.

The following in Clee church, Lincolnshire, communicated by the reverend Dr. Gordon, precentor of Lincoln, fixes the date of that church to 1192, and its dedication to the Holy Trinity and Virgin Mary, by Hugh bishop of Lincoln, commonly called S^t. Hugh. Pl. XIV. fig. 2.

Hæc ecclesia dedicata est in honore

Sanctæ Trinitatis et beatæ Mariæ VII id.

Martii, a domino Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo

Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXCII.

Tempore Ricardi regis.

¹ Itin. VI. 96.

² Life of Weseham, p. 40. note p.

N° IV.

William Brownfcombe, bishop of Exeter, who died 1280, had his foundation of the collegiate church of Penryn or Glasney in Cornwall commemorated on his epitaph in his cathedral in Leland's time ¹, in these two lines now vanished:

Atque hoc collegium quod Glasney plebs vocat omnis

Condidit egregium pro voce data sibi sompnis.

He was warned in a dream to erect this foundation.

N° V.

The rev. Mr. Elliot, vicar of Swinington, Wilts, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, 1781, the following inscription, cut in the stone frame of the church-door, and lately refreshed with ink. The copy, pl. XIV. fig. 3. is by no means accurate, but may be read thus; the 4th and 5th lines seems to contain the founder's name:

Ki Pater nos
ter: e: Ave dir-
ia: pur le alme
purdole: e
d ealc tec: tu
joree ti eos
oirra: curran
te: jurs: de par
dun avera: a
oied. xs.

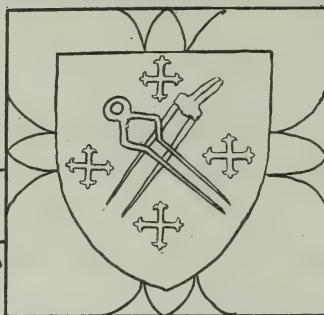
Swinington is a hamlet in the parish of Steeple Ashton. The latter church was built in the reign of Henry II. That of Swinington is said and appears to be, much older ².

¹ Itin. III. 32.

² A. S. Min.

goys

eugn aboute



and

Isb te

do bat doute

br̃ hēlde to ye ende q̃

iohn

murdo

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Niam kalr̃nr

Thomr̃ Boul: Cuthb

tr̃ s̃ petre k̃tiġm

Fig. 3.

Thoh
RSV'S

L

Q

N° VI.

In the south transept of the church of Mailros, in Scotland, over a staircase ascending to the tower and remarkable for the winding of the stair, every step being filled up with stone like a snail cap, is this curious inscription in black letters, round and under a shield, charged with two compasses in saltire between 4 crosses botoné or floré, ascertaining the date of its erection, and the architect of this and several other churches in that kingdom. As we do not recollect to have seen any drawing of this, we have here engraved it. Pl. XV.

Sae gaves the compass ebyn about
 ... Sa truth and lauter do but doute
 ... Be hald to the ende quoth Johne Murdo.

On the south side of the door, or over it :

John Murdo sum tym callit was O,
 And born in Marysse certainly,
 And had in kepyng all mason Werk
 Of Santandrops¹ the hye kyrk
 Of Glasgu, Metros, and Paslay,
 Of Ryddydayl, and of Galway.
 Pray to God and Mary baith
 And sweet St. John keep this haly Kirk
 from skaith.

Anno Milleno Centeno terquoquo deno
 Et sexto Christi Melros fundata fuisti.

¹ St. Andrews.

Against the north wall of the westernmost of the modern burying places inclosed in the north aisle is this inscription in black letters, most falsely given in Roman capitals by Mr. Milne, in his History of this venerable abbey. See pl. XV. fig. 2.

On one of the buttresses are the arms of Scotland, set up there in the time of James V. two years after his marriage, which he concerted here with Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, and eight years before the fatal battle of Floddow. Above is the date, thus expressed, 1505; then a scroll charged as in the plate, fig. 3; and on each side J. 4. Under them an angel holding a shield.

N° VII.

Inscription on a plain free stone inserted on the wall at the east end of the chancel on the south side of the communion-table, at Great Bookham in the county of Surrey. See pl. XVI. fig. 1.

Hæc domus abbate fuerat constructa Johanne
de Rutherwyka, decus ob Sancti Nicholai;
Anno milleno, triceno, bisque viceno
Primo. Christus ei paret hinc sedem requiei.

The stone is quite plain, and on a level with the wall into which it is inserted, at about 7 feet from the ground; nor has it any moulding, device, or ornament upon it whatsoever.

You may depend upon the accuracy of the copy. It is indeed cut so deep in the stone, and in letters of such a size, that it is impossible, with ordinary care, to mistake in transcribing it. And yet it is curious to observe what work Aubrey has made (vol. II. 265.) of the last line. For, though that singular T occurs eight times, and he had rightly considered it as such six times

out of the eight, yet twice (viz. in *Rutbewyca* and *paret*), he has copied it as an M. In the last line moreover, having mistaken *Requiei* for *Requiem*, and so got two substantives, which wanted a copulative to join them, he has kindly substituted the conjunction *et*; and as those accusatives were without a verb to govern them, he judiciously created them one in the little verb *DA*, which he has added at the end; and which also, having mistaken the Nominative *Cbriflus* for the Vocative *Cbrifte*, he was forced to put in the Imperative mode; though after all, his verse would not scan as it ought, after the elision of the *e* in *ei*, and *pa* in *parem* both long, though his Gradus would have informed him that they are both short.

N° VIII.

The tradition of Newark ascribes the building of its church to one Alan Flemyng, who has in the south transept a beautiful brass monument much worn by trampling, representing him in the habit of a burghers or merchant; but nothing like that appears in his epitaph, which dates his death 1373.

N° IX.

The now mutilated epitaph of Sir Miles Stapleton and his wife at Ingham in Norfolk sets forth that they founded the college there for the redemption of captives before 1365.

[*Vies pour les almes monsieur Miles [de Stapleton & dame] Johne sa femme, fille [de monsieur] Olyver de Ingham] foundours de ceste maisoun [que Dieu de leur almes eût pitee.]*

The words in hooks are gone since Blomefield's time ¹. Their son Miles, who died 1466, is commemorated on his epitaph as son of the founder of this house.

¹ Parkin's Continuation of Blomefield's Norfolk, Vol. V. p. 873.

N° X.

The foundation of the vicars' college at Wells by bishop Ralph de Salopia, who died 1363, was set forth in a rude painting over the door leading to the steps of their hall, representing the vicars on their knees addressing him in these words :

Per vicos positi ville, pater alme, rogamus

Ut simul uniti te dante domos maneamus.

To which he replies,

Vestra petunt merita quod sint concessa petita

Ut maneatis ita loca fecimus hic stabilita.

Queen Elizabeth refounding this college, the vicars of her time commended her bounty in a better picture fixed up in their hall, with ten lines given by bishop Godwin, in whose time it remained ¹.

N° XI.

In the south wall of the library, formerly the Lady chapel at Hereford cathedral, is a monument of a lady of the *Bobun* family, commonly but erroneously called *a countess of Hereford*, within the arch of which, against the wall, is painted the Virgin Mary sitting, and a lady on her knees, presenting to her a church formed *en croix* with a central spire, while a choir of religious chant the praises of the virgin behind her !

This certainly refers to some benefaction of this lady to this or some other church, not easily ascertainable at this distance of time ².

¹ De Præs. ed. Rich. p. 376. Pictura haud nimium elegans.

² See Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, p. 194.

N° XII.

From the water table at the east end of Sleaford church Mr. Gough, 1782, copied this inscription hitherto unnoticed :

**Drate pro atab' Ricardi Dekke et Johanne uxor' e's
J hannis filii eor' et omnium benefactor' ej' quor'
quor' atab' ppicietur d's A. D. M.CCCC.III.**

And on that on the south west side :

**Here lyeth William Harebiter and Elyzabeth his
Wyfe.**

Cryest ihu graunte yem everlastyng lyfe.

It is true, the benefactions of these good people are not particularly specified, nor confined to the church. But, from the place of the inscription, it may fairly be presumed that it was their object.

N° XIII.

On the south face of the steeple of Theydon Gernon, in Essex, is raised letters on a stone, 6 feet 5 inches by 4 feet :

**= = = = = Syr Jhon
Crosbi, knyght, alderman
and grocer of London, and
dame Anne and Annes his Wiffs, of
whose godys was geven toward
the erectyng of this steppell,
anno dñi 1420.**

* This word is twice repeated in the original.

The first line probably began *Pray for the soules of*, which has been studiously erased, as has been the sum given, and something at the end of the last line but one, seemingly mentioning Christ.

At the head of the first line are *Crosby's* arms, a chevron charged with 7 escallops between 3 rams trippant, and at the end of it the Grocers' company's arms, a chevron between 9 billets. See pl. XVII. From a copy taken by Mr. Cook, October 21, 1786.

N° XIV.

On the spandrils of the north door of the chancel at Basingstoke, are these inscriptions, the uppermost of which seems to point out a date 1424; the rest are texts of Scripture :

Jefus	Maria
Et ego	Locus iste
Nesciebam ¹ .	Sanctus est

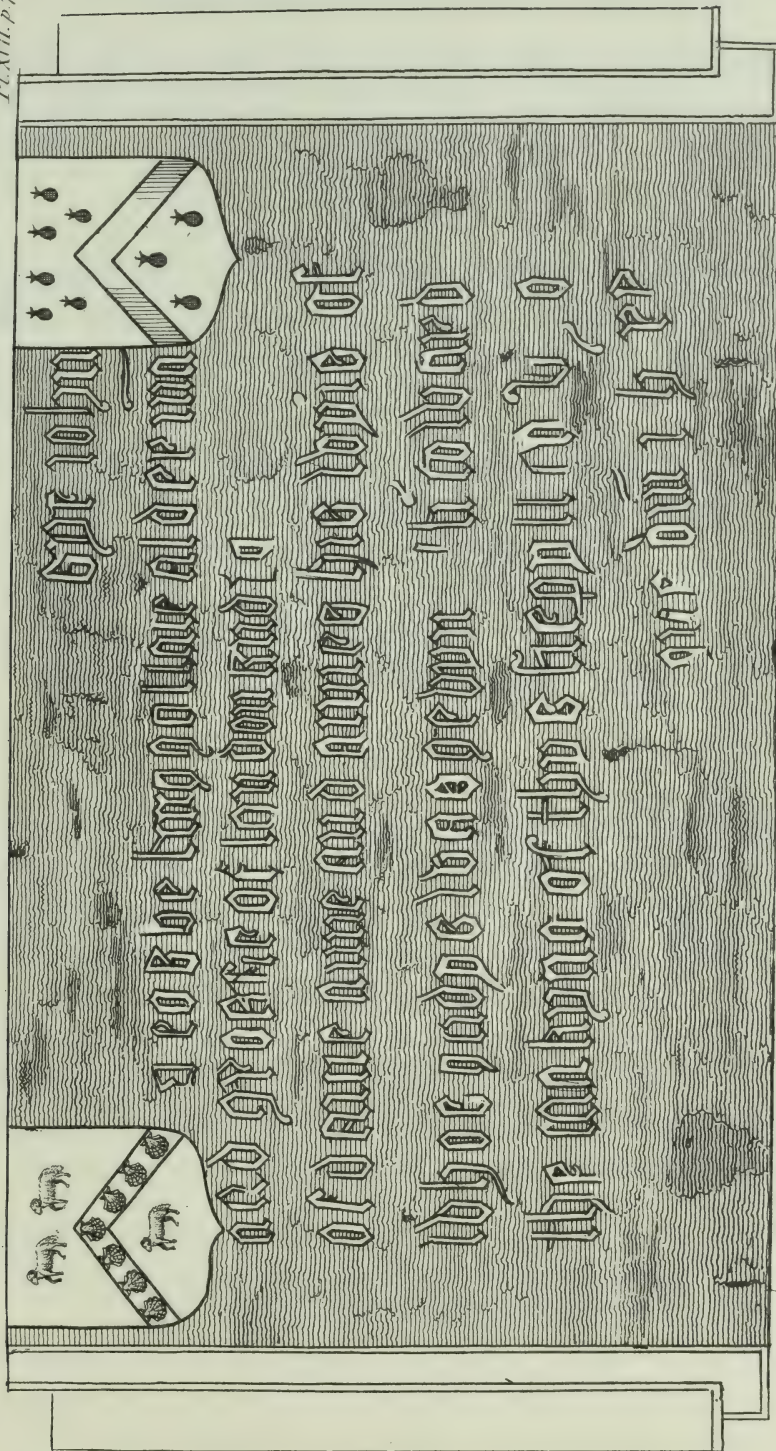
See plate XIV. fig. 4.

N° XV.

The steeple and choir of Holm near the sea in Norfolk was built by Henry Nottingham and his wife, as appears by this epitaph under them both together on a brass plate nailed to a board :

Henry Nottingham and hys Wyffe lyne here
 Wat maden this churche stepull and quere,
 Two vestmentz and bellez they made also,
 Crist hem save therefore fro wo.
 And to bring ther soules to bles of heven,
 Saith Water and Ave With mylde Steven.

¹ Part of the words of Jacob at Bethel. Gen. xxviii. 16.



TIEYDON GERON.

He was an itinerant judge in the reign of Richard II. and one of the council of the Duchy of Lancaster, 5 and 6 Henry VI.

N° XVI.

George Schaw, abbot of Paisley, enlarged and beautified his monastery and its precinct, enclosing them with a wall of hewn stone a mile in circuit, on the west side of which is this inscription :

**Da callid Robert George of Shawe
Abut my abbay garte make yis way
Thousande four hundreth zheyr
Thi tye and foure the date but
[Pray for his salvation ']
Et made thys nobil fundacioun.**

N° XVII.

In the north wall of the chancel at Pershore is inserted the following inscription and carving on wood, which about the year 1722, when Mr. Richard Graves saw it, and copied it for Mr. Hearne ², served with several other pieces to patch up a partition between the chancel end and the little old chapel on its north side, though he believed it was formerly placed at the other end of the church and south side thereof, and formed part of the partition between the tower part and south cross aisle. The tower, choir, and ruined south cross aisle, were all that were left

¹ This line has been purposely erased.

² See his Letter in the Appendix to Hemming's Chartulary, p. 676.

of this fine conventual church after the Dissolution. On the lofty carved stone roof of this transept was the rebus of *William Newton*, the prior mentioned in this inscription, an exact copy of which, from a drawing made by Mr. Carter, for Mr. Gough, 1784, makes plate XVIII. Upon a repair of the church, 1774, it was new painted and gilded and somewhat disfigured, but is to be read thus :

**MC. b's bino triplex & addere quarto
Anno Willms d'ni Newton fecit abbas.**

h. (1) VI. || a° (2) XII° || || W (3) N || a° (4) XXII°.

The figures in hooks refer to the busts and ornaments carved between the words.

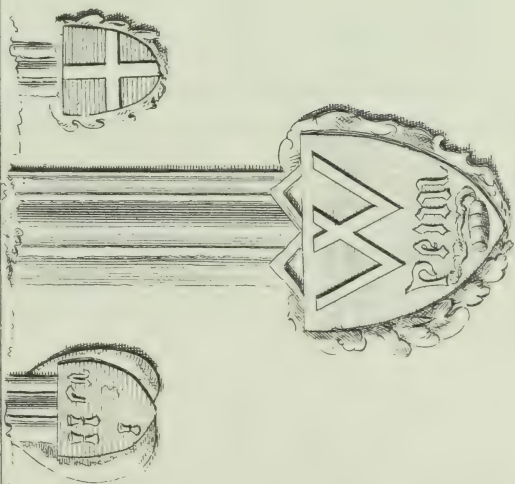
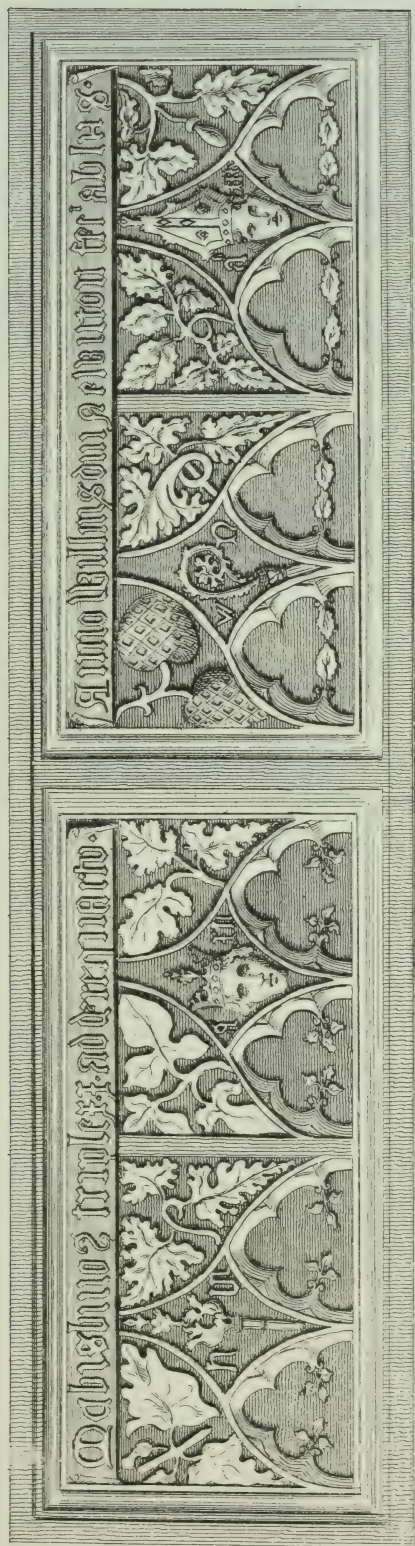
1. A sceptre or staff branched on the top.
2. A king's head crowned, probably *Henry VI.*
3. A crozier.
4. An abbot's head mitred, probably *William Newton.*

The last line puts it out of dispute that the date is 1434, which is 12 Henry VI. and the 22d year of Newton's abbottship; consequently this is not the date of his *election*, as Dr. Nash conceived¹; but of the erection of this aisle or transept by him.

N° XVIII.

At the west end of the nave of Hereford cathedral was a braffless stone for a priest under a canopy, in whose point a shield with a cross cheque, the arms of St. Ethelbert, 3 crowns, gone, and in the arch France and England quarterly. Under him this inscription :

¹ Nash's *Worcestershire*, vol. II. p. 248.



Per shore?

Hic jacet dñus Will'us Loman, quondam huj'
 eccl'ie canonicus ac residentiar. &
 Præcentor ejusd' eccl'ie insup' decan' sce
 Beriane lib'e capelle regie in Cornubia
 Qui int' alia (bona que hujc)
 Contulit eccl'ie magnam structura in occidentali
 parte
 Eiusdem (eccl'ie xxiii die
 Septembris anno Domini millimo '.)

A very able antiquary, the reverend Mr. Skinner, canon of this church, refers this to the building of the beautiful west tower of this church, which, through the unaccountable and long neglect of the chapter, fell down to the ground, April 17, 1786, covering this stone with the ruins of part of the nave that followed it. How far the style of architecture justifies the transferring the merit of this good work from bishop Breose in the reign of king John, to a præcentor in the 15th century, I leave to better judges to determine. Certain it is, however, that William Lowman, or, as Dr. Willis ² calls him, *Lochard*; omitting the words in hooks, which were there when I transcribed it, 1770, was a great benefactor in building to this church. He died 1438.

Nº XIX.

The earl of Warwick had a sumptuous funeral solemnized in Warwick church, and his magnificent tomb has this inscription :

“ Preieth devoutly for the sowel whom God affoile, of one of
 “ the moost worshipfull knightes in his dayes of manhode and

¹ The words in () were gone before 1770.

² P. 539.

“ con-

“ conning *Richard Beauchamp*, late eorle of Warrewik, lord
 “ Despenfer of Bergevenny, and of many other grete lordships,
 “ whos body resteth here under this tumbel in a ful feire vout
 “ of ston fet on the bare roochs, the which visited with longe
 “ sikness in the castel of Roan thereinne decessed full cristenly
 “ the last day of April the yer of oure Lord God A. M. ccccxxxix,
 “ he being at that tyme lieutenant-generall and governer of the
 “ roialme of Fraunce and of the duchie of Normandie by suf-
 “ ficient autorite of our soveraigne lorde the kyng Harry the VI.
 “ the which body with grete deliberacon and ful worshipful
 “ conduit bi see and by lond was broght to Warrewik the viii
 “ day of October the yer above faide, and was leide with ful
 “ solenne exequies in a feir cheest made of ston in this chirche
 “ afore the west dore of this chapel, according to his last wille
 “ and testament, therein to reste til this chapel by him devised
 “ in his lief were made. Al the whiche chapel founded on
 “ the rooch and alle the membres therof his executours dede
 “ fully make and apparaille by auctorite of his faide last wille
 “ and testament, and thereafter by the same auctorite they
 “ dide translate ful worshipfully the seid body into the vout
 “ above faide. Honired be God therefore ¹.”

N° XX.

On the west face of the steeple at Woodham Walter in Essex,
 by the north side of the door, is a stone recovered when the
 tower was rebuilt, about 40 years ago, with the Inscription,
 Plate XIX.

¹ *Lel.* IV. 164. *Holland's Camden*, and the new edition, II. 336. *Dugdale's*
Warwickshire, but not in his *Baronage*.

7 inches

menſe auguſti

a^o dñi m^o cccc

l^o & a^o hñm^o

hñⁿ fuit hoc
opus incept^o

7 inches &

Woodham Walter

The

first

Claydon?

pray for the good estate of all the towneshepe of Chelmsford^{ch} that hath
 [] willers and proviers of shipis to this wyke and [] all men that first
 began and longest shall contynue to do vpon the p^{re} of our lorde thousand in hondreth
 the... in... d
Chelmsford?

At Ecton in Northamptonshire is a similar one on the buttment of the north porch, about 5 feet from the ground :

A° Dñi M,CCCCXIII. edificatum¹.

N° XXI.

On the north side of the fascia of Chelmsford church is the inscription, in plate XX. set in among the flints, of which this church is built :

Pray for the good estate of all the towneshepe of Chelmysford, that bath been liberall willers, and procorers of helpeis to thys worke, and on them that first began and longest shall continue to do it, in the yere of our Lord 1 thousand 1111 bondreth 1111.

The words in Roman characters have been cut out to fix in leaden pipes, but are supplied from a copy taken by Mr. Holman, the Essex antiquary, in the beginning of this century. Some faint traces of letters remain at the end of the whole, the last a **D**.

N° XXII.

On the beam over the arch dividing the nave from the chancel, at Newport, in the same county, are painted these words in capitals :

Venite benedicti patris mei, ite maledicti in ignem.

On the arch below, in letters of the same form, is a long inscription, which cannot be read for the height, consequently can-

¹ Bridges' History of Northamptonshire, vol. I. p. 143.

not be known whether scripture sentences or expressive of the date of the church.

XXIII.

The building of Hungerford chapel in Salisbury cathedral by Robert lord Hungerford, who died 1459, is thus recorded in these eight evanescent lines, painted under a figure in a gown, over the south door, very faultily given in the 8vo History of Salisbury, p. 130.

I = = = = = = =
 O = = = = = = =

have and space : yth synddith

Passion that Cste Jhesu sufferyd for oure redemcion

And ye that propose in this chappell to pray . . .

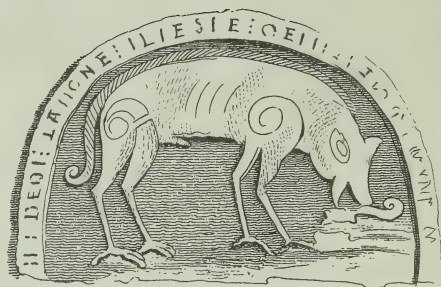
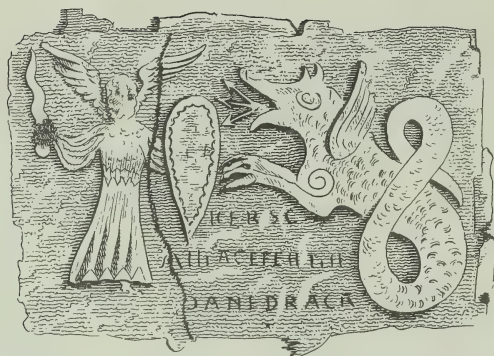
Hungerford that here lyeth present Which levyd
 rysevely . . .

blessed lady moder to Xte and to this noble churche
 Whch ordeyned this chappell to be founded per-
 petually,

on who's saul Cste Jhesu have mercy. He passed oute
 of thys p'sent lyfe the xviith day of . . . and lies
 buried.

At the upper end of the south wall is an inscription commemorating a bishop, probably Beauchamp, and James Goldwell, dean of Salisbury, dated Oct. 1314.

Another chapel in the north side of the nave of this chapel, vulgarly called the *Cage*, and used as a pew, but removed by the present earl of Radnor to the side of the bishop's throne in the choir, was erected by Walter lord Hungerford, who died 14 . . and laid over his tomb, or that of his grandson Robert, beheaded



HERSC AID ACEFEHT, H JANEDRACĀ

Fig. 1. Figures in the West End of Aisle of St. Nicholas Church, Ipswich Suff.^h p. 106.

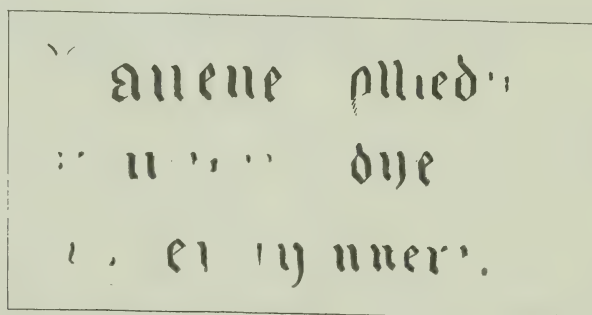


Fig. 2. Stone in North Side of Woodbridge Steeple, about 24 Feet from the Ground;
see p. 81.

at Newcastle, 3 Edward IV. which on its removal appeared as it now lies, with his brasless figure in armour, surrounded by his devices. See it described in Mr. Hutchins's History of Dorset, II. 352.

N° XXIV.

On the north side of the tower of Woodbridge church, in Suffolk, on a stone about 24 feet from the ground, is an inscription commemorating a benefactor *. What remains of it has been accurately copied by Mr. Johnson, in plate XXI. fig. 2.

N° XXV.

John Whethamsted, twice abbot of St. Alban's, who died 1464, left memorials of his munificence to the building of that abbey, in his arms or rebus, 3 ears of wheat conjoined, carved on the fine screen to the high altar, and his device, the lamb and eagle, painted in rounds on the boards of the roof of the choir, and these four lines on the east face of the eastern arch of the centre tower :

* An extract from Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 488, will illustrate this inscription : " Hic jacet Johannes Albred, quondam Twelewever istius ville . . . ob. primo die Maij . . . 1400. et Agnes vxor eius . . .

This Twelewever, with Agnes his wife, were at the charges (people of all degrees being as then forward to beautify the house of God) to cut, gild, and paint, a rood-loft or a partition betwixt the body of the church and the choir : whereupon the pictures of the crosses, and crucifix, the virgin Mary, of angels, archangels, saints, and martyrs, are figured to the life : which how glorious it was when it was all standing, may be discerned by that which remaineth. This the work of piety was depenfiled upon the fabric ; of which so much as is left : Orate Johannis Albrede et Agnetis soluerunt pro pictura totius hujus operis superne videlicet crucis crucifixi, Marie, archangelorum et totius candelab . . . "

The following extract from Hawes's MS. is communicated by the Rev. Mr. Carthew, minister of this church, as a farther key to the inscription :

" Testamento Johannis Albrede, dat. 24 April. 1448.

Ad fabric' & fundat' unius campanalis ejusdem de novo faciend' xx marc."

Two "superstitious Inscriptions," and thirty "superstitious Pictures," in this church, were demolished by Dowling in 1643.

*Sic ubicunque vides sit pictus ut agnus & ales
 Effigies operis sexti patris ista Johannis.
 Esse vel in toto juvisse vel in faciendo
 Est opus hoc unum causavit nunc faciendum.*

His rebus or arms are on the three stalls on the south side of the chancel at Luton, to which he was also a benefactor.

N° XXVI.

The church of Lechiot Matravers in Dorsetshire was probably built about the end of Edward the III^d's reign, since Agnes de Maltravers, by her will, left 40s. to the *fabric*, which I understood to imply building, and not any repair or upholding. An epitaph just within the door makes one Margaret Clement a benefactress to the re-building in 1505, and of this age the style seems to be, though it must be confessed the Maltravers fret is carved alternately on the spandrils of the windows.

**Hic jacet Margareta Clement
 Generosa specialis benefactrix
 Reconditoris hujus ecclesie, que obiit xxiii Junii.
 A. D. M. III. cuius aile propicietur Deus. Amen¹.**

N° XXVII.

The north aisle of the magnificent conventual church at Croyland, now used for the parish church, has on the keystones of its roof a rebus of a tree issuing out of a tun pierced by a crozier, for abbot *Lyttlington*, of whose munificence the Continuation of Ingulphus's History of that monastery gives an instance, "*in testudinibus lapidem in subnixis eidem basilicæ ex utraque parte alis* ²." On another keystone are these letters, pl. XVI. fig. 3. which I read, *abbas L.* He was abbot from 1427 to 1469 ³.

¹ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 117.

² P. 585.

³ Hist. of Croyland, in Bib. Top. Brit. N° XI. p. 69. 81, 82.

N° XXVIII.

Over the steeple door at Hadley, near Barnet, is the date 1494, between a rose and a wing, which emblems being also carved alternately under the upper windows of the nave of Enfield church, which belonged also to Walden abbey, are conceived to be badges of that monastery. Hadley church seems to have been the chapel erected where the Hermitage stood by Edward IV. to pray for the souls of those slain in the battle on Gladsmoor Heath adjoining on Easter day 1471, and to this building the date Pl. XIV. fig. 5. probably alludes.

N° XXIX.

Roslin chapel, eight miles from Edinburgh, founded 1446, by William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, has in several places the arms of the family, a cross ingrailed quartering quarterly, 1. 4. a ship within a border, 2. 3. a lion rampant: and on the top of the north and south side these letters separated by shields charged with crosses ingrailed.

W E or L S t        .

N° XXX.

On two of the buttresses of the south transept of Glasgow great church are a chevron charged with three roses, and   for *Robert Blackader*, the bishop who built it, and filled the see from 1484 to 1508, and in favour of whom it was made an archbishoprick. At the north end of the screen are his arms between his initials.

The same arms are on the south side, under a centre which is supported by the initials, as is the shield by a falcon, the

arms of the see. His arms are also in the chapter house, subscribed **Robertus Archiepus**. The episcopal palace gate has the arms of bishop Dunbar, who built it, three cushions in a border of double tressure; under this coat the salmon; and above it a cross or pastoral staff. Cardinal Beaton inclosed the palace with a magnificent stone wall of ashler work toward the east, south, and west, with a bastion over one corner, and a tower over the other, fronting to the high-street, on different parts of which are his arms. Quarterly, 1, 4, a fess between 2 lozenges; 2, 3, a chevron charged with an otter's head, surmounted by the salmon or mitre. Bishop Cameron began the great tower, as appears by his arms surmounted with the mitre, crozier, and all the badges of his dignity, and his name in capitals.

Bishop Muirhead's arms are over the gate and round the chapel of St. Nicholas' Hospital, which he founded within his palace precincts.

N° XXXI.

The chancel, which is all that remains of the abbey church, at Abbey Milton, Dorsetshire, abounds with memorials of William Middleton, the abbot who probably built it.

Over the altar is this inscription, commemorating the abbot and another benefactor who built it; the gaps are covered by the present altar-piece:

Orate pro bono statu et animabus domini Willemi Middleton, hujus alm. monasterii abbatis, ac etiam magistri Thom. . . . sumptibus, anno incarnationis domini Ihu Christi millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo¹.

¹ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 442.

Fig. 1 p. 85.

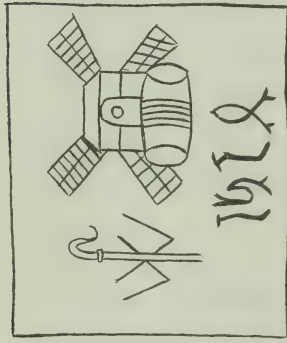
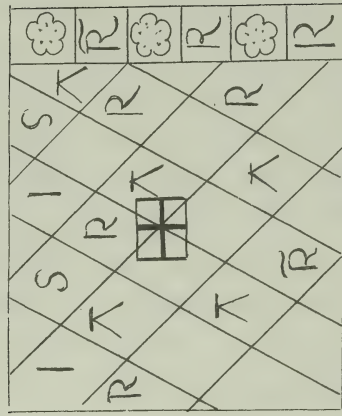
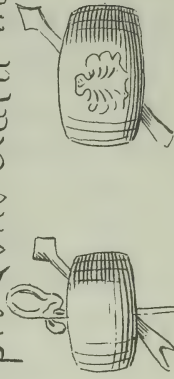


Fig. 3 p. 94.



R R R

Orote pro Bono statu miri



fecit sua ado

Fig. 4 p. 99.

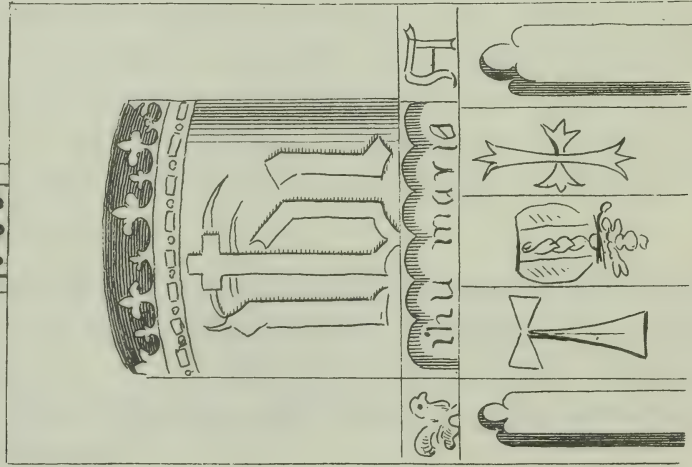


Fig. 5 p. 99.



pray for the soule of John hyll, and for the soule of John Clopton, Clqbyre, and pray for the soule of Rycharde love-day, boteler With John Clopton, off Whos god is this Chappell ys umbaytyld, by his Executors.

pray for the soulis of William Clopton Clwyper, margery, and margery his Wifis, and for all ther parentis and Children, & for the soule of Alice Clopton, & for John Clopton, and for all his chyldeŕn, & for all the soulis that y said John is bounde to pray for, which deed this chappel new repare. A°D°i M°cccc°LXXXVI.

In the second window of the north aisle :

= = = = = p'a'a Domini
 Wilmi Midelton, olim abbas
 Fenestras suis vitrabit scriptibus.

Opposite this window on the north side of the altar is a small chapel between two pillars, on the wooden work of which next to the aisle is this inscription :

**Benedic Domine domum istam, que dedicata est
 in hon. . . . Sancti Johannis Baptiste venturum
 in loco isto exaudi glorie tue S. S.**

On the wall of the south aisle the device of William Middleton. W. pierced by a crozier and a windmill on a tun, as if his name was pronounced *Milton*; the date 1514. In the roof of the transept a mitred head, or the double cypher W. M. and W. over a tun. See plate XXII. fig. 1. This fine church is now intirely appropriated to the sepulture of the family of the lord of the manor, who has erected a new village on the hill above, with a church, which was consecrated by the bishop of Bristol, 1786.

N° XXXII.

The east end of the fine church of Long Melford in Suffolk was rebuilt 1492, by the Cloptons and others, as appears by these inscriptions on the battlements. (See plate XIII.)

Pray for the soule of John Wyll, and for the soule of John
 Clopton, Esqwyre, and pray for the soule of Richard Love-
 day, Boteler with John Clopton, off whos godis this
 chappel ys imbaytyld by his executors.

Pray for the soulis of William Clopton Esqwyre, Margery
 and Margery his wifis, and for all ther parentis and
 children. And for the soule of Alice Clopton, and for John Clopton,
 and for all his chyldren, and for all the soulis that the said
 John is bounde to pray for, which deed this chappel
 new repare. A° D'i M°cccc°Lxxxxvi.

In the north wall of the nave is a neat bas relief of the Ado-
 ration of the Magi, and in one of the windows a head of Christ
 crucified. See plate XIII.

N° XXXIII.

“ The east end of the cathedral of Winchester is terminated
 “ by three chapels; that on the south is adorned with a monu-
 “ ment of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester, who died
 “ 1500, and is said to have built the chapel; the roof is painted
 “ with a *Hen* on a *tun*, being a rebus on *Henton*, the place of
 “ his nativity, and partly his name; the inscription, *Laus tibi*
 “ *Christe*.

“ The chapel in the centre dedicated to the Virgin Mary,
 “ and at present used for early prayers, was erected by prior
 “ Silkested. His name is on the roof; and on the sides, which
 “ are adorned with antient painting, are embost the arms of
 “ England, of Silkestede, of the fee, T. L. on a tun, as in the
 “ chapel before described, a rebus on Thomas Langton, who
 “ was bishop in the former part of Silkestede’s priorate, and for
 “ whom a tun is also introduced on the ceiling; the inscription,
 “ *ad gloriam Dei*. The same embossment appears on the outside
 “ of the building in the church-yard. It is a mistake that this
 “ prior built the chapel in the south aisle called *Silkestede’s* chapel;
 “ probably he might use it as a private oratory, or perhaps
 “ might be interred in it. He seems to have borne some relation
 “ to it, for opposite to it are the remains of a canopy, under
 “ which the presses for the choir vestments are placed, which
 “ seems formerly to have been the covering of stalls, and still
 “ preserves in a cornice the initials of Silkestede’s name often re-
 “ peated. These, I suppose, belonged originally to the opposite
 “ chapel. It is not unlikely, that Silkestede altered the windows
 “ of this side of the transept; for on the library window con-
 “ tiguous to them on the outside is carved T. S. for *Thomas*
 “ *Silkef-*

“*Silkeſtede*. The elegant ſcreen of this little chapel was at leaſt erected by this prior, for on it is carved in large ornamental Gothic capitals.

“**T H O M A S S**!”

The royal arms carved on the ſouth wall of the chapel towards the altar are thoſe of queen Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and wife of Henry, ſo that the date of the building may be placed between 1493, when Langton became biſhop, and 1502, when that queen died. This coat of arms is oppoſite to the king’s arms and motto on the other ſide of the altar. The other coats are, the heir apparent’s next to the king, that of the *Grey* family, into which the queen’s mother firſt married, next to her own, the arms of the ſee, and a rebus on the biſhop’s name. But the following rebuſſes on the names of two priors of this cathedral, which are ſeen in large characters ornamented with paintings, in two different parts of the roof, ſeems to ſpeak more directly to the date of the paintings themſelves, and to fix the commencement of them 1489, in which year one of theſe priors dying the other ſucceeded. They are the initial *T*, the ſyllable *Hun*, and the figure of a *tun*,¹ with the abbreviation for *prior*; and over the firſt ſyllable of *prior* the letter *I*, quaſi *ſuper I*, which joined to the latter ſyllable *or*, makes *Superior*. Oppoſite to this, but ſo as to form a circle (which in one place incloſes a relievo of the Eternal Being, and in another that of the Virgin), is the ſame, with *T*, the ſyllable *Silk*, and the figure of a horſe or *ſtede*, as it was antiently called and ſpelt, together with the ſame abbreviation and character for *prior* and *ſuperior*. It is plain theſe are to be read thus, *Thomas Hunton, prior or ſuperior*; *Thomas Silkeſtede, prior or ſuperior*; and hence I conclude

¹ Warton’s Deſcription of Wincheſter, p. 45, 46, 47.

that

that each of them had a share in ornamenting this chapel. The following mutilated passages, which I have decyphered from some hexameter and pentameter verses inscribed on one of the walls, proves that Silkstede claimed the chief merit of the work :

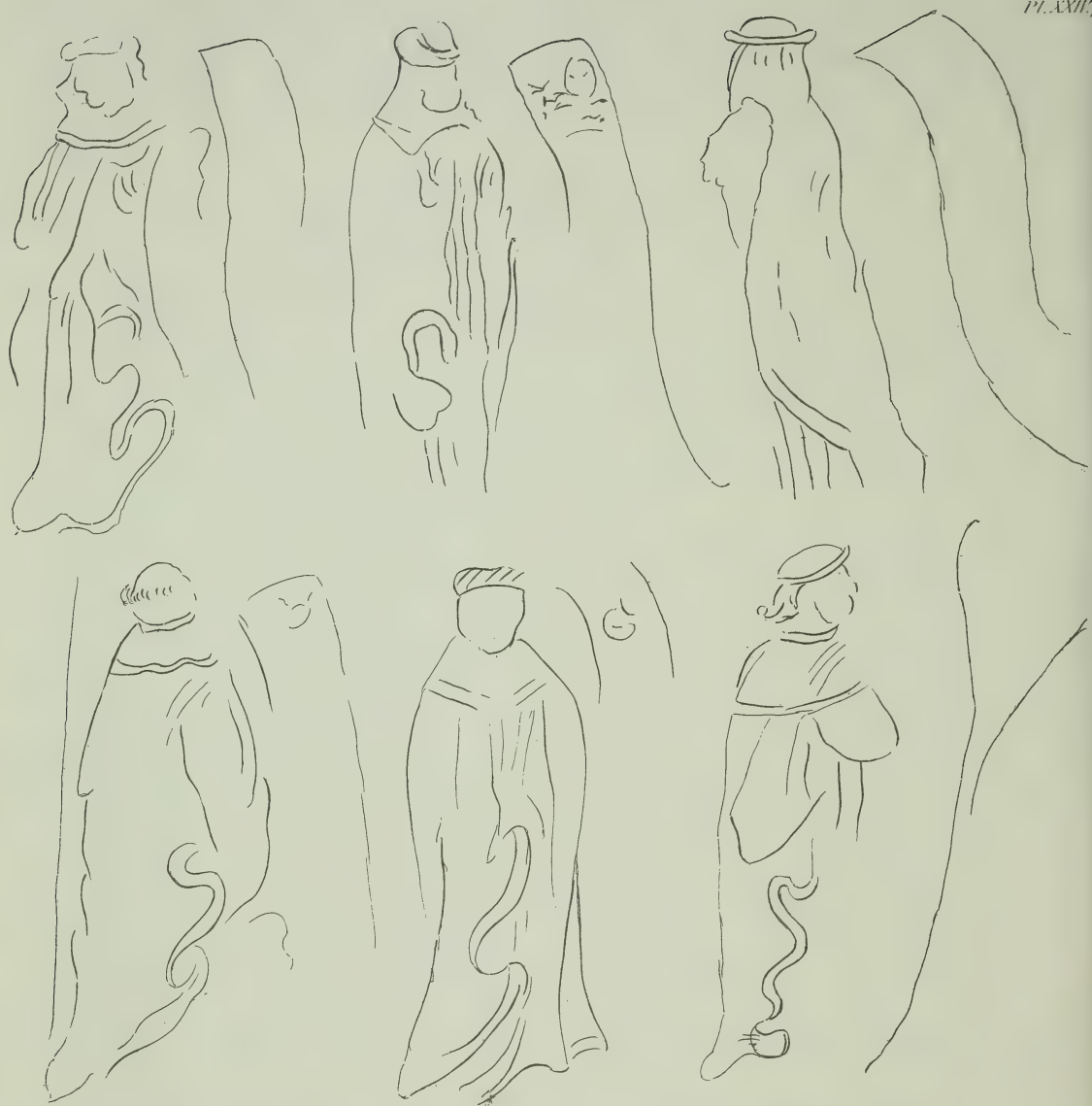
- - - - *Hominum mediator*
 - - - *Silkstede, Diva Maria, colet*
bas - - jussit quoque saxa polita
*sumptibus ornari - - - Maria, suis*¹.

“ The library at the south east of the south transept, so fitted up by bishop Morley, 1686, was a room belonging to the convent, as appears by the inscription of prior Silkstede’s name cut in a moulding of the east window, answering to the arms of the see, on the opposite moulding².

“ The screen, side partition-walls, roof of the presbytery, and of the adjoining side ailes, with their walls and windows, were finished at the expence of bishop Fox, 1525, as appears by his name and arms carved in many places; he new glazed the choir windows and those of the parallel aile with painted glass, fronted the boundary of the choir on the outside with pinnacles and other ornamental architecture, among which his statue cloathed with the episcopal habit is placed. It is conjectured from good authority that he was assisted in this work by prior Silkstede; this prior at least co-operated with bishop Fox in improving the church, by building the stalls and a chapel at the time when Fox began these alterations. His initials T. S. are in the roof of Fox’s presbytery.

¹ Mr. Warton and Mr. Milner’s Letters to Mr. Carter, in his account of the paintings in this chapel.

² History of Winchester, vol. I. p. 47.



Figures painted on y^e wall of a room at Selby abbey 1766.



A D, L A A D E F, D E I, E T, O P H I A F, S A N C
 T O R A F, I S T A F, C A R C A L L A F D E R O A O
 C O R S T R A X I T T H O F A S T E K E L L P R I O R
 F O R A S T E R I I F O R K B R I T A N N I E E T
 H A I A S E C C L E S I E P A T R O N A S E T
 E A R D E F C O O P L A T E F I R I A I T
 A R R O D O F I R I F I L L E R O Q U I R
 S E R T E R O D C C I F O S E P T I F O

“ It should seem that cardinal Henry Beaufort left some money
“ for this purpose, as H. B. appears on the outside of the south
“ partition wall, and over its entrances. He died not many
“ years before Fox was advanced to the bishopric ¹. ”

N° XXXIV.

An upper room adjoining to the west front of Selby abbey church, in which it is pretended Henry I. was born, but which was probably part of the abbatial house, has traces of large whole length figures of religious with scrolls painted on its plastered walls (see pl. XXIV.) and on the cornice at top this imperfect inscription:

**Sacre dom's nostre constructum est istud ædificium
per Rob. Deping abbatem hujus monasterii.**

Robert Deping was abbot here from 1504 to 1514.

N° XXXV.

Edward Vaughan, bishop of St. David's from 1509 to 1521, built that sumptuous chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, at the east end of his cathedral, in which he is buried. His arms in the key-stone of the rich stone roof, now dilapidating apace, and perhaps by this time prostrate, are the best memorial of his munificence; for his brass figure and epitaph have been long since carried off ².

N° XXXVI.

Round the wall plate of the choir of Darton church, in the west-riding of Yorkshire, is this, copied by Mr. John Hohmann, for the late Mr. Beckwith, 1782. See Pl. XXV.

¹ History of Winchester, vol. I. p. 41, 42.

² See Willis's History of St. David's, p. 19, 20. 117, 118.

Ad laudem Dei et omnium sanctorum istum cancellum de novo construxit Thomas Tykyl, prior monasterii Monk Britanie et hujus ecclesie patronus, et eundem complete finivit Anno Domini mileno quingenteno decimo septimo.

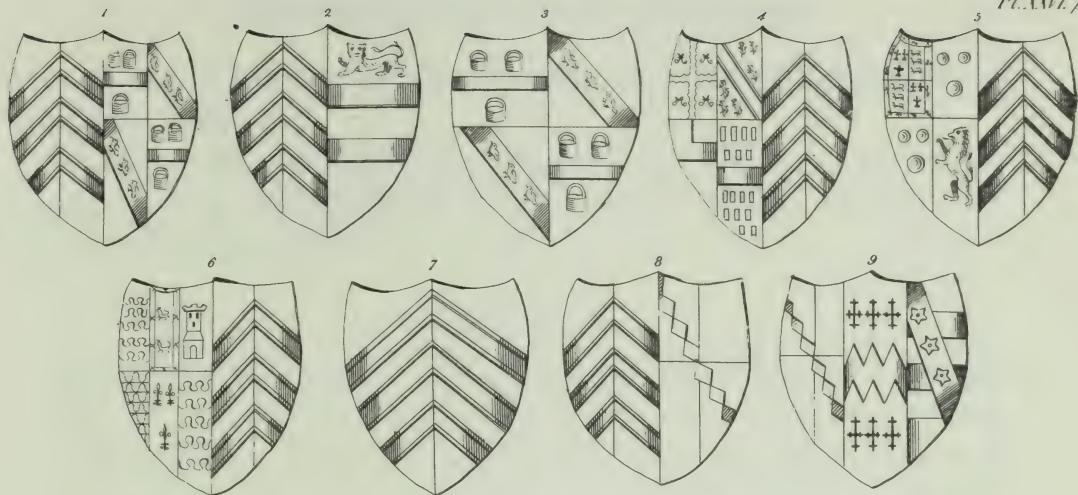
XXXVII.

Round the frieze of a chapel on the north side of the choir of Broxborne church, in Hertfordshire, is the inscription, Pl. XXVI. beginning over the east window, setting forth, that it was built, as the tradition of the village says was the whole north aisle, by Sir William Say, whose family, Weever says, had flourished here for many descents, and whose mansion-house in this parish called *The Base*, is now the property of Lord Monson.

Pray for the welfayr of Syr Wylyam Say, knygt, which fedyd yis chapel in honor a ye Trenete, the yere of our Lord God 1522.

On the frame of the inscription is the buck's head, the crest of *Say*.

On the same frieze are carved on stone the arms of *Say*, single and with impalements, as given N° 1, 2, each twice repeated. Another shield carved in stone, supported by an angel at the east end of the chapel, has the arms N° 3. In the east window of the same chapel are those given N° 4. *Bourchier* impaling *Say*, and N° 5. *Courtney* impaling *Blount*, i. e. *Say*. This is designed for the arms of *Henry Courtney*, marquis of Exeter, who married Gertrude daughter of William *Blount* lord Montjoy, by Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Sir William *Say*, of the *Base* in the parish of Broxborne. This Gertrude here assumes the arms of *Say* on account of her mother being an heiress, as was sometimes antiently usual. This escutcheon has by some accident
been



Broxborne?

been turned in the window, and appears as here represented when seen from without.

N^o 6. are the arms of *Blount* impaling *Say*. N^o 7. 8. 9, are on a tomb in the chancel; *Say* single and impaling *Cheney*, and *Cheney* with impalements.

N^o XXXVIII.

On the stone screen of the north-west chapel in St. George's chapel at Windsor is this Latin inscription commemorating Dr. Christopher Urswicke, dean here from 1495 to 1505, and joint promoter with Sir Reginald Bray of the finishing of the fabrick :

Orate pro animabus regis Henrici septimi & Christofori Urslwyk, quondam ejus elemosinarii magari et istius collegii decani. Ave Maria, &c. Et benedicta sanctissima tua mater Anna, ex qua sine macula processit tua purissima caro virginea. Amen. God have mercy on the souls of king Harry the 7th, Christopher Urslwyk, and all Christian souls. Amen. . . . Deus qui per unigenitum tuum ex utero virginis incarnatum ac morte passum genus humanum redemisti eripias quesumus animas Henrici 7, ac Christofori necnon omnium eorum, quos ipse Christoforus, dum vixit offendit, ab eterna morte, atque ad eternam vitam perducas per Ium Dominum nostrum. Amen. God have mercy ¹.

¹ Pote's Windsor, p. 68. Urswicke died and was buried at Hackney, 1521.

N^o XXXIX.

To the south aile at Columpton, in the county of Devon, adjoins a chapel reaching its whole length built by John Lane, clothier. In the east window is I L conjoined, and on each side an anchor. The roof is fan fashioned, springing from pilasters supported by angels, of which the two easternmost are taken for the *founder* and his *wife*. They hold the teazle and sheers, the crown of thorns, and two spears, and various instruments used in the woollen manufactory.

On a blue stone :

**Hic jacet Johannes Lane, mcator hui q' capelle
fundtor cum Thomasia uxore sua q' dicitur Johannes
obit xv die Februarii, anno Domini 1528.**

The brasless figure of him and his wife, and 4 shields.

The pillars that support the arches of this chapel have on the sides next to the church square buttresses, with two rows of 3 figures. Angels on the roof hold crosses.

Round the water-table runs this inscription, cut in small black letter :

**To the honour of God and his blessed mother
Mary,
remember the saules of John Lane, Wapent
Custos**

**et laniarius, and the sawle of Tomlyn his wiffe, to
have in memory With all other the cheldreyn and
kindis of your awne charyty, which were fownders
of thys chapell, and her lyeth in sepulture the yere
of ouer Lorde God, a thousand fyve hundreth lxx
and**

and twyntý. God of his grace ene ther borth
 sawles
 so have mercy and fynally bryng them to the eter=
 nail glory. Amen for Charyte.

On the buttresses without, I. L. with the anchor, which is also
 alone; teasel, ship, sheers, tucking-mill, and a merchant's mark.

Over the great west door on the tower is a clumsy statue of
 Edward VI. under wreathed pillars. A relief of the crucifixion,
 and over it in capitals,

JOHN WAYNG AND KATHERINE HIS WIFE PAID FOR IT.

An angel holding I. R. a statue of St. George and the
 Dragon, the king's arms in a garter, and this inscription.

**In the Vere of our Lorde a.m.vxlv. they began
 to builde.**

Over Azure a cross S. thereon a buck's head couped between
 4 doves, A. a chief Azure charged with a cross croset between
 2 roses O. is written *John Vesly*.

XL.

The foundation stone of Wolfey's college at Ipswich, laid by
 John Langland, bishop of Lincoln, had on it this inscription :

An. c t - - - - ti m
 DXXVIII. et
 regni Henrici
 Octavi regis
 Angliæ xx mensis
 vero Junii xv
 positum
 per Joha'm ep'm Lico'em.

Mr.

Mr. Grove, who gives it in his "Dialogue between Wolfey and Ximenes, 1765," 8vo, p. 135, saw it fixed up in one of the old rooms of the college, now converted into a malt-house; but Mr. Gough could not find it, 1784. At present, there remains of this noble foundation, which was scarce brought to perfection before the cardinal's disgrace, only a brick gate-way, adorned with the arms and supporters of England, and a few ruinous rooms in which are to be seen some arms, sentences, and initials. Over a chimney-glass a fesse O between three escallops O. Crest on a helmet, a wolf's head issuing from a coronet; supporters two angels.

The cieling of a room at Mr. Trotman's, maltster, in St. Nicholas's-street, is painted in lozenges with I. S. R. A. R. and other cyphers as represented in plate XXII. fig. 3.

In the middle of others, a griffin's head G.

Vive le noble roy Henry d'Angleterre.

Roses, feathers, **h R**, a demi archer on a — —

A on a bend G, 3 martlets A. between 3 dragons heads.

The same impaling a shield of pretence A. on a bendy of 6, G. and O. or A. over quarterly 1. G. a Spread Eagle. A. 2. 3. G. a fesse A. between 6 crosses bones A.

France and England supported by a greyhound and griffin.

XLI.

Over a chapel at the east end of the fourth aisle at Christ Church, in Hampshire.

ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUINGENTISIMO XXIX°.

Above IHS, and on the wooden door a shield with a church and two initials. See plate XVI. fig. 4.

In

In the south side of the chancel in the same aisle is another chapel of freestone: in a quatrefoil in one of the spandrils, a hart or goat cumbent with a label, and in the other R. Or the fascia is a scroll twisted round a stick, and inscribed in small Gothic letters:

“The lord and kyng of blis have mercy on him that let make this, the which was in the 102nd Brow Karye¹, anno Dⁿⁱ MCCCCXXV.”

Behind the altar a surbass arch as of a monument having in the spandrils in a quatrefoil a shield with a church and the initials, Pl. XVI. fig. 5.

On a wooden screen of a chapel on the north side of the chancel is painted in gold letters, almost effaced:

- - - *armigeri Margarete consort. sue quorum corpora consepulta sunt, qui Willm^{us} decessit.*

Over the door a man and woman's head; the ceiling is painted in pannels of red and blue. On the roof of the chancel are **Ihs xpe n^r dn's III**. This last initial is the name of some prior.

Mr. Grose, under his south view of this church, says, the miller's house, once probably the porter's lodge, or dwelling of some inferior domestic, was probably repaired or built by Draper, the last prior, whose initials neatly carved in stone are on one of the window frames.

N^o XLII.

On the water table of Stratford church, between Colchester and Ipswich, is this inscription inlaid in large capitals:

“Praye for the soulys of Edward Mors and Alys his wyfe, and all crysten sowlys, anno domini **1430**. Ihs * Orate pro animab. Margaret utono.

N 6

Where

Where the asterisk is, there is something like a merchant's mark, and some initials.

On the spandrils of the porch are S & I & S round a merchant's mark, and on the buttresses of the church are A. M. R. E. M. R. the initials of *Edward* and *Anne Mors*, and the same divided by a cross, and a merchant's mark.

Kirby says, the north aisle of this church was built about 1500. Edward Mors and Anne his wife, and Thomas Mors and Margaret his wife, were so great benefactors to it, that their names were expressed in the stone-work. In 1524, and 1526, two legacies were given towards building the porch. See pl. XXIX.

N° XLIII.

On the floor of the cloister of Monkton almshouses, near Taunton in the county of Somerset, which are of so old a date that all record of them is lost, though tradition assigns it to the 12th or 13th century, at the time when St. Mary Magdalen church there was built, is a stone about two feet 4 inches by 1 foot 7 inches, whereon is carved a shield, surrounded by a mitre richly ornamented with jewels, as are also the strings hanging from it. On the shield are carved the initials R B in a cypher, which some have supposed a date 1133. The like error was adopted by the author of the "History and Antiquities of Glastonbury," published by that industrious antiquary Tom Hearne *, in regard to a shield with the like initials in cypher on St. Bennet's

* "I remember nothing very remarkable of St. Bennet's church but the date on the porch on the north side of the church. It is cut or carved upon a large stone in the front of the church in very ancient figures, and shew this church to have been built in the year 1133. The two figures [1] resemble two SS, and the two figures of [3] resemble a great B, which makes some think these characters stand for *Sanctus Benedictus*. For, as near as I remember, it makes a *rebus* like this, 1333, and perhaps, at first, it was designed, to be taken either way."

Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury, p. 103, 104.

church



praye for the soulls of Edward
 Rore and alpe hye wyke and
 all exylten sowlys anno domini
 1430 the  orate p' animas
 Margare't uton.

am		5
am		
atm		
atm		1

1 Foot 7 inches

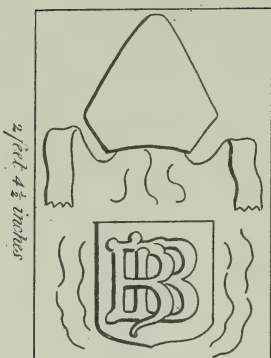


Fig 1. p. 97.

8 1/2 Inches

10 1/2 Inches

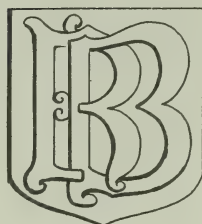


Fig 3. p. 97.

Plate XXVII. p. 97.

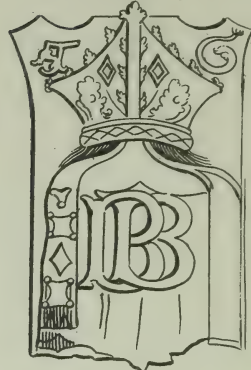


Fig 2. p. 97.

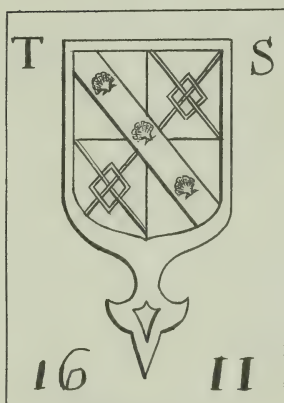


Fig 6. p. 123.



Fig 4. p. 122.



Fig 5. p. 122.



Fig 7. p. 123.

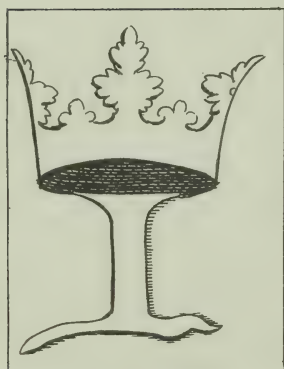


Fig 8. p. 129.



Fig 9. p. 129.



Fig 10. p. 129.



Fig 11. p. 129.

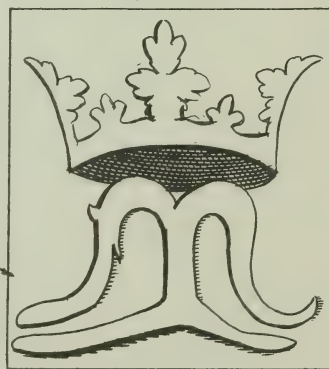
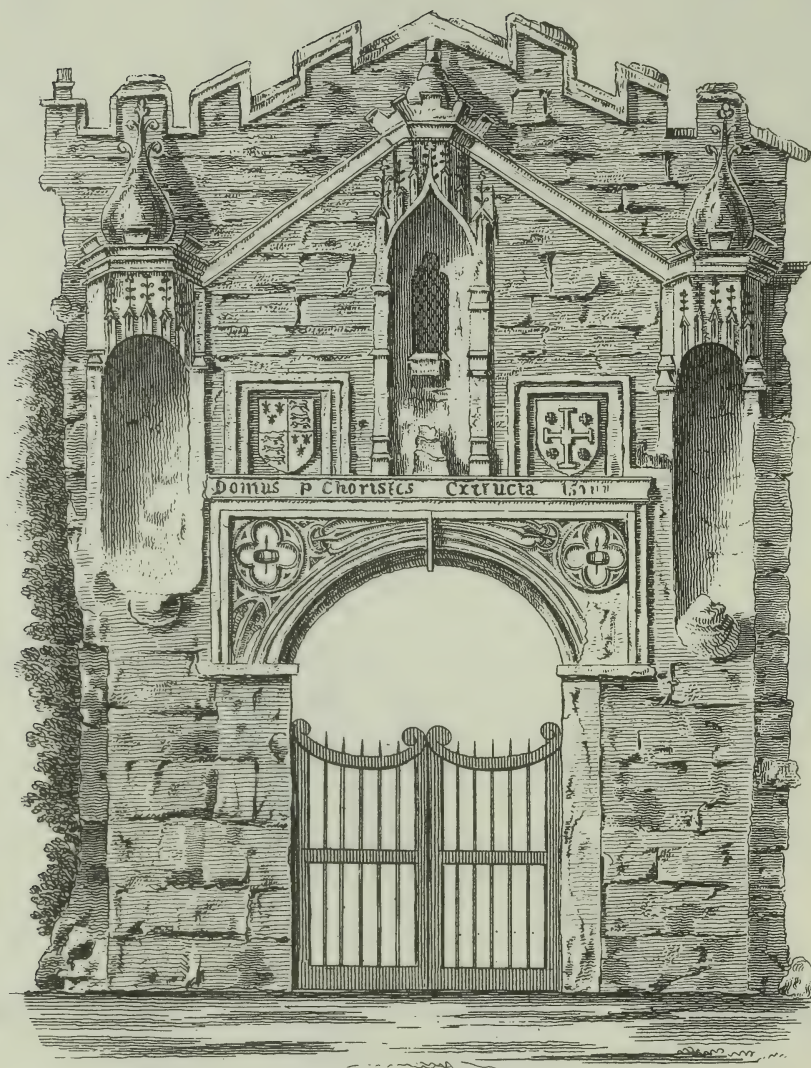


Fig 12. p. 129.



*The Gateway belonging to the Choristers House,
in the Close Lichfield. taken in 1773.*

church at Glastonbury, in the same county. But as that at Glastonbury exhibits the initials of Richard Beere, abbot there from 1493 to 1544, so these at Taunton may refer to the same munificent abbot, who was so great a benefactor in building to his own abbey. Others may chuse to refer them to *Robert Burnell*, bishop of Wells, who died 1292.

Pl. XXVII. fig. 1, 2, are at Taunton; fig. 3, inserted in the west front of the manor-house at Glastonbury, which was built with the materials of the abbatial house, and adorned with key-stones and other carvings from the ruins. The same is to be found on the north porch of St. Bennet's church in that town, which, we may therefore presume, experienced some of the abbot's bounty. Fig. 2 and 3 are both surmounted by a mitre, which will suit the mitred abbot of Glastonbury as well as the bishop of Wells.

A and G at the top-corners of fig. 3. at once proclaim *R. B.* to be *Abbas Glastenburiensis*.

Nº XLIV.

Over the gate of the choristers' house * in the clofe at Lichfield, built by Bishop Jeffery Blythe, between 1502 and 1532, and entirely taken away, and the site covered with modern houses 1772, was this inscription :

DOMVS P. CHORISTIS
EXTRVCTA

Over the gate were the arms of the see, and of France and England quarterly, and in a little window over it, a chevron

* Of which a view is here given in plate XXVIII.

between 3 escallops. In quatrefoils in the spandrils were a ton charged with an escallop, and pierced with some instrument.

Leland ¹ tells us, that the choristers' house was built by Bishop Blythe; and Browne Willis ² adds, that his contemporary dean *Denton* "was a great benefactor to this place and Windsor, of which he was a canon, and expended on the chantry priests and choristers there ³, 489l. 2s. 1d. and indeed was very generous to all places where he had any relation." Mr. Green, in the Gentleman's Magazine, LII. 558, explains the instrument through the ton to be a coulter of a plough, which Virgil ⁴ calls *Dens*; and thus it will be a rebus of the dean's name.

Mr. Pennant, in his Journey from Chester to London, p. 111, has copied this inscription very incorrectly, *Domus Choristes*.

N° XLV.

Edward Hastings, younger son of George, (and grandson of Edward Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, beheaded by Richard III.) appointed by will, dated May 10, 1556, that his body should be buried in the parish church of Stoke Pogeis, in a vault with his father, mother, and brother, to be made under a chapel to be built adjoining to the church, or to the chancel of the said church. This chapel appropriated to the hospital by him founded here for a master (a priest), four poor men, and two poor women, is now disused; but neatly fitted up, with the proper seats and a communion table. In the east window is painted and well preserved a neat figure of the founder, in armour, kneeling at his desk, and on his tabard the arms and quarterings of his

Itin. IV. 189. a.

Cathedrals, I. 399.

Lichfield or Windsor: I rather think the latter.

Darum procudit arator obtusi vomeris *dentem*. Geor. I. 262.

family,

family, which are also in the south window. On the right side of his head are his initials E. H. and on the left his crest. Here are no other monuments for him or his family.

N° XLVI.

On one of the pillars of Malton abbey church, Yorkshire, is this inscription :

Orate pro bono statu m'ri

The name exprest by a rebus, a tun charged with an escallop, and pierced transversly by a spear, or bolt, and perpendicularly by a crozier ;

fecit sua a do.

and initials **T. L.** of a prior, whose name I have not met with ; perhaps *Bolton*. See Pl. XXII. fig. 2.

N° XLVII.

At Coverham abbey in the same county, over the hall door of Mr. Lisle's house, is this inscription in relief, on a blueish stone :

**Mercy mercy
Abbas anno D'ni mil^o
quigetefio vint^o istam
domum feliciter finivit.**

T.

The **T** is probably the initial of Thomas Sidds, abbot here from 1511 to 1519. Over it **ih̄s** sided by a bird and **A**. See Pl. XXII. fig. 4. It may have belonged to the church, or the abbot's house. The present mansion is built up of fragments of the old building ; among these are **ih̄s** crowned, **ihu**, **Maria**, initials **T. A. M.** a cross flore, and the figure of the holy lamb.

N° XLVIII.

In Elford Church, Staffordshire, is the monument of Sir John Stanley, with his figure recumbent sideways, and this inscription round the edge of the slab.

Orate pro anima domini Johannis Stanley, militis, quondam domini de Clifton Campville, Wyke, Elford, & Stotfold, hujus cantuariæ & capellæ fundatoris, A. D. 1474.

N° XLIX.

The inscription, fig. 2. pl. XIV. is cut in the chalk on the north wall of the chancel at Egham, and the letters blacked.

*Hæc domus efficitur Baptiste laude Johannis,
Bis-deca septenis trecentis mille sub annis
Christi, quam statuit abbas ex corde Johannes
De Rutherwyka, per terras dictus et Ampnes.*

It is very different from that at Bookham, and fourteen years older, this being dated 1327, and that in 1341, at which respective times the two chancels were built by the monks of Chertsey, who were rectors and patrons. John de Rutherwick was their abbot, from 5 id. Aug. 1307, to some time in 1346.

Aubrey speaks of an estate of 100l. a year in Chertsey, called *Ampners* (now *Amborough*), which Le Neve supposes to be a corruption of *Almoner's*; but I should rather suppose to be a Grange, or Farm-house, built in Rutherwyk's time, who seems, by the above inscription, to have had also the surname of *Ampnes*.

If this explanation of *Ampnes* be admitted, we must understand *per* as equivalent to *propter*, and to mean *after, from, or on account of* his estate. But I rather think *Ampnes* is a monkish substitute for rhyme's sake to *Maria*, and to mean that J. Rutherwyke

wyke would be spoken of or celebrated by land and sea, and all over the world. Du Cange *in voce* gives an inscription with *Ampnis* for *amnis*, as *dampnum* for *damnum*.

N° L.

On the epitaph of the Conqueror's consort were three lines commemorating her as foundress of the nunnery of the Holy Trinity at Caen, in whose church she was buried :

Præsentem sedem, præsentem fecit & ædem,
Tam multis terris quam multis rebus honestis,
A se ditatam, se procurante dicatam.

N° LI.

On a screen in Catstock church, Dorset, between the chancel and nave :

*Tempus edax rerum, ligno non marmore sculptum
Dicito non genitis hoc pietatis opus
Ric Bishop Hol. struxisse, 1634.*

A family of the name of Bishop held and still holds Medford farm here.

N° LII.

Winge, co. Rutland

Painted on the wall, in the church.

‘Templum Sancti Petri

Dominus Henericus de Chipstoe in Forestia

de Sherwood, in

Comitatu Nottinghamiæ fecit ‘.

‘ Wright, Hist. of Rutland, p. 139.

N° LIII.

At Stanton Harold, in the county of Leicester.

“ In the Year 1653,
when all things sacred throughout the nation,
were either demolished or profaned,
Sir Robert Shirley, Baronet,
founded this church ;
whose singular praise it is,
to have done the best things in the worst times,
and
hoped them in the most calamitous.
The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance †.”

N° LIV.

On the foundation stone of St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate London, when re-built, 1725, was cut this inscription :

“ Deo & Ecclesiæ sacrum,
Lapidem hunc AKPOTΩNAION posuit
Reverendus in Christo pater
Edmundus ‡ Londinensis episcopus
Istius ecclesiæ patronus perpetuus
Primo die mensis Aprilis, A. D. 1725.”

† Staveley's History of Churches, p. 144.

‡ Gibson.

INSCRIPTIONS WITHOUT DATE.

N° LV.

On a tablet fixed against the south wall of St. John Baptist's chapel at Needham, Suffolk, 1784 :

Pray We all for grace
For he y^t holpe yis plase
God reward he for her ded
And zeve marbe ' her mede.

On the north side are some imperfect words, and on a buttress,

Crist ihs have merci on us.

On the door of the chancel 3 crowns, and a lion rampant in a border engrailed. See pl. XXV.

N° LVI.

In the chapel on the north aisle of the church at Heveningham, in Suffolk, is an altar tomb with the brass figures of a man and woman: over the man's head quarterly 1. 4. a bordure ingrailed charged with escallops: 3 femè of fleurs de lis; at his feet *Heveningham* quartered as before, impaling frette a chief.

At the woman's head *Heveningham* quartered as before. At her feet frette a chief. On the edge this inscription :

—nus Johannes Heveningham miles et domina
Margareta uxor ejus qui hanc capellam fieri fecerunt,
quorum animabus et omnium fidelium defunctorum
propetietur Deus. Amen.

¹ Mr. Gough read it *Marsch*, 1784.

On the end and sides of the tomb, O and Gules a bordure engrailed S, charged with escallops A. quartering A. on a bend Azure, 3 eaglets displayed O.

Heveningham, with an impalement.

————— impaling A. fretté a chief O.

————— impaling S. a cross moline O quartering lozengy O and Gules.

————— quartering O 2 fleurs de lis G.

N° LVII.

On the west front of the tower of Ixworth church, in the same county, on a large square glazed tile, was an inscription which by the cracking off of the glazing is now illegible, and the few letters that remain cannot be made out. It could hardly be so old as the priory founded here at the time of the Conquest.

N° LVIII.

Over the door leading into the abbey kitchen and cloister of the house at Malling in Kent, fitted up *à la gothique*, by the late Frazer Honeywood, esquire, in the spandrils are scrolls with this inscription :

Bened ct. d'us
in domo
suo & scs
in o'is opibz
suis.

i. e. *Benedictus dominus in domo suo & sanctus in omnibus operibus suis.*

This is the 17th verse of the cxlvth Psalm, or, as it stands in the Vulgate, Pf. cxliv. 14. altered in the first sentence.

On

On the spandrils of the garden gate :

R. Belton, S. Ospito d'na.

Over the great arch of the gate, is a shield and scroll defaced : over the small one, Ermine a crozier, in chief 3 annulets. Weever¹ mentions " the likeness of a pastoral staff" over the abbey-gate, which was probably the arms thereof, with these additions. Bishop Tanner has given none for this nunnery.

LIX.

On the stone spandrils of a door in the tower of Middle Claydon church, Bucks, are cut in relief these characters, which may be either the name of Jesus and the patron Saint, or a date. See pl. XX. fig. 2.

N° LX.

On a key-stone of Netley abbey, fallen down, Mr. Gough, 1765, copied what he takes for a W. made up of two birds, and a T below, and supposes initials of some abbot, whose name is not transmitted to us. See plate XVI. fig. 6. Other keystones have these shields ;

A cross patonce between 5 martlets, under a ducal or royal coronet.

A pelican under a mitre.

A chevron charged with a rose between 3 owls, impaling a chevron charged with 3 roundels between 3 roses.

Three piles.

A fess between 3 roses.

A W.

A chain between 2 fesses wavy.

The pillar, scourge, and hyssop

¹ P. 312.

N° LXI.

The figure and inscriptions in the west end of the aisle of St. Nicholas church at Ipswich are of such high antiquity that they are believed to have been part of a much older church than the present. The first in pl. XXI. represents St. Michael the archangel fighting the dragon. The inscription has been read,

Her Sc. Michael feht the Dane Dracan ;

Here St. Michael fights or fought the dragon of the den, or *valley*, or *abyss*, meaning the bottomless pitt ; *Dane* or *Daene* for *Den*, *Vallis*.

It is not so easy to decypher the second inscription, round the rude representation of a monstrous boar. The first word seems *Dedi* ; the second *Lanene* ; the third may be *Ecclesie* ; and the fourth *Dei* ; the rest are illegible. This inscription is arranged not unlike that of Magnus the Dane in the side of St. John's church at Lewes, Suffex.

N° LXII.

On the outside of the arch of a north window of Sutton church near Epsom, is or was this inscription :

✠ *Pri. pur Willem Foul - - - logie Magistro.*

N° LXIII.

Under the brass figure of a man in the habit of a burgefs, in Woburn church, in the county of Bucks:

Here lyeth John Godwyne and Bernell h's wyfe,
 first founder
 of the kepull of Obourne Deyncourt,
 Which deceased the xvii date of April the yere of oure
 Lord God MCCCCLXXVIII, on whose foules mys
 have mcy of your charite for owre foules and alle
 cristen seyn Pat'n & Abe.

N° LXIV.

Under the brass figures of a man and woman in the south
 aile of Holm by the sea, in Norfolk:

Henry Notyngham & hys wyffe lyne here
 yat made this chirche, kepull & quere,
 two vestments and bells they made also:
 Christ hem save, therefore fro' wo,
 and to bring their saulls to blis of heaven,
 sayth Pater & Abe Withe mylde Steven.

Henry de Nottingham was one of the council of the Duchy
 of Lancaster, 5, 6, &c. H. IV. ¹

¹ Parkins's Continuation of Blomefield's Norfolk, V. 1280.

N° LXV.

In the spandril of Goodnestone church, Kent, is this inscription:

**Orate p. T.
boye ad
Wter
ist'
o^{is}**

i. e. *Orate pro Thoma boye adiutore istius operis.*

At bottom of the frame on the arch, a plain cross, perhaps *St. Austin's abbey*, and a plain saltire ;

And over the arch of a south window :

**Wyl
lyam
boypys.**

Over the door are these shields.

Per fess indented.

3 griffins' or birds' heads.

Archevron between 3 beasts.

On a grave-stone in the south space near the pulpit are brass figures of a man and woman, with 5 boys and 3 girls, and this inscription :

S'cta trinitas un' deus miserere nob'is.

Pater de celis deus miserere nob'is.

**Hic jacet Willmus boys, et Flabella uxor eius qui
quidem Willmus obiit ultimo die Julii, A. D'ni
M°VCVII quorum a'abus ppicietur deus.**

* Dart's Canterbury, p. 30.

N° LXVI.

On a small stone against the south pillar of the middle isle of Cheaping Barnet church, Hertfordshire :

**Q̄ua = = = ioh̄is
beuchamp fudatoris huius operis '.**

Perhaps he was founder of this church.

N° LXVII.

The building of the chancel of Balsham church, in the county of Cambridge, is thus commemorated in the epitaph of John Sleaford, its rector, who died 1400, and was buried in the middle of it, under a slab adorned with his figure richly embellished in brass.

**Johannes Sleaford dictus rector mundoq. relictus.
Bursa non strictus, jacet hic sub marmore pictus,
Fautor iustorum constans, ultor viciorum,
Quem rex Edwardus dilexerat, ad mala tardus,
Gardrobam rexit illius dum bene virit,
Ecclesiam firavit hanc, nunquam postea luxit.
Hec fecit stalla, large fundensque metalla.**

“ He built this chancel, says Mr. Blomefield, and staled it with 28 stalls of good oak, which have been carefully preserved to this day ‘.”

N° LXVIII.

On the south side of the chancel of St. Peter's church at Thetford, is a chapel (now the vestry) dedicated to the Virgin

* Salmon, p. 57.

* Collect. Cantab. 202.

Mary and St. Catharine, founded by William Tillis, as appears from Popy register 1501 to 1504¹, towards finishing of which he gave two acres of land for ever, which he bought of William Inkepenne. He was buried in this chapel, probably under the altar tomb under the furbaft arch on the fide opening to the chancel, and having a grey flab once charged with a small brafs plate. On the outside upon and under the battlements of this chapel is this infcription in large ftone letters in relief:

^a
 otalep roalaB lilla
 br rrb lo benis
 tellus et gill cōsortii
 rok n wd rei gep
 Gue edun tūz
 horambl
 ninnbnid

" *Item.* I will be buried in the chapell of our Lady and St. Catherine in St.
 " Peter's church, qweche newley I have begunne to make, the wech chapell I wyl
 " that it be made up and fenyshed, to the reparacon of the wech I geive perpetuall
 " my ii acres of land qweche I bowte of William Inkepenne, after the decefse of
 " Sybyl my weyf." Blomefield's Thetford, p. 80. Martin's, p. 63, 64.

Orate

Ora te pro animabz Willi
Tillis et Sibill confortis
sue edmundi reysey
et elisa
beth filie roberti
rokwood.

Quorum aiabs
propicietur deus.

Nº LXIX.

The vicar's college at Southwell was a brick building, taken down in the last or very early in this century. It had an oratory loaded with the two emblematical roses of the houses of York and Lancaster in conjunction, and a bow window, much decorated in similar ornaments, and on the wall underneath within, in large old English characters :

Willelmus Talbot.

A small plain stone at the foot of the prebendary of T. Hall in this church has this inscription on him :

**Willelmus Talbot,
Biter et indignus sacerdos
Expectans resurrectionem
Mortuorum sub regno E. Hall.**

Archbishop Kemp was a great benefactor to the palace there, 1425, on the hall of which is an angel bearing his arms, 3 gerbes ; also on the porch and in the hall.

¹ Raftall's Hist. of Southwell, p: 344.

² Ibid. 357.

N° LXX.

On one of the pillars of the centre tower of the cathedral of Elgin, was this inscription, serving as an epitaph for bishop Innes, who began and forwarded it, and probably was buried under it.

Hic jacet in Xto Pater & Dominus Dominus Johannes de Innes hujus ecclesie episcopus, qui hoc notabile opus incepit & per septennium edificavit¹.

N° LXXI.

The present earl of Abercorn having converted the site of the orchard and garden of *Paisley* abbey into a handsome new town, regularly built for a weaving manufactory, and applied the stones of the wall to that purpose; "the large stone which has abbot George Shaw's inscription on it, mentioned p. 75. is placed in front of Mr. Calder's, the northernmost house on the east side of Lawn-street, being a lintel to the front door. This stone is reserved in such a manner, that neither the earl of Abercorn can take away the stone from the said house, nor can the proprietor of the house use the stone in any other way than in front of the house²."

N° LXXII.

Over the outside of the chancel door at Alderley, in Gloucestershire, is a small half-length statue of a man much defaced. In

¹ Pennant's Tour, 1769, p. 147. ex MS. Hist. of Innes Family.

² Semple's new edition of Crawford's History of Renfrewshire, p. 290. Edinb. 1782, 4°. He says, "John Murdoch mentioned in the Melros inscription was taught in the famous school of Masonry at Antwerp, which sent out so great a number of excellent architects during the 11th and 12th centuries," p. 301.

"On the north side of the porch of the main or great door of Paisley church, are three lines of very antient letters, which Mr. Semple leaves to the more learned Antiquarians to explain," p. 302.

his hand is a scroll, written in old English characters, but too much obliterated to be made out. Adjoining to the image on the wall is the date ¹, anno 1458."

LXXIII.

The founder of the church at Lavenham in Suffolk, is not exactly ascertained; but that the De Veres Earls of Oxford, and the Spring family opulent clothiers in this town, were the principal founders, is clear from the arms so variously dispersed around it. The time of its erection is also not exactly known. We are informed, "that in the time of one Thomas Spring (a rich clothier) this church was old and decayed, whereupon he gave 200^l. towards the repairs; and his posterity joining with the Earls of Oxford, the posterity of his daughter finished it ²." And Weever says, that Thomas Spring died An. Dom. MDX. and was buried under a monument on the north-side of the chancel; and that he built both the south and north chapels on each side of the chancel ³. But it is certain he errs both in chronology and exactness in these circumstances; for the following inscriptions are clearly distinguishable in two legends over the windows of these chapels: that on the south side is,

Thomæ Spring, armig. et Aliciæ uxoris ejus, qui istam capellam fieri fecerunt anno Dom. MCCCC vicefimo quinto ⁴:

And that on the north side is,

. Simonis Branchi et Elizabeth-ux-ejus, qui istam capellam fieri fecerunt.

¹ Bigland's Collections for Gloucestershire, p. 30.

² Mag. Brit. Hib. antiqua. et nova.

³ Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 167.

⁴ Thus given by Kirby, in his "Historical Account of his 12 prints. p. 17.

Orate pro anim's Thomæ Springe, armig. et Alicæ uxoris ejus qui istam capellam fieri fecerunt anno Dom. MCCCC vicefimo quinto.

. Simonis Branchi et Elizabeth. uxoris ejus qui istam capellam fieri fecerunt.

So that, in the former of these inscriptions, it plainly appears Weever was mistaken as to the time when this division of the building was erected; and, in the latter, in the person mentioned by him as the founder of it: and as to the monument which he mentions, there are at this time not the most distant vestiges to be traced.

In the vestry is an old monument with this inscription:

“ Orate pro animabus ¹ Thomæ Spring ², qui hoc vestibulum ³ fieri fecit in vita sua, et Margerete uxoris ejus ⁴; qui quidem Thomas obiit septimo die mensis Septembris, A. D. Millimo CCCCLXXXVI et prædicta ⁵ Margerete obiit . . die ⁶ . . A. D. Millimo CCCCLXXX⁷ — quor⁸ animabus propicietur Deus ⁸, Amen.”

Hence it is collected, that this Thomas Spring built the vestry; and it may scarce be doubted but that he, joining with some of the De Veres, who were then lords of the honour of Lavenham, laid the foundation of this noble building. There are, on every side, the arms of many of the nobility emblazoned in sculpture; of De Vere with those of Nevil, Howard, and Montague; the arms of Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford; the archiepiscopal arms of Canterbury, and those of the Bishop of London; and, near the top of the steeple are 26 coats with the arms of the Springs only. The porch must be allowed to be of excellent architecture, very splendidly embellished with the arms of many of the most noble families in this kingdom, many being encircled with garters: and, upon the whole, this may well be styled of admirable sculpture ⁹.

¹ *p' a'i'ab'z Kirby.*

² *Sprynge.*

³ *vestibil'm.*

⁴ *ei.* the rest omitted to *A. D. &c.*

⁵ *p'd'e'a.*

⁶ *die mejs.*

⁷ *CCCLXXXIV.*

⁸ *a'i'ab'z p'piciet de.*

⁹ *Gent. Mag. May 1787. v. LVII. p. 378.*

LXXIV.

Fig. 2. Pl. VII. is copied from the monument of Sir John Stanley, in the chancel at Elford in the county of Stafford, and is to be read thus :

*Orate pro anima domini Johannis Stanley militis quondam domini
de Pype, Clyfton,*

Campwole, Elford, & Stotfelde, et hujus cantuarie & capelle

Fundatoris Anno Domini millesimo CCCGmo septuagesimo quarto.

The manors of Elford, Pipe, Clifton Camville, and Stotfold, came from the Ardernes to the Stanleys by marriage t. R. II. or H. IV. of Maud Arderne to Sir Thomas Stanley, who had issue John and Humfrey Stanley, both knights. John, who founded this chantry and chapel, had a son killed in his infancy, and a daughter Margaret. Stotfold came afterwards by marriage to an ancestor of the present Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, esquire, to whom we are indebted for a facsimile copy of this inscription :

LXXV.

On the wooden ceiling of the middle aisle of the old cathedral of St. Machar at Aberdeen are painted in three columns, 43 armorial bearings, with inscriptions under them :

Imperatorie majestatis.

Francorum regis.

Hispaniarum regis.

Regis Anglorum.

Regis Ungarie.

Regis Portugalie

Regis Aragonie.

Regis Cipre.

Regis Navarre.

Regis Sicilie.

Regis Polonie.

Regis Bohemie.

Ducis Bourbonie.

Ducis Gelrie.

Arbis Abredonie.

Pontificis Romani.

Santi And. archiepi.

Glasguen archiepi.

Dunkelden episcopi.

Sabini Aberdonen.

Mozabi episcopi.

Rossen episcopi.

Brehinen episcopi.

Cathanin episcopi.

Candide case episcopi.

Dumblanen episcopi.

Lismoren episcopi.

Dorchaden episcopi.

Sodozenis episcopi.

Prioris Sancti And.

Alme hujus Universitatis.

Regie Celcitudinis

Sanctissime Margarete.

Albanie ducis.

Marchiarum comitis.

Mozabi comitis Radulphi.

Douglasie comitis.

Angulie comitis.

Harri comitis.

Sutherlandie comitis.

Craufurdie comitis.

Huntlie comitis.

Archadie comitis.

Crolie comitis.

Hariscallie comitis.

Bochtrute comitis.

Arbis Abredec.

On the South and North borders of these columns are painted longitudinally the following registers *.

On the South Side.

Murchtlatkeen & Aberdonen eccl'is cathedrales
respect be condidere pro quibus in hac sacra ede fun-
date obligantur orare primus Malcomus kenedi qui
Murchtlatkeen eccl'iam pro constituit anno mil' quar-
to cui succedit Duncanus cui Malcomus Camoir anno
m° lvi^{to} cui Edgarus cui Alexander cui David scus
anno m° c° xxiii qui Murchtlatkeen eccl'iam ad Abre-
don' am transtulit cui Malcomus Virgo cui Willm's
cui Alexander 11^o cui Robertus Bruce anno m° cc.
quadge vi^o cui David Bruce cui Robertus 11^o cui
Robertus 111^o cui Jacob^o 1 cui Jacob^o 11 cui Jacob^o
111 cui Jac bus 1v^o cui Jacob^o v cui Maria Regina.

On the North.

Pectanus primus hujus eccl'ie pontifex Edwardus 11
Matheus Kynnimond 111 Johannes pri^{or} de Calo
1111 Adam Clericus regis Willi v. Matheus Cancel-
larius vi Gilbertus Stribel n vii Radulphus Lambley
viii Petrus Ramsay ix Richardus x Hugo Benhame
xi Henricus Chen'e xii Alexander de Kynnemond
xiii Will'mo de la Tyne xiiii Johanes de Rait xv
Alexander Kynnemond xvi Alan de Tynninghame
xvii Gilbertus Greenlaw xviii Henricus Lychtown
xix Ingeramus Lyndesay xx Thomas Spens xxi
Robertus Blacater xxii Willm's Elphynstown unt-
versitatis & collegii con'it^r xxiii Alexander Gordon
xxiv Gavinus Dunbar xxv Willm's Stuart xxvi
Willm's Gordon.

* Douglas's Description of the East Coast of Scotland. Paisley, 1782, p. 183—185.

* * Having been favoured with a copy of the inscriptions on Mr. Caning's monument in St. Mary Redcliffe church at Bristol, taken by the reverend Mr. Collinson, of Cirencester, September 22, 1786, we have here subjoined it, to shew what mention is made in it of the church having been built at his expence, as is intimated, p. 51.

At the end of the south transept of Redcliffe church on an altar tomb under a canopy open at each side lie the effigies of William Canings and his lady. He is habited in his magistrate's robes, and his hands, as well as those of the female, are closed as in prayer. On a long loose strip of wood at the bottom of the tomb in front is the following inscription, being an imperfect copy of the original, which formerly stood elsewhere :

“ Hic inferius tumulatur corpus nobilis, circumspēcti, magnæque industriæ viri Willi Canyngs dudum * Mercatoris & quinquies Majoris istius villæ, et postea in ordine sacerdotali per septennium instituti †, ac decani de Westbury, qui in ista ecclesia duas cantarias perpetuas duorum capellanorum, viz. unam in honorem S^ti Georgii, et alteram in honorem S^tæ Catharinæ, ac etiam unum clericum stabiliri ‡ fecit, et Mariæ virgini sacrauit §, cum sua Johanna, quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.”

At the back of the monument over the figures is a loose wooden tablet in a black frame, whereon is this inscription :

Mr. William Canings the richest
Marchant of the Towne of Bristow
Afterwards chosen 5 times Mayor of
the said towne; for the good of the comon
wealth of the same. Hee was in order
of Priesthood 7 yeares, and afterwards
Deane of Westbury, and died the 7th of
Novem. 1474, which said William
did build within the said towne of
Westbury a Colledge (with his
Canons) and the said William d;d main-
tain by space of 8 yeares 8 00
handy craftesmen besides carpen-
ters and masons, every day 100 men.

* In a copy taken 1669 it stands thus: *dudum valentis mercatoris.*

† *Constituti*, *ibid.*

‡ This word does not occur, *ibid.*

§ No such words in the original, which after *fecit*, runs thus: *et juxta eum requiescit uxor sua Johanna, &c.*

Besides King Edward the 4th had of the
said William 3000 marks for his peace
To be had in 2470 tonnes of shipping.

These are the names of his shipping with their burthens:

	Tonnes.
the Mary Canings.	400
the Mary Reclife	500
the Mary and John	900
the Galliot	500
the Kathrine	140
the Mary Bat	220
the little Nicholas	140
the Margaret	200
the Katherine of Boston.	22
the ship of Ireland	100

No age nor time can wear out well-woon fame:
The stones themselves a stately * worke doth show,
From fenceles graves we ground may mens good name:
And noble minds by ventrous deeds we know.
A Lanterne cleere fets forth a Candell light,
A worthy act declares a worthy wight.
The buildings rare that here you may behold
Doe shine, his bones deserve a tomb of gold.
The famous fabrick that he here hath done.
Shines in its sphere as glorious as the sonne.
What needs more words, the future world he fought,
And set the pompe and pride of this at nought.
Heaven was his aime, let Heaven bee still his station,
That leaves such works for others imitation.

On the edge of the canopy are two cherubs, holding each a shield charged with an anchor; and on the tomb, in front, are the arms of Canings, *viz.* three Moors' heads wreathed, Argent.

On the left-hand side of the above monument is Caning's effigy, in his *priests* robes, in white marble, lying on an altar tomb, raised but little from the floor; but which appears, from notes taken 1669, to have originally lain in an arch in the south wall.

No

No improper appendage to inscriptions on churches may be one on a tower erected in Hulin abbey ¹, by Henry Percy, fourth earl of Northumberland, as a place of refuge for the monks in time of danger :

[I]n the year of Christ Jhu MCCCCXXVIII
This Tower was bilded by Sir Hen. Percy,
The fourth earl of Northumberland of great honour and
worth,
That espoused Maud the good Lady full of vertue
bewty,
Daughter to Sir Will'm Harbit, right noble and hardy
Erle of Pembrock, whos foules God save,
And with her grace conserve the bilder of this Towr.

Inscription on a large building at Brussels :

HIC VOTVM PACIS PVBLICAE ELIZABETH CONSECRAVIT.

Inscriptions like these are very common on public buildings, especially on religious houses. There are many instances of it abroad, as well as in England. In Suffolk they are very common on the old churches; and what is to be observed is, that by them may be discovered, not only the founder of such buildings, but the times when they were built, as doth clearly appear by the foregoing inscription, in which is contained the date of the year in which this building was erected, 1625 ².

¹ Grose under his view of Hulin. Hutchinson's Northumberland II. 521.

² MS. Paper of Dr. Ducarel.

LETTER from the Rev. JOHN PRIDDEN, B. A. F. A. S.
to Mr. GOUGH.

S I R,

In looking over my minute-books, I find the following memorabilia respecting the foundation or repairs of Churches, or parts of them. Should any of the present rude assemblage prove congenial to Mr. Pegge's Plan, it will afford a singular satisfaction to him who has the honour to be yours, &c.

Feb. 23, 1787.

JOHN PRIDDEN.

* * * The articles marked C, are selected from a MS. collection of Epitaphs, Church Notes, &c. &c. made by Mr. John Clement, junior, of Woodstone in Huntingdonshire.

1. Chesterton, Huntingdonshire.

In the north aisle about the edges of a stone under an arch in the wall, is this memorial for the re-builder of the Church, who died 1483 :

**Orate p aia Willmi Beville genosi qui obiit anno
reg. Richardi tertii cujus animæ ppiciet Deus. C.**

2. St. Mary, Newmarket,

on a seat at the east end of the south aisle :

**Orate pro aia Thome Wydon, q̄ has sedes fieri fecit
A° Dni. 1292. 1494.**

3. Truro, Cornwall,

painted on glass in one of the south windows :

WILL'MO.

A. D. 1518.

4. Mortlake,

4. Mortlake, Surrey.

On the west front of the tower :

VIVAT

R. H. VIII.

1545.

5. Waltham Abbey church, Essex.

Over the west door of the tower :

AN^o DOM.

1558, IN $\frac{x}{y}$

FIFTH YEAR OF

PHILIP & MARY.

6. Highgate, Middlesex,

against the west end of the chapel :

A sword in fess between a helmet in chief, and two garbs
in base, plate XXVII. fig. 4.

ANNO D^{NI} 1562.

S^R ROGER CHOLMELEY KN^T L^D CHIEFE BARON OF $\frac{x}{y}$ EXCHEQVER
AND AFTER THAT L^D CHEIFE J^{STICE} OF THE KINGS BENCH DID
INSTITVTE AND ERECT AT HIS OWN CHARGES THIS PVBLIQUE
AND FREE GRAMER SCHOLE.

AND PROCVRED THE SAME TO BE ESTABLISHED AND CONFIRMED
BY THE LETTERS PATENTS OF QVEEN ELIZABETH, HEE ENDOW-
INGE THE SAME WITH YEARELY MAINTAYNANCE.

WHICH SCHOOLE EDWYN SANDYS L^D BISHOP OF LONDON EN-
LARGED AN^o DNI 1565, BY THE ADDITION OF THIS CHAPEL
FOR DIVINE SERVICE & BY OTHER ENDOWMENTS OF PIETIE AND
DEVOTION. SINCE WHICH THE SAID CHAPPEL HATH BEEN
ENLARGED BY THE PIETIE & BOVNTY OF DIVERS HON^{BLE} AND
WORTHY PERSONAGES.

THIS INSCRIPTION WAS RENEWED ANNO DNI 1668 BY THE
THEN GOVERNORS OF THE SAID SCHOOLE.

7. Cheyney,

7. Cheyney, Buckinghamshire.

Over the east window of the Ruffel Chapel, on the north side of the chancel of Cheyney church :

ANNO D'NI 1565.

THIS CHAPPELL BVILT BY ANNE
COVNTESSE OF BEDFORD WYFE OF
JOHN EARLE OF BEDFORD ACCORDING TO
THE LAST WILL OF THE SAID ERLE.

8. St. Burian, Cornwall.

On the church-yard wall, south-side :

1584.

9. Holywell Church, in the suburbs of Oxford.

On the south porch :

1592.

O. 3 Chevrons, G. as in fig. 5. the arms of *Walter de Merton*.

R. H. W. M. Perhaps *Rex Henricus* III. and *Walter Merton* his chancellor, with its mother church of St. Peter in the East, to Merton College ¹. The same arms and the initials W. M. with those of W. N. are against the front of a house opposite Carfax (St. Martin's) Church, in Oxford, with the date 1580.

10. Rigley, Derbyshire.

This church was built about the year 1594, by Cath. Wil-
loughby. Over the doors are the arms of that family; Or, on
2 bars Gules 3 water-buckets Argent. The same arms are also
on the front.

¹ Wood's Hist. of Oxford, by Peshall p. 251.

11. On the ruins of the porch of a church or chapel at Ludlow, Shropshire, in the street leading to Bishops-castle (on the north side of the town), adjoining to the ruins of the priory to which it belonged : " 1598."

12. Widford, Effex.

In the east window of a chapel on the north side of the church, in glafs, now broke :

**Carolus Altham Serrens [ad legem] Dnus de
maner de Widford, ac [patronus] titus ecclesie hanc
capellam [adificabit] Anno Dom' 1604.**

Charles Altham, serjeant at law, was lord of this manor till 1607¹. The words in hooks are broken since Morant's time.

13. Yarnton, Oxfordshire.

On the west front of the tower :

Arms of Spencer, as in plate XXVII. fig. 6.

T. S.

1611.

14. St. Thomas, in the suburbs of Oxford,

over the door of the fourth porch :

Arms, a fess between 3 lions heads erased (see fig. 7.)

1621.

E. F. T. B.

¹ Morant's Effex, II. 60. D.

15. Chiswick, Middlesex.

In the east wall of the church-yard near the north end:

THIS WALL WAS MADE AT ^E_Y CHARGES OF
^E_Y RIGHT HONOURABLE & TRVLIE PIOVS
 LORDE FRANCIS RVSSEL DVKE OF BEDFORD
 OVT OF TRVE ZEALE & CARE FOR ^E_Y
 KEEPING OF GODDS SAINTS WHOSE
 BODIES LAY THEREIN BVRIED FROM
 VIOLATEING BY SWINE & OTHER
 PROPHANATION. SO WITNESSETH
 WILLIAM WALKER. A. D. 1623.

16. Liskiard, Cornwall.

Over the west-door: "1627."

17. Sandford, Oxfordshire.

Over the door of the south porch:

Condidit me D'NA ELIZA ISHAM. Anno Gratiae 1652.

Porticus Patrone.

Thankes to thy Charitie, religioſe Dame;
 Who found me old, and made me new againe.

18. Bluntſham, Huntingdonſhire.

On the ſouth porch:

1656.

T. D.

G. P. T. S.

19. St. Clement Danes, London.

The Portico and Steeple was new-erected anno 1660;

Dr. Richard Dukeſon being then Rector;

John Holloway, }
 John King, } Church-wardens.

This Church-yard was paved in the year of our Lord 1725.

20. West-Haddon, Northamptonshire.

Over the south porch :

Thomas Burnham, } Church-wardens,
Thomas Parnell, } Anno Dom. 1682.

21. St. John's in Thanet, Kent.

Over the south porch is the date of 1686 ; { I. B.
and on the key-stone of the chancel door is { T. B. 1738.

22. Over the north door of Preston church, in Lancashire :

" 1705."

23. Totteridge, Hertfordshire. { B. D.

Over the west window of the tower : { 1706.

Mem. It is in agitation to rebuild this church.

24. Temple Cowley, Oxfordshire.

Over the door of the south porch : I. F. 1707. B. D.

25. Kettering, Northamptonshire.

Against the east wall of the Church-yard :

WM. SUTTON, }
JOHN IVES, } Church-wardens, 1708.

26. St. Edmund's-bury, Suffolk.

Against the south-east buttress of the chancel of St. James's church:

Tho^s Gray, Bricklayer,

built this Chancel, A. D. 1711,

as Master Workman.

Frances, the Wife of

THO^s GRAY, dyed Sept^{ber}

the 17th, 1730, Ætatis 60.

S 2

27. Claverly,

27. Claverly, Shropshire.

Against the south side of the tower:

John Cotton,
Gent. laid the
first stone of this
Church; he, and Francis
Bishop, Ch. Wardens.
1714.

28. Blimel, Staffordshire.

This Church was re-built 1719, John Manning and Henry
Bagnall, Church-wardens. C.

29. Bourne, Lincolnshire.

Here was not (July 1, 1735) one inscription or monument
in the Church. But against the north wall of the chancel are
the arms of Tolethorp, the impropriator, Sable, 3 mullets Argent;
and in a window on the south side are the arms of England
within a bordure Argent, perhaps belonging to Edmund of
Woodstock, or his son the Earl of Dorset, circ. 1300. C.

30. Cumner, Berkshire.

On the porch:

"1735."

31. Newark, Nottinghamshire.

On the north porch, a cross-patonce.

32. Barking, Essex.

On the north porch:

R. T.

J. E.

1736.

33. East-

33. East-floke, Nottinghamshire.

The whole body of the Church is in ruins at present (Feb. 17, 1737-8), as it has been ever since the civil wars, at which time some soldiers lodging therein, it accidentally took fire. After the Restoration, the chancel was fitted up, and divine service hath been ever since performed therein.

As I rode by this church in the summer of 1738, I found it was re-building. C.

34. Gloucester Cathedral.

On the beautiful skreen before the choir, built by that worthy prelate bishop Benson, in the room of an inelegant stone-wall :

MARTINVS
EPISCOPVS
FECIT
AN. DOM.
MDCCXLI.
ET CONSECRAT^S SVÆ
VII^{MO}.

35. Hampstead, Middlesex.

Over the west-door, 1745, date of the re-building the church.

A spire was placed on the tower of this church, 1784.

36. Erith, Kent.

On the rough casting of the south aisle at the west-end :

H. W.
R. D.
1753.

37. Little

37. Little Addington, Northamptonshire.

Over the north door within the church :

Robert Paine,	} Church-wardens, 1757.
John Harris,	

38. Putney, Surry.

The new burial ground is situated about half a mile from the church, a little way on the left hand in the upper road to Barnes ; it was consecrated in 1763, by the archbishop of Canterbury. It was formerly part of the estate of Dr. Pettiward, who exchanged it with the parishioners for some of the church land. Dr. Pettiward is buried (without any memorial) near the north west corner of it.

39. Wallingford, Berkshire.

On the west front of the tower of St. Peter's church :

THIS CHURCH

WAS FINISHED

A. D. MDCCLXIX.

THE SPIRE

A. D. MDCCLXXVII.

40. Thurlaston, Leicestershire.

This church ¹ was re-built A. D. 1779 ;

Nathanael Trotter, Rector ;

George Everard,	} Church-wardens.
Thomas Biggs,	

¹ The ancient chancel remains (June 12, 1787), and the famous chapel of the *Turviles*, of Normanton Turvile, the eldest branch of that respectable family ; but their fine monuments are going to ruin as speedily as a worse than total neglect can hasten them. J. N.

41. Ilford-Chapel, Essex,

Re-built and beautified by Bamber Gascoyne, esquire, was opened on Wednesday, August 27, 1782, when a sermon was preached by the dean of Canterbury (Dr. Horne), from Josh. xxiv. 15. The Psalmody was performed by gentlemen and ladies who were present; and the day was concluded with festivity and humour, to the great satisfaction of the company, who were elegantly entertained.

42. Burlingham, St. Andrew, Norfolk.

Repaired, 1786.

J. Smith, Church-warden.

43. Markby, Lincolnshire.

Over the porch are the following arms in stone :

Barry of Arg. and Az. a Bend gobonny Or and Gules. *Gray.*

Three Cinquefoils pierced, a canton.

A Lion rampant double queuee.

44. Abbotleigh (St. Margaret) Huntingdonshire.

There are some remains of an ancient monument (of the founder's I suppose) without any date or inscription. On each side are these arms; A cross flory between 4 crescents. *C.*

45. Broughton, Huntingdonshire.

In several of the windows is the word *Martun*, in Saxon letters, and in other a *Tun* and *Mar* over it. *C.*

Fig. 8. 12. in plate XXVII. are at Ramsey, in Essex.

Fig. 9, 10, 11, at Marston, in Oxfordshire.

[Thus far Mr. PRIDDEN.]

THE

THE date of building of parts of cathedral and other churches is pointed out by initials, or arms of the founders, without further notice. Thus the cornice and architrave over the arches stretching from the south-west pillar to two others north and west of it, and in the centre tower at Canterbury, has the motto and device of prior Goldstone II. in large text letters.

Non nobis Domine, non nobis * set nomini tuo da gloriam.

At * in the middle of the line is inserted Goldstone's name in a rebus **T**, a shield charged with 3 gold stones, and **P** in gold: i. e. *Thomas Goldstone, prior* ¹.

The roof of a beautiful chapel over that of St. Michael in the same church has in the key-stones the faces, names, and degrees, of three members of the monastery at the time of archbishop Sudbury's repairs. The eastern one has **Tho. = = = prior** ². The middle one seems to have been **John Wodnesbergh**. The western one **Willm's Wolasch, discipulus** ³.

It may be no improper supplement to the inscriptions commemorating the building and dedications of churches or chapels to add those on their ornaments.

The arras hangings of the choir at Canterbury given 1511, by prior Goldstone and Richard Deering, cellerar, of the monastery, bore this inscription:

On the south side :

Thomas Goldstone hujus ecclesie prior sacraque theologie professor noster fieri fecit. Anno Dom. millesimo quingentissimo undecimo.

On the north side :

Ricardus Dering, hujus ecclesie commonachus & celerarius noster fieri fecit. Anno Dom. millesimo quingentissimo undecimo.

¹ Gostling, p. 231.

² Chillenden, prior, 1390, an eminent architect.

³ Gostling, p. 251.

W. end



centre



E. end



Inscription on three keystones in a room over St. Michaels chapel at Canterbury.

✠ NON NOBIS DOMINE NON NOBIS ✠ T V P SIT NOMIN T VO DAGI OFIAM ✠

*Inscription on the fascia of the S. arch over the steps leading into the choir
at Canterbury.*

The following LETTER from a valuable Correspondent, relating to the Inscription p. 46. of this work, as well as to that referred to in it, is here subjoined.

DEAR SIR,

N^o XL. of the Bibliotheca Topographica, containing a History of Fotheringay, came into my hands this morning. The mistakes in it have so puzzled me so much, that I must lay my difficulties before you, merely with a view to give you an opportunity of revising the account, and making the matter clear to me in a future number of your valuable work.

At page 24, it is said, "The first foundation stone of the church was laid on *St. Martin's Day*, Nov. 11, 1415;" and, from what proceeds, the work seems to have been begun in consequence of an agreement, the date of which, however, in the Appendix ¹, is *24th Sept. the 13th of Henry VI*; that is, in the year 1434. The first date is evidently taken from the Latin Inscription at page 33; but I submit to you, whether the interpretation of it be right. In the old Roman Calendars you will find the names of two Saints, and I believe martyrs, *Proceffus & Martinian*, coupled together in one festival, on the second day of July; and, depend upon it, the first line of that Inscription should be read, *In festo martyriorum*² *Proceffi et Martiniani*; and then, if the building was begun in the second year of Henry the Fifth, the year of our Lord will be 1414; but I know not

¹ Copied from the original by Sir William Dugdale, Mon. Angl. III. 162.

² Rather *martyrum*.

T

how

how to reconcile this date to the rest of the Inscription, which certainly seems rather to refer to 1415. The note 2. in that page is totally unintelligible to me. It is *uncouthly* expressed, and censures Dr. Stukeley for a fault that does not exist in the quoted place. In my copy of the Itinerary the lines stand thus :

In festo ³ Martyrii processus Martiniani,
Ecclesiæ prima fuit hujus petra locata,
Anno Christi primum centum ac mille
Cum deca quinta H. V. tunc imminente 2da.

I think you will be glad to have these matters stated to you; and not account me impertinent in taking this opportunity of assuring you,

I am, dear S I R,

Your faithful humble Servant,

Sandwich, April 15, 1787.

WM. B O Y S ⁴.

³ According to Mr. Pridden's copy, it means *in the process* or course of the *martyrdom* of Martinianus.

⁴ There seems no other way of reconciling the dates of the foundation 1415, and contract 1434, than by referring the one to the choir, and the other to the nave, then re-built.

In the cloister of the Franciscan friary of Roscrea, in the county of Tipperary in Ireland, was this :

Orate pro anima Molrony f: Job. O'Carrol qui fuit d'us Elie &³ princeps Hiberniæ, tunc 1523, qui me fieri fecit: cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Amen ¹.

In a chapel of Ballycastle abbey, in the county of Antrim, in the same kingdom, is this inscription :

In Dei dei paræque virginis honorem illustrissimus Randolphus M'Donnell comes de Antrim hoc sacellum fieri curavit, an. Dom. 1612 ².

Over the chimney of the chapter-house at Kilkenny is this :

Hanc
basilicam
vetustate
labascentem
restituerunt
ornarunt
Offorienfes
anno
MDCCLXIII.

¹ Archdall's *Monafticon Hibernicum*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.* p. 2.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 16. Line 16. *for were r. was.*

17. Note 1. *for Inscription r. Inscriptions.*

22. l. 15. *for fabricaris read fabricare.*

23. Note 4. *for as r. at.*

35. *Read the three first lines of the Inscription thus :*

ROBERT^s DE
CAMPANIA MIL^s
ET MARGARE-

37. Note 2. *r. Aelfred mee heht gewyrca.*

73. l. 9. Cryft ; *add a note, i. e. Cryft, or Christ.*

ult. add a note, "an early instance of the use of Arabic figures."

74. l. ult. faith ; *add a note, i. e. "say thou."*

75. l. 12. *add a note, "as this Inscription appears to have been in rhyme (Shawe being to be pronounced Sha, as usual in the North) this 4th line seems to be imperfect.*

107. The second Inscription here is a more correct copy than that given in p. 74.

122. line 21. *for Rigley r. Ribley.*

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END OF THE FORTY-FIRST NUMBER.



B I B L I O T H E C A
T O P O G R A P H I C A
B R I T A N N I C A.

N° XLVIII.

CONTAINING

FRAGMENTS OF ENGLISH AND IRISH HISTORY
IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURY,
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ICELANDIC.

[PRICE SIX SHILLINGS.]

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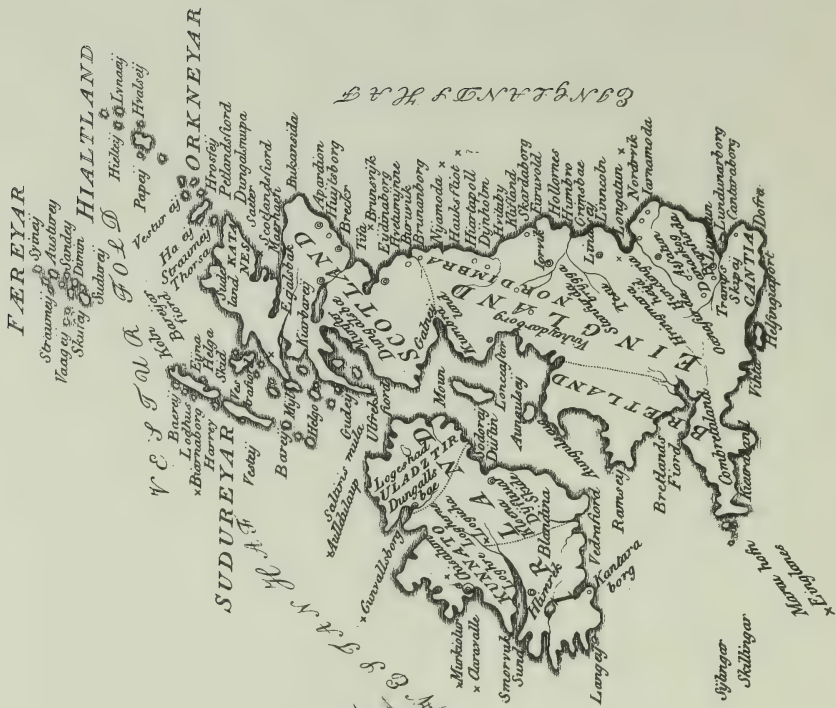
Mappa Geographica
Magnam Britanniam Hiberniam
et
Insulas sistens
(ad
Mentem Historicorum Islandorum
SECVLIS IXX. XI. XII. et XIII.

Magnam Britanniam Hiberniam

Inoula^{et} sifens (ac)

Mentem Historicorum Islandorum

SECVLIS IX.X. XI. XII. et XIII.



F R A G M E N T S

O F

ENGLISH AND IRISH HISTORY

IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURY.

I N T W O P A R T S.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ICELANDIC,

A N D

ILLUSTRATED WITH SOME NOTES,

B Y

GRIMR JOHNSON THORKELIN, LL.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF ANTIQUITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN; KEEPER OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY ARCHIVES; SECRETARY TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE ARNA MAGNEAN LEGACY; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETIES OF HERALDRY, AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE, OF COPENHAGEN; THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH; THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF DUBLIN; AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES AT GOETTINGEN.

L O N D O N,

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS;

PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

M DCC LXXXVIII.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

F R A N C I S

L O R D R A W D O N.

MY LORD,

THE Countries, which may well triumph in the scenes of action, however faintly exhibited, in the following pages, have from the earliest period of time been looked upon as the school of Heroes ; in consequence of which, they have been envied, invaded, and at times brought to the brink of ruin ; but it is not the less true, that they have been as frequently defended, led on to hazardous victory, and in the end to liberty, under the auspices and bravery of your LORDSHIP's illustrious Ancestors.

You, my LORD, in imitation of those great Men, have the honour of defending the rights and liberties of your country in the senate, as well as in the field : you have equally signalized yourself in both. Thus, at the hazard of your life, in
b
a war,

a war, of all others the most dangerous, and implacable; thus, through your patriotism and unrivaled love for the Muses, you have raised yourself the most lasting monuments; the recollection of which, I trust, will be the means of inspiring each succeeding generation with that regulated zeal, in the cause of their country, which has so eminently distinguished the conduct of YOUR LORDSHIP.

Thus, actuated as I am, with the highest sense, and unfeigned gratitude, for the many obligations which you have from time to time conferred on me, YOUR LORDSHIP will still add to those obligations, if you will be so indulgent as to accept of this literary production, as a proof of that very high respect with which I remain,

MY LORD,

Your most humble,

Most obedient,

And very much obliged Servant,

G. J. THORKELIN.

P R E F A C E.

MY Countrymen in earlier times, having an opportunity of carrying on a beneficial intercourse with this happy Island, have handed down, in their numerous works, such particulars concerning the British kingdoms, as are as yet scarcely known. The present collection of Icelandic Fragments relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland serves to prove what I have advanced.

The first of these Fragments, called NORDYMRA, containing an account of the Danish invasions of Northumberland in the course of the ninth century *, is published from a Manuscript which came into my Hands after the Death of Erland Olafson, Esq. Syllumadr, or a Justice of peace, for the county of Isafjord in Iceland.

* Conf. Flor. Vigornensis, pp. 585, 586. E. Gibson's Chronicon Saxonie, pp. 79, 80. Afferius Menevensis, edit. Franc. Wise, Oxon. 1722, p. 18, & seqq. Higden, p. 25. Matt. Westmonasteriensis, p. 161. Joh. Brompton, edit. Twisden, pp. 803, 807. Saxo-Grammaticus, lib. ix. pp. 175—177, edit. Soree, 1644. Sim. Dunelmensis, edit. Twisden, pp. 14, 123, 142.

Langebeck,

Langebeck, in his “*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*,” vol. II. has a fragment which bears a close resemblance to the present; and the life of Ragnar Lodbrok, King of Denmark, published by Eric Julius Biorner, in his “*Kæmpedater*,” or lives of the Northern Heroes, has great similarity to both. Our present fragment, though it contains many facts which are related in the two former, and the style of it is not very different from either, yet it is superior with respect to a greater variety of ancient customs and manners.

It must also be remarked, that the fragment first published by Langebeck is by far more ancient than either the life of Ragnar abovementioned, or the following account, both of which are written in the thirteenth century; for the first mentions nothing of William the Conqueror, who in the latter two is said to have opened the barrow of Ivar, King of Northumberland. This historical relick, however, loses nothing by its being written at a later period; for the facts which it contains are strengthened by the two others, particularly that which, as I have said, appears to be of an older date; besides, it throws no small light on the remoter period of the English history.

It is much to be lamented that we want similar accounts of the descents made by the Danes into England anterior to the times of Ragnar; for what either Saxo, in his History of Denmark, or the English writers of the middle age, have advanced on that subject, is too short and imperfect; and from the Death song of Ragnar Lodbrok, we only learn that this warrior spread frequently death and terror around the coasts of Britain.

The second fragment, or A VOYAGE TO IRELAND FROM ICELAND IN THE TENTH CENTURY, is taken from a history called "Laxdæla," which comprises the rise and progress of the first Inhabitants of the county of Laxardal in the West of Iceland. Snorro Sturleson*, the Author of Landnama†; Gunnlaug and Oddr‡, Authors of the life of Olave Tryggvason, King of Norway, bear testimony to the accuracy and authenticity of this work: nay, the sage Are, in his "Schedæ§," who flourished in the eleventh century, has strengthened their authority in this point.

* Landnama, or the History of the discovery of Iceland, and the rise and progress of her first Inhabitants, is written in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth Century, published at Skalholt in 1688, and at Copenhagen in 1774, at the expence of the truly learned and munificent Peter Frederic Suhm, a Lord of his Majesty's Bedchamber, &c.

† See Snorro Sturleson's Heimskringla, or the History of Norway, written in Iceland before the middle of the thirteenth Century, published by J. Peringskiöld, Stockholm, 1699-1700, and again by G. Schöningg, at the expence of His Royal Highness Prince Frederic, Prince Hereditary of Denmark and Norway, Copenhagen, 1777.

‡ Gunnlaug and Oddr, both Monks of the convent of Thingeyre, in the North of Iceland, flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The first having written his history in the Icelandic language, laid it before Gissur Halson (who became a principal Judge of the Icelandic republic in the year 1181), the first historian of his age, in order to receive of him the last improvement. See Flateyarbook, pp. 1084, 1289, 1307. Conf. Olafs Tryggvasonar Saga Skalholt, 1688, pp. 11, 321, 327, 328, 329. Oddr wrote his work in Latin. See Flateyarbook, pp. 1261, 1304, which has been afterwards translated into Icelandic, and published at Upsala, by J. Reinhielm, 1699, 4to. It is more than likely that Oddr, has perused the life of his Hero written in the same language, which King Edward the Confessor caused to be read before his officers, assembled at court, every Easter. See Flateyarbook, pp. 1274, 1304.

§ Schedæ, or the Essay on the Icelandic History, from the earliest period to the Year 1122, by Are the Sage. Of this Work we have three editions; the first was published at Skalholt, 1688, by Thord Thorlakson, Bishop of that See, 4to; the second by Christian Worm (afterwards Lord Bishop of Copenhagen and Sealand), Oxford, 1697, 8vo; the third by Andreas Buxæus, Mayor of Elfsineur, Copenhagen, 1727, 4to.

The facts herein recited took place during the interval between the years 936 and 962.

In the first year of the said period Hacon the Good, or as he was commonly called the foster-son of Athelstan, King of England, ascended the Norwegian throne, at whose court Hoskuld, the father of our hero, for some time resided: and in the year 962 Harald Grafeld paid the debt of nature. This Prince showered favours on Olaf in the course of his reign. We can learn no more on this subject, either from the copies of *Laxdæla*, preserved at Copenhagen in the collection of Manuscripts which the late Regius Professor *, Arnas Magnuson, bequeathed to the University †, or the copy mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Ayscough among the books ‡, which I trust will be an everlasting monument of that zeal and liberality with which the Arts and Sciences are so eminently supported and patronized by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. Perhaps the Chronicles of Ireland are not silent on this point, as, if I do not mistake, they mention the life of Murchard, whom I take to be the grandfather of Olaf.

* This gentleman, a native of Iceland, left to the University, by a will dated Copenhagen, Jan. 6, 1730, besides a collection of 1761 manuscripts, and several thousand original Charters relating to the history of Scandinavia, a considerable sum of money, which enables the Trustees appointed and incorporated by his Majesty's Charter, dated Fredensborg, Sept. 24, 1772, to keep a Secretary and two Clerks, whose duty it is to publish every year at least one of the Manuscripts abovementioned.

† See N^o 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 158, on Paper; and N^o 128, 132, 162, on Parchment; all in folio.

‡ See the Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum, hitherto undescribed, London, 1782, p. 890, N^o 4861.

OF TWO SHORT ACCOUNTS RELATING TO DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE ICELANDIC NAVIGATORS IN THE NINTH CENTURY, the first, p. 62, is taken from Eyrbyggja, or the history of the county of Eyrarfveit in the West of Iceland, written in the thirteenth century, and published at Copenhagen in 1786. For the other, p. 65, we are obliged to the Author of Landnama, a work of equal authority and importance.

THE RECORDS CONCERNING THE ORKNEY ISLANDS, p. 71, are published from a manuscript on paper in my own collection. The originals had belonged to the cathedral of Thrundhem, and were lost in the dreadful fire which happened at Copenhagen in 1728, and proved highly fatal to the Northern literature.

Happy shall I be, if the Publick may be pleased to take the present performance of mine as a specimen not unworthy of their notice; for a part of which, viz. the English translation of NORDYMRA, written shortly after my arrival in England in the year 1786, I am indebted to my friend the truly ingenious and learned Mr. John Pinkerton.

G. J. THORKELIN.

London,
November 2, 1788.

E R R A T A.

In Nordymra.

- P. 11. l. 3. for "last," r. "his last."
 l. 22. for "his," r. "their."
 P. 15. l. 19. for "daughter," r. "slaughter."
 P. 17. l. 13. for "in the," r. "the."
 P. 19. l. 23. for "guilt," r. "guile."
 l. 27. for "asked," r. "fought."
 P. 29. l. 2. for "stea," r. "fles."
 l. 16. for "fo," r. "was."
 P. 46. l. 22. for "fordites, r. "fordities."
 P. 49. l. 40. for "separatam," r. "separatas."

In the Voyage from Iceland to Ireland.

P. 90. note ‡. "To pic" signifies here "to harbour, to be in harbour," from *pic*, an inlet of the sea; a word frequent in the names of places in Great Britain, viz. in *Berwick*, *Dunwich*, *Greenwich*, *Harwich*, *Harwich*, *Ipswich*, *Keswick*, *Namptwich*, *Norwich*, *Painfwich*, *Sandwich*, *Warwick*, *Woolwich*, &c. To *pic*, &c.

P. 91. l. 3. for "although he proceeded in the night," r. "if he lay in harbour during the night."

N O R D Y M R A

S I V E

H I S T O R I A R E R U M

I N

N O R T H U M B R I A

A

D A N I S N O R V E G I S Q U E

G E S T A R U M,

S E C U L I S I X . X . E T X I .

P A R S I .

NU er þat til mals at tåka, at Ragnar sitr heima i riki sinu, oc veit egi hvar synir hans ero, ne Aslaug kona hans. Oc þat heyrði hann hvern tala af sinum mönnum, at engi matti iafnaz vi sonu hans oc hugþiz honom sva at engi væri iafn frægr þeim. Nu hyggr hann ráð sitt, oc fær fer smida oc lætr fella mörk til tveggja skipa mikilla; oc þat skildo menn at þat voro knerir tveir sva miklir, at engir höfdo slikir gervir verit a Nordr-löndum. Oc þarmed lætr hann fara of alt sitt rike herör, oc gera mikin vapna bunat; oc med þeirri breitni scilia menn, at hann mun atla nockora herferd fyrer fer or landino. Þetta spyrft víða a laund, þau er næst voro, oc nu ugga menn þat, oc allir konungar er fyre löndum redo, at þeir mundu egi i londom sínom eða rikum vera meiga, oc lætr hver þeirra vera vardhald um laund sin, ef nockorstadar beri hann at.

Þat er eitt sinn at Aslaug spurdi Ragnar hveria herför hann ætlaði fyrir fer? Hann svaradi at hann skal gera egi minna frægdarverk enn fyner hans höfdo þa gert: hefi eg nu sagdi hann flest alt þat riki aftr unnit er miner forellris menn hafa att, utan England eitt: oc þu hefi ec nú latit gera knöro tua i Lidum a Westfold, þuiat hans riki stod alt til Dofrafialls oc Lidandis nefs. Aslaug svarar, sú för litz mer óuarglig, er nu ætlar þu, mer þætti þat ráðligra, at þu hefder fleiri skip oc smærri: þat er egi agætt segir hann þott menn fái unnit land med morgum skipum: enn til þess eru engi dæmi, at med tveim scipum hafi unnit verit slikt land sem England er: enn ef ec fæ úsigr, þess betr sem ec hef færri skip or landi þa svaradi Aslaug; mér syneft sa egi minni fekoft-nadr adr þessi scip se buin, enn þott þu hefder langscip morg til þessárar ferdar: en þer vito, þat storskipum er illt at hallda at Englandi saker straums oc utgrynnis: oc ef sua verdr at scip þin
tyníz,

THIS narration begins at the time when Ragnar Lodbrog, king of Denmark, ruled his dominions in peace, ignorant, as well as his queen Aflauga, in what region his sons were. But, hearing it univerſally ſaid that none could compare with them in prowefs, he was jealous of his own glory, and thought that not even they deſerved equal praiſe. After much deliberation, he ordered ſhip-wrights to be aſſembled, and trees to be cut down, in order to conſtruct two ſhips of great ſize; which, for burden and bulk, were reputed by all ſuperior to any ever ſeen in the northern world. In the mean time, the arrow, ſignal of war, being ſent through all his kingdom, the king ordered forces to be aſſembled, and provided with arms at great expence, ſo that it was certainly believed that he meant to carry on a foreign war. The tidings reaching the neighbouring countries, thoſe kings and nations, who ſuſpected danger to their peace, were excited to appoint ſentinels to give notice of the approach of the enemy, if he turned that way.

It happened that the Queen aſked her huſband where he intended to lead his army. He answered, that he would perform an action not inferior to thoſe of his ſons. That, beſides the dominions of his anceſtors recovered by his arms, England remained; and that for this two large ſhips were begun to be built at Lid in Weſtfold (for the tract between the Dofra mountains and Lidandes-nefs was ſubject to him). The Queen replied, that the expedition he meditated was an hazardous one, and that it would be better to uſe more ſhips, and of leſs ſize. To which Ragnar ſaid, that there would be no merit in ſubduing a kingdom with a large fleet; but that it was unexampled that ſuch a nation as the Engliſh was conquered by only two ſhips; and that if he was defeated, the fewer he had the better. The Queen again answered, that ſhe thought the expence of theſe two veſſels might ſuffice for many even of conſiderable bulk. And that he knew that it was difficult with large ſhips to

tyniz, þott menn komiz a land, þa eru þeir þegar uppgefnir ef landzherr kemr at. Nu quedr Ragnar vifo.

Spari mangi rauf Rinar
Ef raufcr vili heitenn,
(verr samer hofcum hilmi
Hringa fiölld enn dreingia.)
Illt er i borgsefs bauga
Brandraudom framstanda.
Allmarga veit ec löfra
þa er vadi lifir dauþa.

Nu lætr hann fciþ fin bua, oc fær fer liþ fua at þeir knerir eru miöc fciþadir. Nu er fiölrætt um hans fyrerætlan, oc enn quad hann vifo

Huat er þat baug or baugum
breat heyri ec nu þiota
At menn mundilsfara
Mund fuamidr of mer hafa
þo fcal ec þeirra raþa
þann bil ef god vilia
Eigels alnar leygiar
Oqvidandi bida

Oc er fciþ hans ero buin oc þat liþ er þeim fcyldi fylgia, enn þat voro fim hundrud manna, oc þat vedr kemr er honom þotti fer vel koma, fegir hann at þa mundi hann fara til fciþa. Oc er hann var buinn leiddi. hun han til fciþa. Adr þau fciliaz quez hon mundi launa honom Serk þan er hann hafdi gefit henni. Hann Spyr med hueriom hætti þat væri, enn hon quad vifu.

þer ann ec ferc enn fida
Oc faumadan huergi
vid heilan hug ofnan
Or harfima graom

enter the ports of England, a country furrounded with uncertain tides, and with shoals; and that, if these two ships were wrecked, there would be but brief defence for the soldiers preserved against furrounding enemies. Then Ragnar sung,

“ Ye who wish to be reputed brave, spare not the vein of
 “ Rhine. Number of rings less becomes a bold king than num-
 “ ber of soldiers. It is indecent for courtiers shining with rings
 “ to precede. Many monarchs have I known who have shunned
 “ death in vain.”

After which conversation he ordered the ships to be made ready, and to be well filled with fellow soldiers. Mean time, fame spread the tidings in different shapes; upon which Ragnar sung thus :

“ How various reports do I hear, because men receive
 “ less gold, the glittering gift of the sun, from me ! yet my
 “ lot, and what the fates have ordained, dauntless shall I un-
 “ dergo.”

The ships being finished, and complete for war, and the season being fit for sailing, he intimated his departure; and was attended by his queen to the harbour. Here, as they parted, she told her husband, that she would now repay him for the garment which he had formerly given her; and, being asked in what manner, she answered in verse:

“ To thee I present this long garment, untouched with the
 “ needle, but woven with the slenderest threads of silk by the
 “ hand of friendship. No wound will bleed, no edge of steel
 B “ shall

Mun egi ben blæda
 Ne bita þic eggjar
 i heilagri hiupu
 Var hon þeim godom signut.

Hann segir at hann vill þessi rad þiggia. Enn þá er þau scilduz var audsætt at henni þotti mikit fyrer þeirra skilnadi.

Nu heldr Ragnar scipum sinum til Englands sem hann hafði ætlad. Honom gaf byri huassa sua at við England brytr hann báða knauru fina. Enn a land komz alt lid þeirra oc helldu klæþom sinom oc vapnom. Oc þar sem hann kemr vid þorp oc borger oc kastala, þa vinnr hann. I þenna tima red sa konongr fyrer Nordumrulande er Ella het, hann hafde frett til Ragnars er hann fór or lande oc sett menn fyrer at giæta vitanna, sua at hann skyldi þegar verda var vid er herinn kæmi við land. Nu foro þeir menn til fundar vid Ella konong oc segia honom herfaugo, enn hann sendir bod um allt sitt riki. Oc bad til sin coma huern mann er scilldi má vallda oc heft riða oc þori at beriaz. Oc dregr hann saman sua mikin her at furda var at. Nú buaz þeir til bardaga Ella konongr; þa mælti hann við lið sitt: ef ver sigrumz i bardaga þessum oc verpi þer vid þat varir at Ragnar er komin, þa sculo þer egi bera vapn á han, þvíat hann á þa sono efter er aldri mano af ofs ganga ef hann fellr. Ragnar byz nú til bardaga oc var ytz i filki hiup þeim er Aslaug hafði gefit honom at scilnadi fyrir brynio, oc þat spiot i hendi er vann at orminom er la um sal þoro, oc engi þordi annara. Hann hafði einga hlif nema hialm. Enn þa er þeir hittaz tokz bardagi. Ragnar hafði minna lið. Bardaginn hafði egi lengi verit, adr lið Ragnars fell miöc, enn þar sem hann for varþ ryr fyrer, oc geck hann i gegnum fylkingar; oc þar sem hann hio edr lagdi i sciöldo brynior edr hialma þa voro sua

stor

“ shall bite thee ; clothed in this sacred vest, consecrated to
 “ the gods.”

The king promised to use it as she requested. When they had separated, it was very apparent that the queen was much grieved at his departure.

After this Ragnar directed his course to England, as he had proposed. But a violent tempest arising, both his vessels were driven on the English shore and lost, though the men, luggage, and arms, were saved. They quickly attacked the villages, towns, and any places of strength that occurred. At that time reigned in Northumbria a king called Ella, who, as soon as he was informed of Ragnar's intended expedition, appointed sentinels to notify quickly the arrival of the enemy by lighting beacons. Ella, instructed that the foe was in his territories, by messengers dispatched to all parts of his kingdom, ordered all to assemble who could use a shield, sit on a horse, or dared to join a camp. The tidings being spread, a wonderful number of men was gathered. While Ella arranged his army, he admonished his men not to kill Ragnar, if known to them ; for that he had sons who would avenge the death of their father, by continual invasions of his kingdom. The army of Ella in sight, Ragnar prepared for battle ; having instead of habergean put on the vest, the last gift of Aslanga. In his hand he held the spear, that spear with which he had pierced the serpent that protected the dwelling of Thora ; a deed unattempted before. He had no other protection but his helmet. At the first onset the battle was fierce. Ragnar's force was far inferior in number, nor did the fight last long before his few men fell, with great slaughter of the foe. But when he advanced the enemy were scattered,

stor högg hans at ecki neitt stod vid, enn aldri var sua til hans höggvit eða scotit, at neitt vopn yrði honom at meini, oc feck hann alldri fár, enn hann drap mikin fiölda af lífi Ella konongs, enn þo lauk sua bardaganum at alt líf Ragnars fell, enn at honom voro bornir scildir, oc sua handtekiun. Nu var hann spurdr huat manna hann væri? enn hann þagdi víð oc suaradi engo.

Þa mælti Ella konongr: sea mann mun verða at coma i meiri mann raun ef hann vill egi segia ofs huer hann er. Nu seal kasta honom i einn ormagard, oc lata hann þar sitia miöc lengi; oc ef hann mælir nafn þat er ver megin skilia at hann se Ragnar, þa scall hann brott taca sem skíótaz. Nu er honom þangat fylgt, oc hann sitr þar miöc lengi sua at huergi festaz ormar víð hann. Þa mæltu menn; þessi madr er mikill fyrir fer; adan bito han engi vapn, enn nu geta honom ei ormar grandat. Þa mælti Ella konongr, at hann væri flettr af klæði þui er hann hafði yzt. Nu var sua gert, oc hengo ormar ollum megin a honom. Þa mælti Ragnar. Gnyðia mundo nu griser ef þeir vissu huat enn gamli þyldi. Oc þott hann mælti stíkt, þa vissu þeir egi at görr at Ragnar væri þat, helldr enn annarr konongr. Nu quad hann vífo:

Orroftor hefic áttar
 þær er agætar þotto
 gerda ec mörgom mannom
 mein, fimtio oc eina.
 Eigi hugþac orma
 At aldr lagi mino
 þat verdr miöc mörgom
 er minz varir sialfan

Oc en quad hann

Gnyðia mundo grisir
 ef galltar hag vissi

mer

and their ranks broken before him; and his blows were so weighty, that shields, harbengers, and helmets, could not oppose their force. On the other hand, he was never so assailed, either with point or edge, as that any wound followed. Though Ella's army suffered much, yet the battle had this event, that, Ragnar's men being all slain, he was at last hemmed in, oppressed with shields, and taken prisoner. After which, being asked who he was, he was silent.

Then King Ella said, "if this man will not speak, he must endure so much the heavier punishment for his obduracy and contempt." So he ordered him to be thrown into the dungeon full of serpents, where he should remain till he disclosed his name, that he might know if he were Ragnar, which done he was to be taken out immediately. The king being thrown into the dungeon sat there long, before the serpents attacked him; which being remarked by those present, they said he must be a brave man, whom neither arms nor vipers could hurt. King Ella hearing this, ordered his vest, which alone remained to the vanquished monarch, to be taken off, and soon after the serpents stuck to him on all parts. Then Ragnar said, "the boars would make a noise if they knew what their father suffers!" From which speech it could not be known if he were Ragnar, or any other king. To this Ragnar added this song:

"Battles of high celebrity have I fought fifty and one. Many calamities have I brought upon men. I thought not that I was to owe my death to vipers. That happens to many which they have least expected."

He also sung,

"The boars would clamour if they knew the state of their father. I am taken in too serious a snare; but even this is a

C

"proof

mer er gnat at grafi
 grafa mann-raunum finom
 Oc hardliga hrina
 hafa mic fagit ormar
 Nu mun ec nar at bragdi
 Oc nær dyrom deyia.

Nu lætr hann lif fit, oc er hann nu færdr brott þáðan. Enn Ella konongr þickiz vita at Ragnar hefir þar sit lif latit. Nú hyggr hann fyri fer hverfo hann scyldi þessa verða var, eða medfara, at hann mætte hallda ríki sino fyrer þeim Ragnars sonom eda vita hve þeim brygði við, er þeir spyria. Hann tekr þat til ráds, at hann lætr búa scip eitt oc fær þann mann til fyrer at ráða, er bæði var vitr oc hardfengr, oc þar fær hann menn til sva at scip þat var vel scipat; oc segir at hann vill þa senda a fund Ivars oc þeirra brædra, til at segia þeim fall faudor þeirra, þott sea faur litiz flestom uvænlig sva at fáir villdu fara. Þa mællti konongr: at þui skulu þer vandliga hyggia huerfo huerom þeirra bræðra bregðr við þessi tilpindi; farit leidar yðuarrar síðan er yðr gefr vedr. Sva lætr hann búa ferd þeirra at þeir þurftu at eingo annara. Oc nú fara þeir oc ferz þeim vel.

Enn fynir Ragnars höfdo heriat a Sudr-riki, þá snero þeir a Norðr-lönd oc ætloðu at vitia rikis sins þess er Ragnar reð fyrer; enn þeir vissu ecki af her-ferp hans huerfo hon hafði orþit. Nú fara þeir sunnan of land, enn huervetna þar er menn fretto til fara þeirra bræðra eyddo menn borger finar oc færðu se sitt i brott oc flutto undan, sva at traudt fengo þeir lípi sino mat.

“proof of valour. For the venomous vipers eagerly suck my flesh. Soon shall I be a carcase. I am dying ! I die !”

With which words he breathed last : and was then borne out of the dungeon. But king Ella, suspecting that it was Ragnar who had thus died, revolved much in his mind how he might know the truth of the matter, by what means he was to protect his kingdom, and to be informed with what countenance the sons of the dead king would receive the tidings of their father's death. To which end he took this counsel, that equipping a vessel, with a captain of known prudence and valour, and chosen sailors, he would publickly mention that he meant to send them to Ivar and his brothers, as messengers of the death of their father. Most thought this voyage full of danger, and would not undertake it. Besides, the king ordered them carefully to remark with what countenance each of the brothers received the news : and to direct their voyage as the weather served. Matters being thus ordered, that they might receive no assistance from others, they set sail, and enjoyed a prosperous voyage.

At that time Ragnar's sons carried on wide war in the Southern countries ; whence, while the above matters were transacted, they returned to resume their own kingdom, of which they had committed the care to his father ; for they were ignorant of the fortune and fate of his expedition. As they marched, the inhabitants hearing of their progress, left the towns, and carried off their effects ; so that the brothers could hardly provide their army with provisions.

þat er einn morgin at Biörn Iarnsida vaknar oc quad vifo :

Her fylgir hueran morgin
Hrefs of borgir þessar
lez hella mun af hungri
Heidar vals of deya
Hann fari suþr um fanda
Oc huat ver letum
þar fær hann dauþz mans dreyra
Daugg oc fcyli hauggum.

Oc en quad hann

þat var fyrst er forum
Freyfleika tók ec heyia
þar er einiga átum
Auld i Roma velldi
þar let ek graun grana
Gall aum of vall-falli
At menn fcerdi mordi
Mit fuerþ dregit verþa.

Nu ber fva til at þeir koma fyrr i Dana velldi enn fendimenn
Ella konongs oc fitia nu kyrrir fyrer mep liþ sitt. Enn fendimenn
coma med lid-fitt til þeirrar borgar er fynir Ragnars þiggia
veizlu, oc ganga síþan i þa haull er þeir drecka oc fyrer hafæti
er Ivar liggr í.

Sigurþr Ormr i Auga oc Huitsercor Huati fitia at hnef-tabli,
enn Biörn iarnsida scefr spiótscefti a hallargolfino. Oc er fendimenn
Ella konongs koma fyrer Ivar queþia þeir hann virduliga,
enn hann tekr vel queþiu þeirra; oc spyr huapan þeir se; eþa
huat þeir segia tipinda: sá er fyrer þeim var, segir at þeir varo
Enskir menn, oc þá hefir Ella konongr þangat senda med þau ti-
þinde, at segia fall feþr þeirra.

Huit-

It happened, one morning, that Biorn Ironside awaking sung :

“ A bold army passes through deserted towns every morning,
 “ though preferring to famine the death fought in battle ! Let
 “ us then return to the south, through the deserts, to seek what
 “ we have left. There we may, by unerring blows, shed hu-
 “ man blood as dew.”

And he also sung,

“ At first while we went to celebrate the games of war,
 “ that we might attack some nation in the Roman empire ;
 “ there, through coats of mail, (the air trembled with slaugh-
 “ ters !) through frequent deaths of men I led my sword.”

It happened that the brothers arrived in Denmark, before the messengers of king Ella ; and lived there in peace. When these messengers came to the town, in which the princes feasted, they entered the dining hall, and approached the seat of Ivar.

Sigurd Snake's-eye played at chess with Huitferk the bold ; but Biorn Ironside, in the middle pavement of the hall, was polishing the handle of a spear. The messengers saluted Ivar with due reverence ; who, graciously receiving their salutation, asked them who they were, and what news they brought ? They told him the matter as it stood, that they were Englishmen sent to him by king Ella, to declare the death of his father,

D

As

Huitferkr oc Sigurþr láta þegar falla niðr tafsit, oc hyggia at vandliga þessi tíðinda sögu. Biörn stendr a hallargolfofno oc studest vid spíót scepti sitt enn Ivar spurdi þa vandliga med huerum atburd lif'lát hans hefði verit. Enn þeir sögdu allt sem farit hefði þáan fra, er hann com, vid England oc til þess er hann let lif sitt. Oc nu er þessi saugo var þar comit, er hann hafði þetta mælt : gnyþia mundu grisir; þokar Biörn höndum sinum a spíót skaptino, oc sua hafði hann tekit fast, at handa staþinn fá á eptir. Þa er sendi-menn luku fra-sögn þessari, hristir Biörn spíótit i fundr sua at stauck i tua luti; enn Huitferkr hellt tauflo einni er hann hafði drepit, oc hann kreifti hana sua fast, at blod stauck undan huerum nagli enn Sigurþr Ormr i Auga hafði hallþit a knifi einom oc scof nagl sinn er þessi tíðindi voro sögd. Oc hugði svo vandliga at þessum tíðendum, at hann kendi egi fyrr enn kniffrinn stod i beini oc braþz hann egi vid. Enn Ivar spyr at öllu sem gerzt, enn litr hans var stundum rauþr, stundum blar enn lotum var hann bleikr, oc hann var sua þrutinn, at hans haurund var allt blásit af þeim grum-leik er i briofti hans var.

Oc nú tekr Huitferer til orða oc segir, at sua mætti hefndena braþazt upphesia, at drepa sendi-menn Ella konongs; Ivar suarar, þat skal eigi vera; þeir skolo fara i friði huert er þeir vilia : oc ef nokot er þat, at þa skorti, skolo þeir mer til segia, oc skal ec fá þeim.

Oc nú er þeir hafa lokit erindi sino snúa þeir utar eftir hollini oc til scips sins, oc er þeim gefr byr, láta þeir i haf, oc ferz þeim vel, þar til er þeir koma a fund Ella konong's. Þeir segia honom fra huerfo huerum þeirra hafi viðbrugðet þessa tíðinda-saugu : oc er Ella konongr heyrir þetta, þa mællti hann; þess er van, at annat huert manom ver Ivar þurfa at óttaz, eða engan ella; oc

As the message began to be disclosed, Huitferk and Sigurd dropped their game, weighing what was said with great care. Biorn stood in the middle of the hall leaning on his spear: but Ivar diligently enquired by what death, and by what means, his father had perished: which the messengers related, from his first arrival in England, till his death. When, in the succession of things, they came to the words of the dying king, that the young boars would make a noise if they knew the fate of their father, Biorn grasped the handle of his spear so tight, that the marks of his fingers remained; and when the narration was ended dashed his spear in pieces. Huitferk pressed the chess-board so with his hands, that they bled. Sigurd Snake's-eye, paring his nails with a knife, was so wrapt in attention, that he cut himself to the bone, yet did not perceive it. Ivar, above all, anxiously enquiring, changed colour continually, now red, now brown, now pale, with the anger and indignation hid in his breast.

Thus matters stood, when Huitferk, beginning to speak, said that it was easy to begin their revenge in the daughter of these messengers; which Ivar forbid; and ordered them to go in peace, where they would; and that, if they wanted any thing, they should instantly obtain it.

Their business duly performed, the legates passing through the hall to the door, went to their ships; and, the wind being favourable, they sailed, returning with convenient navigation to their king. Ella perceiving, from the report, what each brother had done while he heard the message, said that he foresaw that Ivar, or none, was to be feared. And that though all had shewn
rage,

mundi þeim got innan rífa; oc hallþit manom ver fa ríki varo fyrer þeim. Nú lætr hann varþ hould hafa um allt fit ríki, fua egi mátti her koma á uvert hanom.

Enn er fendi menn Ella konong's voro brott-farnir, ganga þeir bræþr a mal-ftefno, huerfo þeir fkylldo meðfara of hefnd efter feþr fin. Þá mælti Ivar; engan lut man ec i eiga oc egi fá lid til þúiat Ragnar fór fem mig varþi, hann bió illá til fína fauk i upphafi; vil ec þiggia fe bætor af Ella konongi, ef hann vill leggja til vid mig.

Enn er þeir heyra þetta brædr hans, verþa þeir reidir miöc, oc segja at alldri fcylldu þeir fua at klækum verþa, þott hann villdi; fua mano þat marger mæla, at ofs fe mis-lagþar hendor i kne, ef ver fcolom egi hefna faudr vars; enn ver haufom víþa farit um heim, með her-fcilldi, oc drepit margan man fak-laufan. Oc enn fcal þat egi verþa, helldr fcal bua huert fcip fem fæ fært er i Dana velldi, fcal fua giörfamliga fafna líþi, at huerr maþr er fciölld ma bera moti Ella konongi, fkal fara.

Ivar segir at hann man efter fitia, oc þau fcip er hann á fyrer at ráþa, nema þat eitt er ec a fcalfr. Oc er þat fpyrz at Ivar leggr enga ftund á, fá þeir miklu minna líþ, oc fara þo egi at fiþr.

Oc þegar er þeir coma vid England, verþr Ella konongr varr vid, oc lætr þegar horn vidgialla, oc byþr til fin öllom mönnum þeim er hanom vilia fylgia oc nú fær hann fua mikit lid at engi maþr matti tölu a-coma oc fer i móti þeim bræþrom. Oc er þeir finnaz breftir i bardaga, oc fua lykr at fynir Ragnars koma a flotta enn Ella konongr hefir figr. Oc er hann var at reka flottan,

he nevertheless prefaged that his power would continue. But, to fecure this, he fent fcouts to all parts, left the enemy fhould make an unexpected attack.

The meffengers gone, the brothers took counfel how they fhould avenge their parent's death. And Ivar denied that he would lend any affiftance; faying that Ragnar had met with a fate worthy of defigns wanting counfel; and that he would take fatisfaction in money, if any were offered by Ella.

Which being heard, the other brothers, ftung with rage, faid that, though he might act fo, they would not commit fuch a crime. And that it would be juftly obferved by moft men that it was no fmall folly to neglect the vengeance of their father's death, after they had fubdued in the furrrounding kingdoms, and had frequently flain the innocent. And, that this reproach might never happen, care was to be taken that all the fhips in the Danifh kingdom fit for fea, fhould be equipped; and foldiers fo diligently levied, that every one, able to bear a fhield againft Ella, fhould be ordered to follow the camp.

Ivar replied that he would nevertheless remain, with that part of the fleet which obeyed him, excepting only the chief fhip. When it was known that Ivar gave little affiftance to the attempt of his brethren, they obtained flight aids; yet did they not defift from their defign.

When at length they came to England, king Ella, informed of an hostile invafion, proclaimed, by found of horn, that all fhould come to him who would follow him. Which done, fo great a multitude affembled, that they could fcarce be numbered: and he led thefe forces againft the brothers. When the armies came near, a fight arofe, with this event, that the fons

flottan, segir Ivar, at hann ætlar egi aftr at huerfa til liþs fins, oc vil ec reina huert konongr vill mer nockorar fæmdar unna eþa engrar, oc þycki mer fá betri, at þiggia yfer-bót af honom, enn fara slíkar ufarar fleiri sem nu föróm ver. Huitferkr segir at eigi mátti lut i eiga med honom, oc at hann yrþi at fara med fin efni sem hann villdi : alldri scolom ver fe taca efter fauþr varn.

Ivar suarar, at þar mundi scilia med þeim, oc bad þá ráða fyrer þui er þeir átto aller saman, en þer scolo fenda mer lausa-fe, sem ec kued á.

Oc er hann hafdi þetta mælt, bad hann þá vel fara, oc snyr þegar sinne ferd á fund Ello konongs, oc er hann cembr fyrer hann, kueþr hann konongin virþuliga, oc hefir sua mál sitt. Ec em cominn á fund yþvarn konongr, at mæla til fáttá vid þic, oc stikrar sæmþar, sem þú villt gert hafa til min, oc nú se ec þat at ec hefi egi vid þer ; oc þycki mer þat bezt at þiggia af yþr slíka fæmd sem þú villt mer veita, enn láta mina menn fleiri fyrer yþr eþa scalfan mic.

Þá suaradi Ella konongr ; þat kalla sumir menn at egi se hægt at trúa þer, oc þú mælir þa oft fagurt er þu hyggr flátt, oc man ofs vera vant at fiá vid þer eþa bræþrom þinom. Ec mun sagþi Ivar til litils mæla vid þic ; ef þu lætr þat til, scal ec sueria þer aftr i mót, at ec scal aldri vera i móti þer. Nu spyr konongr til huers hann mælir of yfer bætor ? Ec vil segir Ivar, at þú gefir mer þat af landi þino er Uxa-hud tekr yfer, enn þar utan um scal grand-vauull gera, oc man ec ecki til meira mæla vid þic : oc þat se ec at þu villt mer engrar fæmdar unna, ef þu villt egi þetta. Egi veit ec segir konongr at ofs megi þetta at meini verþa, þott þu ha-
fir

of Ragnar, driven to flight, left the victory to Ella. While the victor pursued the fugitives, Ivar, who though not in the battle had accompanied his brothers, said he would not return; but would try if the king would do him any honour. For that it was far better to accept an offered satisfaction, than again to experience the same evils. Huitferk answered that they must of force permit him to do as they pleased, since he would not use sound counsels; but that the other brothers would never allow their father's ghost to be appeased with money.

Which being said, Ivar insisted that they should leave him; and requested that they would, with united care, protect his inheritance at home; and readily send him what money he desired.

So saying, he bade his brothers farewell; and pursued his journey to the presence of king Ella. Where arriving after a decent salutation, he spoke thus: "I come to thee, O king, to offer friendship of my own accord; and to receive what honour thou wilt give. For doubtless it is better, as it is manifest that I can do nothing against thee, to receive such favour from thee as thou wilt impart, than to be deprived of many of my men, or perhaps of my own life."

Ella answered that it was asserted by many, that it was not safe to give faith to him, who was most likely to use flattering speech, when he might meditate nothing but guilt. For which cause he was to be acted with cautiously. To which Ivar said, "I ask for little; and if you give it, I will confirm my fidelity with an oath, that I will never be against thee." And the king asking what satisfaction he asked, Ivar answered that he desired as much ground as a bull's hide could surround. That with this portion he would be content: but, if it were denied, it would be a sign that the king would bestow no honour upon him. When the

fir þetta or mino landi ; oc at viſo man ec fá þer þetta ef þú villt þat ſueria mer at beriaz egi moti mer : oc egi uggi ec bræþr þina, ef þú ert mer trúr.

Nú ráða þeir þetta med ſer, at Ivar ſuerr honom eiða at hann ſcyllði aldri ſcióta i mót honom, oc ecki ráð leggja til meins i móti honom, enn hann ſcal eignaz af Englandi þat ſem Uxa-hud tekr yfer, er hann fengi meſta til. Nú fær Ivar ſer öldungs-hud, eina ; hann lætr hana bleita oc þriſvar þenia, oc þui næſt riſta ſem mioſt alla i fundr. Oc er þeſſo var lokit, var þueingr fá ſua langr at furða var at ; oc engum com i hug at ſua mætti verða. Þenna þueing lætr hann breida a einom velli, en þat var ſua vidt land, at þat var mikil borgar vidd, oc þar fyrir útan lætr hann marka grundvöll, ſem till mikillrar borgar veggja ; oc þa fær hann ſer ſmiða margra, oc læta reiſa hus mörg a þeim velli, oc þær lætr hann gera borg eina mikla, var ſu kaullut Iorvic.

Oc nú er hann hafði borg þá gera látit, hafði hann lauſa fe uppgefit, enn hann var ſua aurr, at hann gaf a tuær hendr ; oc þótti ſua mikit of ſpeki hans at allir fóktu hann at ráðom oc vanda malom. Oc ſua ſcipaði hann aullum malum, at huerum þókti ſer bezt gegna : gerdiz hann af þeſſo ſua vinfæll, ſua at hann átti undir huerum manni vin.

Ello var mikit liþ at Ivari fyrer landráða faker, ſua at konongr lætr hann mörgom málom ſcipa, oc þarſ egi til at fara ſiálfr.

Oc er Ivar hafði ſua comit ráði ſino, at þar þyckir til allrar ſpectar at ſiá, ſendir hann menn á fund bræþra ſinna, þeſs erindis at þeir ſendi hanom gull oc ſilfr ſua mikit, ſem hann quaþ a. Enn er þeir menn coma á fund þeirra bræþra, ſegja þeir ſin erinde, oc ſua huar komit var hans ráð, þuiat menn þottoz egi vita yfer huerom braugþom hann bio, oc ſua ſcilldo þeir bræþr at hann hafði þa

king had weighed this propofal, he thought it might be done without danger; and faid he would grant his request, if he would promife on oath, that he would never bear arms againft him; for with his friendfhip he had nothing to fear from his brothers.

Affairs being thus ordered, that Ivar, upon making oath that he would, neither by his counfels nor arms, attempt to hurt the king, fhould receive fuch portion of land in England, as he could embrace with the largeft bull's hide; he took a very great one, and wetting, and expanding it, three times, cut it into as flender ftripes as poffible. Which being done, the joined piece was fo long, that all wondered, and it furpaffed expectation. This being extended in a rural plain, furrounded fpace enough for a large town. So drawing a boundary around it, he defcribed the circumference of a wall, fit to defend a large town: and, collecting mechanics, he reared houfes, and built a large town, to which was given the name of Iorvick.

The town built, Ivar was at great expence, for with both hands he gave gifts to all. And was fo renowned for wifdom, that all asked counfel of him, and defired the moft weighty caufes to be decided by him; which when he terminated to the content of all parties, he gained great and univerfal favour.

So that he was of no fmall affiftance to Ella in adminiftering his affairs; for in the king's abfence he fettled many fuits.

Ivar, when he had carried matters fo far, that all perfuaded themfelves that their fafety lay in his hands, fent meffengers to his brothers, defiring them to fend as much gold and filver as he defired. The envoys coming to his brothers tell their bufinefs; and, when they faw them doubtful what counfel to take, related the progrefs of Ivar. Which revealed, the brothers underftood

F

that

þa egi scaps muni efter þui sem hann var vanr. Nu senda þeir slikt fe sem hann aquapþi, oc er þau como til Ivars, gefr hann þau öll fe enom stæzsto maunnom i landino, oc dregr sua lid undan Ella konongi; oc allir heto þui, at kyrrir mundo sitia, þott hann gerþi þangat herfaur. Oc er Ivar hefir sua lid dregit undir sic, þá sendir hann menn á fund bræþra sinna at segia þeim at hann villdi at þeir biþi ut leiþangri of þau laund aull er þeirra riki stod yfer, oc þeir scorapþi huercom manni er þeir feingi.

Oc þa er þessi Ord-sending kom til þeirra bræþra, bregþa þeir vid sciott, scilia at nú mundi þeir fá figr, oc samna liþi um alla Danmaurk, oc Gautland, oc aull þau laund er þeirra vaulld var yfer, oc drogo uvigan her saman, oc hafa almenning úti. þeir hallda scipom sinom til Englands bæþi dag oc nott, oc villdo nú sem sifst at niósn fari fyrer þeim.

Nu er fú herfaga faugd Ella konongi hann safnar fer liþi, oc fær litit, þuiat Ivar hafdi mikit lid undan honom dregit. Ivar fór þegar imót Ella konongi, oc segir at hann mundi enda þat er hann hafþi suarit; enn ecki má ec, sagdi hann ráþa tiltekum bræþra minna: enn þui má ec ráþa at sinna þa, oc vita ef þeir vili stödua her sin, oc gera ecki meira illt, enn þeir hafa ádr gert. Konongr iátadi þessu oc ferr Ivar a fund bræþra sinna, oc eggjar þá miöc at þeir scylldo sem bezt framganga, oc sem bradaz láta bardaga verda, þuiat konongr hefþi miklo minna lid. þeir suara at egi mundi hann þurfa at eggia þa, oc at þeim væri it fama i hug nú sem fyrr.

Nú ferr Ivar oc hittir Ella konong, ec segir honom at miklo voro þeir ákafari oc óþari enn þeir villdi á hans ord hlyþa, oc þá er ec villdi um grid leita yþar i mílli æpto þeir gegn. Nu man ec enþa mina suardaga, at ec man egi beriaz imoti þer, oc man

ec

that he was in another mind than formerly; and sent the money he desired. Ivar distributing it among the chief men of the kingdom, so alienated their minds from king Ella, that they promised to remain quiet, if it happened that he made war on the kingdom. By which means when he had strengthened himself with aid, he sent a messenger to his brothers, requesting them to raise soldiers, and gather as large forces as possible in all the regions subject to them.

The message received, the brothers understanding that Ivar was in great hopes of an avenging victory, grant his desire; and by general edict raise an army out of Denmark, Gothland, and the other provinces subject to them. This done, they sail with their fleet to England, night and day, that they might forestall the news of their voyage.

When king Ella heard that the enemy had invaded his kingdom, he commanded the attendance of his army; which being corrupted by Ivar, few came. And Ivar, going to the king, testified that he would constantly keep his sworn faith; adding that the designs of his brothers ought not to be imputed to him; and that, if the king pleased, he was ready to meet them, and try if they would agree to a truce, and to abstain from further mischief. The king consenting, Ivar went to his brothers, and advised them to give proofs of their valour, and quickly attack an enemy far inferior in number. The brothers answered that there was no occasion to excite them, already in the same mind.

Ivar, returning to Ella, said that his brothers were too vehement to yield any thing to entreaty; and they had received the proposition of a truce with jeers. "But I," he added, "will abide by my promises confirmed by oath, never to bear arms
5 " against

ec vera kyrr hia oc mitt lid, enn bardagi gengr med ydr sem verða má.

Nú sía þeir Ella konongr lid þeirra bræpra sua geyft at furda var at. Þá mælti Ivar. Þat er nú till Ella konongr, at þú fylkir lífi þíno, enn ek get þess at þeir veiti þer harda atfokn. En þegar þeirra lid hittiz, sneruz margir af haufþingum frá konongi, enn þo varð bardagi mikill oc ganga þeir hart fram synir Ragnars gegnum fylkingar Ella konongs, oc sua varo þeir ákafir at þeir hyggia at þúi eino at gera at verkom sem mest. Var su orrofta bæði laung oc haurð, enn þo lauk sua at Ella konongr kom á flottà oc varð handtekinn, enn mikill þorri fell af lífi hans.

Þeir bræpr minntuz nú á huerfo faðer þeirra var pindr, oc mæltu at skyldi breita um líf-lat hans : er þat nú ráð segir Ivar, at minnaz huern daud-daga hann valldi feðr varom : nú skal fá madr sem oddhagaztr er marka aurn á baki honom sem innilegaz, oc þann aurn skal rióða með blóði hans enn fá madr sem quaddr var till þessorar sýflo, gerir sem Ivar baud honom, at hann ristí aurn á baki Ello oc scar síðan aull rifin frá rygginum sua at þar voro lungun utdregen. Sua segir Sighvatr íkalld i Knuts-drapo.

Oc Ellu
bak at let
Hann er fat
Ivar ara
Iorvik íkorit.

Ella konongr var miöc farr ádr þessi sýsla lykr, oc lætr nú líf sit.

Efter þessa orrofto gerdiz Ivar konongr yfer þeim luta Eng-landz, sem hans frændr haufdo fyrr att. Hann átti tua sons frillo-bornu, het annarr Yngvar enn annar Hufto ; þeir pindo Iat-mund

“ against thee ; so shall, with my men, look on, whatever fate
 “ the battle may have.”

Which being said, Ella saw the enemy advance very speedily. Then Ivar advised the king to arrange his army, for that quick attack was to be feared. When the armies met, many chiefs deserted the king’s banners ; yet was the conflict fierce, till the sons of Ragnar broke the ranks of Ella, endeavouring with all their force to commit as great slaughter as possible. After a long fight, strongly conducted on both sides, king Ella, after the slaughter and flight of most of his men, was taken prisoner.

Which done, Ivar and his brothers, remembering what torments their father had suffered, thought it proper, that the captive king should endure as great. Then Ivar said, “ As we remember what death he inflicted on our father, let us order some
 “ man, eminently skilled in painting, carefully to inscribe an
 “ eagle on his back, and tinge it in blood.” The man, to whom this business was committed by Ivar, obeying his orders, cut the form of an eagle on Ella’s back ; separated the sides from the back-bone ; and drew out the lungs through the aperture. Which Sigvat the poet witnesses, in his poem called Knut’s Drapa,

“ And in the back of Ella, Ivar at York caused an eagle to be
 “ inscribed.”

Ella, suffering great torments before this punishment was ended, died.

After this battle, Ivar was made king over that part of England which his ancestors had formerly possessed. He had two sons by a concubine, Yngvar and Husto ; who, by command of their

G

father

mund konong en helga efter bodi Ivars, oc lagdi hann þat ríki únder sic.

Lodbrocar fyner fóro um maurg laund med hernadi, England, oc Frackland, oc Valland, oc ut um Lumbardi. Enn sua er sagt, at þar hafi þeir framaz komiz, er þeir unnu þá borg er Luna het, oc um eina stund ætloþo þeir at fara til Ruma borgar at vinna hana; oc hefir þeirra Hernadr frægstr verit áf Danfki tungu.

Oc er þeir koma aftr i ríki sit, þá skifta þeir laundom med fer, tók Biörn Iarnfida Upsála ríki oc alla Suiþiod, oc þat er þar til heyrer.

Sigurdr Ormr i Auga hafði Selund, oc Scan, oc Halland, oc alla Vikina, oc Agdir til Lidandes nes, oc mikin þorra af Upplaundum. Enn Huitferkr hafdi Reidgota land oc Vindland.

Sigurdr Ormr i Auga átti Blæo dottor Ello konongs: þeirra baurn voro þau Knutr oc Aslaug, hún var tuiburi vid broþr sin.

Aslaug var moder Sigurdar Hiartar, fautr Ragnhilldar, modar Haralds Harfrga, er fyrstr red aullum Noregi einn.

Knutr er kalladr var Haurda-Knutr tók ríki efter fautr sin i Selund, Skaun, oc Hallandi; enn Vikin huarf þá undan honom.

Hann atti þann sun er Gormr het, hann var heitinn efter foftra hans syni Knutz fundna, hann helt land af sunom Ragnars medan þeir voro i hernaði.

Gormr Knuts sun var allra manna mestr oc sterkastr, oc enn mesti atgervi madr um alla luti. Enn egi var hann sua vitr, sem verit höfdo enir fyrri frændr hans. Gormr tók konongdom eftir fautr sin. Hann feck þyri, er kaullut var Danmerkr bót, dottor Klackharalds, er konongr var i Jotlandi, enn er Haraldr var andadr þá tók Gormr þat ríki alt under sic. Gormr konongr for
med

father, martyred Saint Edmund the king, and seized his kingdom.

The sons of Ragnar Lodbrook infested many regions, as England, France, Italy, and Lombardy. It is said that they came at last to the town called Lucca, which they took; and proposed to go to Rome and subdue it. Their actions are famous above all that spoke the Danish tongue.

Being returned to Denmark, they divided their inheritance. Biorn Ironside had the kingdom of Upsal, all Sweden; and the subject regions.

Sigurd Snake's-eye had Seland with Sconen, Halland, Vik, and Agdes even to Lidandesness, with a part of Upland. Huitferk had Reidgothland, and Vindland.

Sigurd Snake's-eye married Blæa, daughter of king Ella, by whom he had Aslauga and Knut.

Aslauga, twin with her brother, was the mother of Sigurd the Stag, the father of Ragnhilda, the mother of Harald Harefagre, first king of all Norway.

Knut was commonly called Haurdaknut; and succeeded his father in Seland, Sconen, and Halland; another having Vik.

Gorm was his son; which name was given in memory of his foster-father, Gorm, son of Knut the foundling, who, in the absence of Ragnar's sons, managed their kingdom.

Gorm, son of Knut, though he excelled all in stature and strength, and was well skilled in all arts that become a prince, yet his prudence was not equal to that of his ancestors. Succeeding his father in the kingdom, he wedded Thyra, surnamed Denmark's Delight, the daughter of Klachharald, king of Jutland; and obtained that kingdom on the death of his father-in-law. Upon which,
entering

med her yfer alt Jutland, oc eyddi aullum Nes konongom, alt sudr til Sles, oc sua vann hann mikít af Vindlandi, oc margar orroftor átti hann vid Saxa, oc gerdiz hann hinn ríkasti konongr.

Hann atti tua sua suno, het inn ellri Knutr, enn Haralldr inn yngri; Knutr var allra þeirra manna fegrítr er menn hafa set. Konongr unni honom um fram huern mann, oc þar med aull alþida: hann var kalladr Dana ást.

Haralldr líktiz i modor ætt fina oc unni hun hanom egi minna en Knuti.

Ivar inn Beinlaufi, var lengi konongr a Englandi, oc vard söttdaudi, oc þa er han lá i bana söttr sinni, mælti hann, at hann scyldi þángat færa er her scátt væri, oc þess quedz hann vænta at þeir mundo egi sigr fá er þar kæmi vid land. Oc er hann andaz, var sua gert sem hann mælti fyrer, oc var þá i haug lagþr. Oc þat segia menn at þá er Haraldr konungr Sigurðarson for til Englands, at hann kæmi þar at, er Ivar var fyrer; oc at Vilialmr baftadr, þá er hann kom i land, færi til, oc bryti haug Ivar's; fendi hann þa mann úfúin. Hann let gera bál mikít, oc brenna Ivar a þui báli.

Efter Ivar tók konongdom i Englandi Adalmundr; hann var broþr sun Iatmundar ins helga, oc kríftnadi hann vida England. Hann tók skatta af Nordhymbra landi, þat var þá heidit.

Efter hann tók konongdom, sun hans er Adalbricht het, hann var gódr konongr oc vard gamall. A hans daugom ovarlega kom Dana herr til Englands oc voro formenn hersins Knutr oc Haraldr fynir Gorms konongs. Þeir laugdo undir sic mikít ríki a Nordhumbra landi, þat er Ivar hafdi átt. Adalbricht konongr fór moti þeim, oc börðoz þeir fyrer Nordan Klíflaund, oc fell þar margt af Dönom. Oc nockoro fíðarr gengo Danir upp vid

entering Jutland with his forces, he expelled all the kings of the promontories, even to Stea, on the South ; and subduing a great part of Vindland, and diminishing the Saxons in many battles, he became a most powerful monarch.

He had two sons ; of whom the eldest was called Knut, the other Harald. Knut was blest with so fair a face and form, that he was esteemed more handsome than any born before him ; and was in the greatest favour with his father, and the people, whence he was called Denmark's-love.

Harald resembling his mother, was in as great favour with her as Knut.

Ivar reigned in England till his death ; and died of a disease. Lying in his last sickness, he ordered his body to be buried in a place, where the enemy often landed ; for he presaged that those who landed there in future would not gain the victory. When dead, his orders were obeyed ; and a hill so reared on the spot. It is frequently reported that Harald, son of Sigurd, coming to England, landed at the spot where Ivar lay : and that William, the bastard, upon seizing England, opened the hillock, and finding the body of Ivar free from putrefaction, committed it to the flames.

To Ivar in his English kingdom succeeded Adalmund, nephew by the brother to Saint Edmund, who subjected to tribute Northumberland, then pagan.

After whom his son Adalbricht obtained the throne. He was a king of illustrious goodness, and lived to old age. In the end of whose reign an army of Danes, under Knut and Harald, sons of Gorm, invading England, subdued a great part of Northumberland, formerly ruled by Ivar. Upon which Adalbricht meeting the enemy, and fighting a battle at Clifland towards the north, routed the Danes with great slaughter. But soon after the Danes

H

leading

Skarda-borg, oc baurdoz þar oc fengo figr. Sidan foro þeir fudr til Iorvikr, oc geck þar undir þa allt fólk, oc ugdo þeir þá egi at fer. Oc einn dag er heitt var, foro menn á fund, oc sua sem konongs fynir voro á fundi milli skipanna, lupo menn af landi ofan, oc skuto á þa; var þá Knutr loftrinn auro til bana: toco þeir þá likit oc flutto a skip. Oc er landz mennspyria þetta, samnaz þeir saman sua at Danir fá enga uppgauugo faker samnadar landzmanna, oc fara sidan heim til Danmarkar.

Gormr konongr var þá a Iotlandi er hann spurdi þessi tidindi, þá hne hann aftr á bak, oc sprack af harmi.

Annan dag eftir at iafn-lengd, tók konongdom eftir hann yfir Dana velldi Haraldr sun hans, hann tók fyrst trú oc skirn sinna ættmanna.

leading their forces to Scharborough, fought, and obtained the victory. Then marching south to York, they subdued the inhabitants; and passed some time in peace. Here when, one day, the heat of the air invited men to swim, it happened that, when the royal princes swam among the ships, the inhabitants descended to the shore, and shot at them with arrows; of which, one hitting Knut, he died; and his body was put in a ship by his men. Which being discovered, the English suddenly assembled, and hindered the Danes from landing, so that they were forced to return to Denmark.

Gorm was appointed king in Jutland when he heard this, and was so concerned at the tidings, that falling backwards he was suffocated.

The next day, at the same hour his father had died, Harald succeeded to the kingdom of Denmark. Who, first of his nation, received baptism in the Christian faith.

E O dirigenda est narratio, ubi Ragnarur domi regnum moderatur, æque ac Regina Aslauga infcius, quo in loco filii res agerent : id vero omnes uno ore loqui, nullos cum iis comparari posse, sæpius audiens, ipse pari laude dignum neminem esse iudicavit. Qva re penitus animadversa, fabros arcessit, sylvamque cædi jubet, ad construendas duas naves ingentis molis, qvas onerarias, et cunctis in orbe boreali visis majores fore omnes sibi persuaserunt. Interim missa per totum regnum sagitta, belli indice, militem Rex imperat, et arma magno apparatu expedit, qva ratione, in externos bellum meditari, certo credebatur. Res nova ad vicinos lata, Regibus, populisqve, quorum paci periculum strui videbatur, excubiis hostem, si forte advenit, excipere suadebat. Evenit aliquando, ut Regina conjugem, quo exercitum ducere constituisset? percontaretur. Respondebat Rex se facinus editurum, haud minus quam filiorum; esse præter Angliam, majorum Regna armis a se recuperata, et ob hoc naves duas onerarias Lidis in Vestfoldia (etenim tractus Dofrinos montes inter et Lidandefnæsam illi parebat,) construi ceptas esse. Regina regerente, dubium videri iter, quod meditatus esset, et consultius esse pluribus, sed minoris molis navigiis uti, dixit, nullam esse in eo virtutem si numerosa regnum classe subjugatur; carere exemplo binis tantum navibus domatam fuisse gentem, qualis esset Anglica; præstare, habuisse quam paucissima, si vinci contigerit. Quibus auditis Regina respondit, putare se has naves, non minori parari sumptu, quam si plures longæ naves earum loco instructæ fuissent: nec cum latere, cingi Angliam fluxu maris incerto et vadis, propter quæ, difficillimum esse portus cum magnis navibus intrare; his naufragio pereuntibus, militis servati brevem fore defensionem contra hostes undequaque irruentes. Tunc Ragnarur cecinit,

Parcito nullus venæ Rhenanæ
 Qvi fortis audiri cupis,
 Minus decet strenuum Regem
 Annulorum copia, quam militum.
 Indecorum est aulicos annulis
 Splendentes ante stare.
 Plures novi Principes
 Mortem frustra vitavisse.

Quibus dictis naves parari sociisque bene instrui curavit. Quæ dum geruntur, rumor novitatem rei in varia late torquet; de quo ita cecinit,

Quam ultro citroque
 Audio vagam volitare (famam)

Qvod viri solis
 Munera sic minus a me recipient.
 Tamen ego fortem
 Et qvod dii decreverint
 Fatorum statores
 Impavidus subibo.

Effectis armatisque navibus, naclus ad navigandum idoneam tempestatem, abitum indicit, et a Regina in portum deducitur. Hic ut ab invicem discederent, illa conjugii dicit, jam se remuneraturam indusum, qvod sibi olim dederat; et rogata, qvo id fieret? carmine regessit.

Tibi voveo indusum hocce demissum
 Equidem futum neutiquam
 Verum amica mente textum
 E filis ferici tenerrimis.
 Haud mittet vulnus sanguinem,
 Aut mordebit te acies
 Sacram indutum vestem,
 Qvæ diis consecrata fuit.

Rex ejus consiliis se uti velle promisit. Ubi ab invicem discedunt, facile apparuit Reginam conjugis abitum ægre ferre. His peractis Ragnarus in Angliam, ut proposuerat, cursum dirigit, sed violenta tempestate usus, utramque navim litori allisam, nautis tamen cum impedimentis atque armis servatis, perdidit. Hic oppida, urbes, et obvia quævis munimenta, ocius oppugnavit. Id temporis Northumbriæ præfuit Rex nomine Ella, qui ut Ragnarum abitum parasse, certior factus erat, speculatores misit, qui adventum hostis, accensis hunc in finem pyris, ocius indicarent. Ella hostes arma sibi intulisse doctus, nuntiis in omnes regni partes ablegatis, omnes adesse jubet, qui clipeo uti et eqvo insidere possent auderentque castra sequi. Re nuntiata mira hominum multitudo cogitur. Dum aciem Rex Ella instruit, suos coram monet, ne Ragnarum, si resciri contigerit eum adesse, letho tradant, siquidem illi essent nati, qui mortem parentis ulturi, continuis invasionibus sibi graves forent. Exercitu Ellæ viso Ragnarus se ad pugnam parat: loco lorice extremum induerat, indusum, ab Aslauga sibi datum; manu vero gerebat hastam, qua serpentem ædes Thoræ cingentem transfoderat nemine antea id auso. Præter galeam tegumento nullo utebatur. In primo conflictu ingens pugna oritur. Ragnarum manus numero multum inferior erat, nec diu pugnatum, ante quam sui magna strage cadunt. Verum ubi ipse incessit, rarus fuit hostis, & ordines perrupti, tantosque infligit ictus, ut eisdem clipei, lorice & cassides avertendis impares essent. E contrario, nunquam ita petebatur, ut sive cæsim punctimve id fieret, aliquid fumeret inde vulnus. Qua re tametsi Ellæ regis copiæ magnam paterentur cladem, tamen pugna eum eventum habuit, ut Ragnariani ad unum omnes caderent, ipse vero clypeis circumdatus, in hostis manum perveniret. Qvo facto interrogatur cujas sit. Silet ille, nihilque respondet. Tunc rex Ella; vir hic, inquit, necessum est, graviore laet poenas, si noluerit, quis sit, nobis aperire, jussitque ut carceri serpentibus plenam traderetur,

ubi

ubi ille permaneret, donec nomen ediderit, unde posset intelligi, eum Ragnarum esse, quo facto educeretur, quam ocius fieri poterit. Rex in carcerem coniectus, diu ibi federat, antequam a serpentibus impetum ferret. Quod ubi præsentes animadverunt, esse fortem ajebant, cui nec arma nec viperæ nocere possent. Quibus auditis rex Ella jussit vestem exui, quæ suprema victo erat; nec multo post ex omni parte, serpentes illi adhæserunt. Tunc Ragnarum; frenderent, inquit, Leones, si noverint, quæ pateretur eorum pater. Quæ tametsi diceret, non potuit tamen inde disci, Ragnarum magis adesse, quam alium quemvis regem. Dictis carmen addidit,

Pugnas pugnavi
 Quæ celebres habebantur,
 Feci multis mortalibus
 Damna, quinquaginta unam.
 Non putavi me viperis
 Exitum vitæ debiturum,
 Id accidit valde multis
 Quod minime expectaverint.

Et adhuc cecinit,

Frenderent leones
 Si patris statum noscent
 (Exceptus sum joco nimium serio
 Fortitudinis Indice)
 Nam acriter venenatæ
 Me fuxerunt viperæ,
 Jam brevi cadaver ero,
 Letho proximus moriar.

Quibus dictis vitam finit, & a carcere effertur. Verum rex Ella suspicatus Ragnarum ibi mortem subiisse, animo multum volvit, quomodo rei veritatem ediscere valeat, quibus tueri regnum modis, & fieri certior, quo vultu, de morte patris nuntium filii regis mortui acceperint. Quem in finem id capit consilii, ut instructa nave, cui præfectus prudentia & fortitudine insignis, nautæque delecti dabantur, palam faceret, se velle eos mittere ad Ivarum & ejus fratres, paternæ mortis nuntios; quod iter aleæ plenum censuerunt plurimi, nec id subire voluerunt. Cæterum rex eos jussit probe observare, quæ singuli fratrum vultibus res novas acceperint, iterque, ut tempestas permiserit agere. Rebus ita institutis, ut aliorum auxilio non indigerent, vela faciunt, & secunda tempestate perfruuntur.

Id temporis Ragnari filii per Australes regiones arma late tulerant, unde dum hæc acta sunt in septentrionem revertuntur ad recuperandum regnum, cujus curam patri antea dederant, etenim de factæ ab eo expeditionis fortuna, et exitu, quem habuerat, ignari erant. Ut vero ab meridie profisciscuntur, incolæ accepto de adventu eorum rumore oppida linquunt, fortunaque auferunt, quo factum est, ut fratres exercitui commeatu ægre providere possent.

Accidit mane quodam ut Biornus Ferreum latus expergefusus caneret.

Exercitus transit quolibet mane
 Alacris has urbes

Præferens

Præferens inediæ
 Quæsitam pugna mortem.
 Redeat ergo austrum versus per deserta
 Petitum quod linquebamus.
 Ibi poterit sanguinem humanum
 Roris instar effundere ictibus haud vanis.

Et iterum cecinit,

Erat primum, dum ibamus
 Mavortios celebratum ludos
 Ut quandam impetiremus
 Gentem in Romano imperio
 Ibi feci per clamides
 (Tremuit aer cædibus)
 Per frequentes virorum mortes
 Meum gladium duci.

Factum est, ut in Daniam fratres prius appulerint, quam legati Ellæ regis, ibique pacate egerint. Legati autem, ubi ad urbem veniunt, in qua convivio principes excepti erant, triclinium ingrediuntur, soliumque, cui Ivarus insidebat, adeunt.

Sigurdus Vermioculus cum Huitferco Alacri latrunculis ludebat, sed Biornus Ferreum latus in medio aulæ pavimento constitutus manubrium hastæ poliebat. Legati Ivarum, qua par erat reverentia salutabant, quo illorum officio comiter accepto, ille, qui sint percontatur, quidve novi referant? Illi, quæ res erat, referunt, se viros esse Anglos a rege Ella ad eum missos, ad narrandum patris mortem.

Quæ exponi coepris, Huitfercus, Sigurdusque ludum intermittunt, quæ dicerentur, summa cura perpendentes. Biornus in aulæ medio innixus hasta stabat, Ivarus autem diligenter inquisivit, quo genere mortis, quævisve modis pater vitam finierat; quæ legati omnia a primo in Angliam adventu, ad exitum usque docuerunt. Ubi vero in serie rerum ventum erat ad regis moribundi verba, quod fremerent Juvenes Leones, si statum parentis noverint, secundum hastæ manubrium, Biornus tanta vi manus movit, ut earum vestigia remanerent, finitaque oratione in partes hastam concussit. Huitfercus latrunculum, quem ceperat, tam fortiter inter digitos compressit, ut singuli sanguinem mitterent: Sigurdus autem Angvicolus, cultello dum nova narrabantur, ungvem rasit, ita vero in audiendo attentus fuerat, ut non ante sentiret, quam cultellus in osse staret, nec tamen id eum movit. Ivaro super omnibus diligenter roganti, color in horas mutabatur, & alius alii successit, nunc ruber, nunc lividus, & pallido ora corpus mirum intumuit ira & indignatione, quæ sub pectore latebant.

Rebus ita constitutis Huitfercus fari orsus, ultionem dixit facillime posse incipi a cæde legatorum, quod Ivarus prohibuit, iussitque eos pace frui, quocunque ire velint, orans sibi indicarent, siquid deesset, ocius illud obtenturi.

Negotiis rite peractis legati secundum aulam foras exeuntes ad navem se recipiunt, & oportunam tempestatem nacti in altum vehuntur, commodaque navigatione usi sunt, donec ad regem pervenirent. Rex Ella percepto ex nuntiis, qui, quæ
 2
 singuli

singuli egerint, dum res novas audierunt, exponebant dixit ominari se aut Ivarum, aut neminem timendum esse tametsi omnes voverint sub corde iram, præfagire vero continuam sibi fore regno fruendi potestatem. Quem in finem exploratores in omnes partes mittit, ne liceret hosti ex inopinato invasionem facere.

Legatis discedentibus fratres consilium ineunt, quomodo parentis mortem ulciscantur. Et Ivarus negat se aliquid conferre velle, ullisve auxiliis subvenire Ragnarum dicens habuisse exitum qui inceptis prudentia carentibus par fuisset; malle satisfactionem pecunia numeratam, si quæ ab Ella offerretur.

Quibus auditis fratres ira peracti negant se, tametsi id ageret, tantum scelus commissuros; etenim a plurimis iuste observari, haud mediocrem id esse stultitiam, ultionem paternæ cædis negligere postquam regna circumquaque sita armis subjugaverint, & innocentes frequenter occiderent, quod ut nunquam eveniret, curandum esse ut singulæ naves in regno Daniæ mari aptæ instruantur, milesque tam studiose conscriberetur, ut quilibet contra Ellam clypeum ferre valens, castra sequi juberetur.

Recessit Ivarus se nihilo minus remansurum, cum ista classis parte, quæ sibi parebat, excepta prætoria nave. Ut innotuit Ivarum molimini fratrum exiguam impendere operam, rara illi auxilia obtinebant, nec tamen ab instituto destiterunt.

In Angliam venientibus, rex Ella de hostili invasione certior factus cornu (tuba) signum dari jubet, omnesque ad se venire, qui eum sequi velint. Quo facto tanta confluit multitudo, ut vix potuerit numerari; illasque copias adversus fratres duxit. Uterque ubi convenit exercitus, pugna oritur; cum vero fortiebatur eventum, ut Ragnaris filii in fugam versi, victoriam Ellæ relinquerent. Victor ubi fugientibus acris insistit, Ivarus, qui prælio non interfuerat, notum facit, se ad suos reverti nolle, experturum an rex velit aliquem sibi honorem exhibere; etenim multum expedire oblatum accipere satisfactionem quam repetitis vicibus, quæ jam experti fuerant, mala pati. Respondet Huitsercus ferendum esse, ut, cum sanis consiliis uti nollet, quod placeret, exsequatur; cæteros vero fratres nunquam passuros paternos manes pecunia expiari.

Quibus dictis Ivarus asseruit ab invicem discedendum esse, petiitque, ut, quæ sua domi esset hæreditas, communi cura tuerentur, ut pecuniam quantam postulaverit, alacres mitterent.

Quibus dictis, fratribus ille valedixit, iterque ad regem Ellam persequitur: quem ubi convenit salutatione decenter peracta in hunc modum alloquitur. Te, o rex, igitur adii, ut ultra tibi amicitiam offerrem, quem dare decreveris honorem reportaturus: etenim nullus dubito, satius esse, uti manifestum est, me contra te nihil valere, gratiam a te accipere, qualis me participem fieri volueris, quam pluribus privari viris aut ipsa forsan vita.

Respondet Ella complures asserere, haud integrum esse illi fidem adhibere, qui phaleratis potissimum uti verbis soleret, ubi præter dolos nihil meditaretur, ob quam causam caute cum eo agendum esse. Ad quæ Ivarus; parva inquit sunt, quæ peto, quæ si dederis fidem tibi sacramento faciam, me adversus te nunquam fore. Regi, quam rogaret satisfactionem? quærenti Ivarus respondit, sibi in votis esse tantam fundi portionem quanta posset bovina cute complecti; hac limite circumdata plus

se non petiturum: negatam esse indicem, regem non velle aliquem sibi honorem largiri. Rex ubi perpenderat, hoc absque periculo posse fieri, annuit ejus precibus se id daturum, si jurejurando promiserit, se velle nunquam adversus regem arma ferre, siquidem illo amicitiam colenti, nihil ab ejus fratribus timendum esset.

Rebus ita utrinque in ordinem reductis, ut Ivarus jurejurando, quod nec consiliis, nec armis regi nocere tentaret, perfoluto, Angliæ partem, quanta regi corio bovis maximo poterit, nancisceretur, tauri cutem sumit, quam madefactam ter expandit, & in lorum quam fieri potuit tenerrimum dissecari curat. Quo facto apparuit lorum adeo longum, ut admirationi esset, omniumque superaret expectationem. Hoc in campestre planitie explicitum, spatium permagnæ urbis cepit, quod ducto extrinsecus limite descripsit in modum muri amplissimum oppidum defensuri: fabrique collectis domos exstruit, ingentemque urbem condit, cui Iorvici nomen dictum.

Posita urbe, ingentes ille fecerat expensas, etenim utraqve manu liberaliter cuilibet dona dedit, tanta vero sapientia cluebat, ut ab eo consilia omnes peterent, & gravissimas causas illius arbitris secari vellent; quas cum communi utriusque partis gaudio decideret, magnam apud universos gratiam consequabatur.

Qua re Ellæ haud mediocri in rebus administrandis auxilio fuit, siquidem rege absente plurimas lites componebat.

Ivarus ubi eo res deduxerat, ut tutissimum apud eum præsidium esse, omnes sibi persuaderent, nuntios ad fratres mittit, petituros, argentum aurumque mittant, quantum ille poposcerit. Nuntii fratres adeuntes negotia explicant, & ubi, quæ moliretur consilia ambigi animadverterant, quantum Ivarus profecerit referunt. Quibus compertis fratres intelligebant, jam esse illi aliam mentem, quam olim habuerat, & pecuniam, ut rogaverat, numerabant. Quam acceptam Ivarus inter summos regni viros distribuens, eorum animos a rege Ella in tantum alienos fecit, ut promitterent, se quiete domi mansuros, si contigerit eum arma regno inferre. Quibus modis ubi se auxiliis muniverat, legatum ad fratres ablegat, qui eos certiores faceret, rogare se militem imperent, & per omnes subjectas illis regiones quantas possent, copias contrahant.

Accepto nuntio, fratres, quod intelligerent Ivarum spe vindicis victoriæ haud mediocriter ali, rogatis ocius annuunt, & exercitum ex Dania, Gothia, cæterisque provinciis sibi subjectis edicto generali colligunt. Quibus factis classe in Angliam iter metiuntur nocte dieque, ut nuntium itineris anteverterent.

Rex Ella hostem ubi invasisse regnum audit militem imperat, qui, ut erat ab Ivaro donis corruptus, admodum rarus venit. Et Ivarus regem adiens, contestatur, se datam jurejurando fidem constanter servaturum, nec esse sibi imputandos fratrum ausus, quibus si regi placuerit, obviam iret tentatum si inducias facere & malis, quæ coeperant, finem imponere, velint. Rege in hoc consentiente Ivarus fratres convenit, hortaturque, ut virtutis documenta edant & hostem copiis longe inferiorem celeriter pugna adoriantur. Respondent fratres haud necessum est eos acuere, quibus jam ac olim eadem mens esset.

Quo facto Ivarus ad Ellam reversus, fratres dixit magis esse vehementiores, quam ut vellent precibus aliquid dare, eosque oblatis foederis conditiones fannis excepisse.

Ego

Ego autem addidit, prœmissis jurejurando confirmatis, arma nunquam adversus te ferendi, stabo, cum meis acturus spectatorem, quæcumque demum pugna finem fortietur.

Quæ ubi dicta sunt, conspexit Ella hostium copias celerrimo cursu advolare. Tunc Ivarus monuit regem, ut aciem instrueret, etenim metuendum esse acrem impetum. Ut agmina convenerunt, magnatum quam plurimi regis signa deferuere, tamen acriter pugnatum & Ragnaris filii ordines Ellæ per rumpebant, omnibus in hoc viribus nixi, ut strages quam maxima ederetur. Pugната diu, & summa utrinque contentione, pugna rex Ella, suis partem maximam cæsis, fugatisque, capitur.

Quo facto Ivarus fratresque in memoriam revocantes, quos pater cruciatus subiisset, dignum esse judicarunt, ut pares pœnas captus daret. Tunc Ivarus, ut inquit meminisse juvat, quid mortis genus parenti adsciverit, virum præ cæteris pictoriæ artis gnarum jubeamus, aquilam tergo studiose inscribat sanguineque tingat. Homo cui hoc negotii ab Ivaro datum erat, jussa secutus, aquila in tergo insculpta, costas a spina utrinque secavit, perque rimas pulmones eduxit. Quod Sigvatus Poeta testatur in carmine Knuts Drapa dicto.

Et Ellæ
In dorso fecit
Ille, qui sedit
Ivarus aquilam
Eboraci, exarari.

Magnos Ella antequam hoc finitum esset dolorem perpeffus occubuit.

Post hoc prælium Ivarus rex factus, super ea Angliæ parte, quam ejus olim majores possederant. Erant illi ex concubina filii duo Yngvarus & Husto, qui jussu patris Sanctum Edmundum regem martyrio subjecerunt. Ejusque regnum occuparunt.

Ragnaris Lodbrocæ filii regiones plurimas infestarunt, Angliam puta, Galliam, Italiam, atque Longobardiam. Memoriam proditum est eos tandem venisse ad urbem, cui Luca nomen est, quam expugnarunt, proposuisse autem Roman ire animo eam subigendi. Eorum gesta præ omnibus aliis, qui Danicam loquebantur linguam clauerunt.

Reversi in Daniam hæreditatem dividebant. Biornus Ferreum latus regnum Uppsalense, Sveciam totam, subjectasque regiones capiebat.

Sigurdo Angvioculo Selandia, cum Scania, Hallandia, Vikia, & Agdis, usque ad Lidandisnesiam, magnaque Uplandiarum parte, cessit. Huitserci sortem Reidgotalandia, Vindlandiaque faciebant.

Sigurdus Anguioculus Blæam Ellæ regis filiam uxorem duxit, quorum liberi erant Aslauga & Knutus.

Aslauga cum fratre eodem partu edita mater erat Sigurdi Cervi, patris Ragnhildæ, matris Haraldi Pulericomi, cui Norvegia soli primo paruit.

Knutus qui vulgò vocabatur Haurdaknutus patri in Selandiam, Scaniem, & Hallandiam, successit, Vikia alii cedente.

Illi filius erat Gormus, quod nomen ei inditum est in memoriam Nutritii sui Gormi Knuti inventi filii, qui absentibus Ragnari filiis, regnorum iis subditorum curam egit.

Gormus Knuti filius est omnes & statura corporis & viribus præcelluit, & artibus, quæ principes viros decent probe instructus fuit, tamen non erat illi par prudentia, qua majores sui claruerunt.

Patri in regnum succedens uxorem duxit Thyram cognominatam Daniæ delicias, filiam Klachharaldi regis Jutiæ, illudque regnum genero mortuo nactus est.

Qvo facto ubi Jutlandiam cum copiis lustravit, omnes inde promontiorum reges ad Sleam usque austrum versus expulit, magnaque Vindlandiæ parte subacta, & Saxonibus frequentibus præliis attritis Augustissimus rex factus est.

Duos habuit filios, quorum majori Knuti nomen erat; alter Haraldus vocabatur. Knutus tanta vultus corporisque venustate beatus erat, ut formosior haberetur omnibus ante eum natis, maximaque apud patrem, subditosque gratia floruit; unde Danorum amor vocabatur.

Haraldo maternum genus referenti a matre non minor quam Knuto gratia dabatur.

Ivarus ad mortem usque in Anglia regnavit, & morbo decumbens naturæ debitum solvit. Qvo lethali morbo ut detinebatur, jussit se illuc efferri sepeliendum ubi frequentes esse solerent hostium invasiones, ominari quippe se victoria non fruituros, qui ad istum locum ex navibus ascenderint. Mortuo quas præscripserat, exsequiæ parabantur, ut tumulus factus est, cui illatum funus. Ea frequens circumfertur narratio Haraldum Sigurdi filium in Angliam venientem appulisse ad locum, in quo Ivarus jacuit, Wilhelmum vero Nothum occupata Anglia tumulum aperuisse, inventumque corpus Ivari a putrefactione immune flammis imposuisse.

Ivaro in Angliæ regno successit Adalmundus ex fratre nepos Sancti Edmundi, qui tributo Northumbriam id temporis Ethnicam subjecit.

Post quem filius ejus Adalbrictus imperium obtinuit: fuit ille rex bonitate insignis, & usque ad senectutem vixit. Cujus vergente regno Danorum exercitus Knuto, Haraldoque Gormi filiis ducibus Angliam aggressus, magnam Northumbriæ partem ab Ivaro imperatam subjugavit. Qvo facto Adalbrictus hosti occurrit, pugnatæque ad Kliffandiam, septentrionem versus pugna, magna Danos strage fudit. Sed brevi post Dani ad Scardaburgum copiis eductis prælium ineunt, victoriæque potiuntur. Inde austrum versus ad Eboracum profecti incolas subjugant, & temporis aliquantum securi transigunt. Hic ubi die quodam aeris calor homines ad natandum invitabat, accidit, ut dum principes regii inter naves natarunt, descenderent ad littus incolæ, & sagittis eisdem lacecerent, quarum una Knutus transfossus obiit, & corpus navi a suis impositum fuit. Qvo comperto Angli repente confluent, Danosque a descensu in terram prohibent: quæ res eos coëgit in Daniam redire.

Gormus rex in Jutia constitutus erat, dum hunc nuntium accepit, qvo percepto retrorsum inclinatus moerore suffocatus est. Altero post die eadem hora qvo pater obierat Haraldus in regnum Daniæ successit. Qui primus in sua gente Christo fide data baptismo ablatus est.

A N N O.

A N N O T A T I O N E S.

PAG. 2. *Knerir*, sing. *Knör*, vel *Knaur*, navis oneraria, profunda & a prora puppiqve celsa.

P. 33. *Præter Angliam*. Angliæ partem quintam ab Ivaro Vidfadme rege Daniæ, Sec. VII. cujus ex filia abnepos erat Ragnarur subjugatam fuisse testatur Snorro Sturleson in *Heimskringla*, tom. I. p. 54, editionis Havn. 1777. Quæ auspiciis Serenissimi Principis Hereditarii Daniæ Musarum artiumqve Patroni Opt. Max. prodiit.

Ibid. *Sagitta bellica*. Literis apud majores nostros nondum introductis, symbolorum frequens erat usus, quæ animi sensa absentibus indicarent. Quæ pro diversitate rerum *publica* vel *privata* erant, illa autem *ecclesiastica* vel *civilia*. Utraqve *Bod* & *Bodkafar* dicta sunt. Cum publicis hic nobis agendum erit. In his præcipua sunt.

1°. *Merki*, *Herteikn*, *Fana* seu Signa militaria, quæ in acie alter ab altero distinguî posset exercitus. His Ethnici intexuere diversi generis animalium figuras: (α) *corvi*, avis Ohino sacræ tam propter sagax, feroxqve ingenium, quam indicium hosti dandum, esse eum corvis in escam destinatum. Tale vexillum corvi specie insignitum & Raven inde dictum Dani amiserunt in Anglia, A. D. 878, teste Chronico Saxónico, p. 84. Ex scriptoribus medii ævi nemo hoc melius descripsit quam Asserius Menevensis in rebus gestis Ælfredi, edit. Oxon. 1723, p. 33. "Diluculo inquit super
"Paganos ex improvise irrumpunt Angli & a primo tempore hostes hostiliter cum
"rege suo maxima ex parte, paucis ad naves per fugam elapsis, prosternunt, ibi
"quæ acceperunt spolia non minima, in quo etiam acceperunt illud vexillum, quod
"Reafan nominant. Dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari & Habbæ filiæ scilicet
"cet Lodbrochi illud vexillum texerunt, & totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano
"tempore, dicunt etiam, quod in omni bello ubi præcederet idem signum, si victo-
"riam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivus volitans. Sin
"vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil movens." Confer. Ethelredus Monachus & Henrich. Huntendonienfis. Quibus addi potest encomiastes Em-

mæ agens de Danis initio seculi XI. Angliam invadentibus. “Erat, inquit, iis vexillum miri portenti, quod licet credam esse impossibile lectori tamen, quia verum est, veræ inseram lectioni. Enimvero dum esset simplicissimo candidissimoque in-textum serico nulus figuræ in eo inserta esset imago tempore belli semper in eo videbatur *corvus*, acsi intextus, in victoria suorum quasi hians ore excutiens alas, instabilisque pedibus & suis devictis quietissimus totoque corpore demissus. Quod requirens Thurketillus primi auctor prelii: pugnemus inquit viriliter focii, nihil enim nobis erit periculi: hoc denique testatur instabilis corvus præfagientis vexilli.” Fuit etiam Sigurdo Crasso Northumbriæ comiti, qui anno MLV. obiit, vexillum *Reaven Land ey*, sive corvus terræ terror dictum. Vide Joh. Brompton, apud Twisden, p. 945: & Lelandi Itinerar. tom. IV. p. 142. Verum non soli erant Dani, qui signo corvi utebantur, etenim Norvegos illud diu coluisse certum est. Sic Olavi Tryggvasonii regis Norvagiæ anno 1000 mortui vita refert matrem Sigurdi Orcadum comitis filio dedisse “Vexillum miri artificii in speciem corvi efformatum, qui dum vento illud pandebatur, in hostes volasse visus fuerit.” Et quis nescit corvum in nummis Olai Norvegi regis Northumbriæ eodem fine apparere. Vide Fontaine’s Tab. in Hiccesii Thesauro Antiquitat. Septentr. (β) *Draconibus* omnes feræ nationes originis potissimum Schyticæ pro signis olim usæ sunt, & Sinenfes, Wandalique in hunc diem iis uti gaudent. De Anglis, vide Math. Westmonaster. De Dacis Claudianus pluribus locis, itemque Ammianus, libr. xvi. qui *δρακοντεία φλαμουλα* ea appellat. De Saxonibus Witichindus Saxo, lib. v. Et tantus fuit apud Danos Norvegosque Draconum usus, ut non modo eorundem capita in navium proris erigerent, verum etiam in caudas puppes desinere fecerint, quæ ratio est, cur naves forma serpentum fabricatæ, etiam post religionis purioris introductionem Dracones sæpius appellentur. Lege vero cautum fuit neqvis pacatam adiret navem terram, anteqvam Draconis caput in prora erectum abstulerit. Vide Egilli Skallagrimii vitam.

Tandem Christiani

Cæsar’s vexilla linquunt
Eligunt *signum crucis*
Proque ventosis Draconum
Qvos gerebant palliis
Præferunt insigne lignum
Quod Draconem subdidit.

Qui mos ad Anglos perlatas Mercios puta & Northumbros, ab iis in Norvegiæ seculo x transit. Etenim illi non modo in signis, verum etiam in clypeis aurea cruce usi sunt. Hoc testatur *Snorro Sturlason*, in vita Olavi Tryggvasonii, edit. Skalholt, tom. I. p. 92.

“I þann tíma var Adalbertus Biskup i Brimur a Saxlandi, hans Lærifveinn var þangbrandr sun Vilibaldi greifa af Brimaberg; hann var þa roskinn at aldri er Hugbertus af Cantarabyrgi baud Adalberti brodr sinom til sín oc gaf honom go-
“dar gjafer oc foronaurum hans aullum, at þessu heimbodi var þangbrandr með
“biskupi, oc þa er gjafernar voro frambornar. þa mælti Hugbertus biskup til þang-
3

“ þangbrands: med þui at þu ert litfkadr sem riddarar, þoat þu fert klerkr, þui gef
 “ ec þer skiöld er markadr er a krosf med likneskio drottins vors, i. e. hoc tem-
 “ pore Adalbertus Bremæ in Saxonia episcopus, discipulum habuit Thangbrandum
 “ filium Vilibaldi comitis Bremensis. Ille, ætate provectus ab Hugberto Cantuariæ
 “ (in Anglia) episcopo, invitatus multa cum suis omnibus accepit dona. In Adal-
 “ berti comitatu erat Thangbrandus. Ut vero dona distributa sunt, Hugbertus
 “ Thangbrandum alloquitur. Qvoniā inquit eqvestribus exercitiis operam navas,
 “ etiamfi clericali ordini adhæreas, dabo tibi clipeum, cui inscripia est crux cum
 “ imagine Domini nostri de illa pendentis.” Qvi clypeus Olavo Tryggvaasonio a
 Thangbrando postea datus in tantum placuit, ut crucis insigne, non solum ab hoc
 rege sed etiam ab ejus successore Olavo Haraldi filio, symbolum signumqve militare
 esse juberetur. Testis erit Snorro, tom. II. Rex Olavus, inquit “ Snorro, in navi
 “ sua centum viros loriceis annulatis & galeis Gallicis munitos secum habuit. Ple-
 “ riqve milites *alba scuta* gerebant, alii *cruce aurea* distincta, alii vero crucibus rubro
 “ cæruleoque colore illita. Qvin & galeis in fronte crucem albam creta inscribi rex
 “ jussit. Eodem modo Dani vexillum alba cruce decoratum diu sequebantur.” Vide
 Th. Bartholini Diatribe de Ordine Danebrogico Havn. 1675, & Arnoldi Huitfeldii
 Historiam Daniæ, tom. I. pp. 106. 107. 191. Nec tamen semper Christiani cru-
 cis signo tam stricte adhæserunt, qvin alias sanctorum reliquias penitus neglexerint.
 Etenim Carnotenses *Camissiam* Beatæ Mariæ Virginis in modum vexilli super pro-
 pugnacula olim exponebant. Vide Wilhelm. Malmesbur. de Gestis Regum Angliæ,
 lib. ii. c. 5. Et Wilhelmus nothus in oppugnatione Angliæ, ut nos docet historia
 Norvegiæ anecdota *Hryggjarstycke* dicta, “ Vexillo alligavit scrinium sancti Odma-
 “ ri, super quod Haraldus Godwini filius juraverat, se operam daturum, ut Angliæ
 “ regno potiretur.” Vide J. Johnstoni Antiquitates Normanno Celticæ, Havn.
 1775.

II°. Sagitta belli index, *Herör*, *Herbodsör* vulgo dicta, quâ ab uno ad alterum
 regni limitem oppidatim missa, patriam hoste tyrannove opprimi incolæ monebantur.
 Fuit illa (vide Saxo. lib. V. p. 85) Danis, Norvegis, atqve islandis in usu. Vide
 Snorro in Heims Kringla, tom. I. p. 250, & Thorm. Torfæi Histor. Rer. Norveg.
 Part. II. p. 274. confer. leges antiquiss. Norvegico Gulathingenses Tit. De patria
 propugnanda, § de sagittâ belli indice mittendâ & portanda. Verba legis hæc
 sunt. “ Enn ef sua fellr hardlega at nockr herr hæfs edr gengr a innanlands þa
 “ skulu þeir er sönn herfaga kemr til skera örvar upp oc lata fara landsfenda a mille,
 “ skal fu ör fara at minsta lage þiogötör med þridia manne fulltida, enn á sió med
 “ skipe skipado. Hon skal fara med þiodleid med skipe skipado bædi nætor oc
 “ daga. Tre ör skal uppkera i bygdar allavega af þiodleid oc i eyar út oc beri
 “ huar ödrum med vattum. Enn öllum mönnum er ör kemr til þá gerir hun stefno
 “ til skips vid sió en safnade a lande. Enn ef nockor sitr þa kyrr um, þa er sa
 “ útlægr, þui þa skal fara þegn oc þræll, ef þefs þarf vid. Enn ef nockr fellir
 “ herbods örvar veri utlægr oc allt þat sem hann á, nema naudsyniar banne.
 “ Mete konongr þær naudsyniar,” i. e. Si gravis ita acciderit casus, ut hostis li-
 “ mites ingreditur regni, illi quibus hac de re certus nuntius primum venerit, sagittam
 promant,

“promant, ab uno ad alterum regni limitem mittendam. Quæ sagitta ad minimum
 “tribus conitata viris perfectæ ætatis secundum publicam viam, mari vero nave bene
 “instructa directo cursu, die nocteque perferatur. Sagitta lignea a viæ publicæ latere
 “utroque accolis, inque insulas mittatur, quam alius ad alium adhibitis testibus ferat.
 “Qvos vero obvios habuerit sagitta, si ad mare est, eos ad naves ire jubet, si vero in-
 “continenti, ad conventus certo loco adscriptos. Qui accepta sagitta domi manserit,
 “exilio puniatur, eoquod liberis, servisque eadem est necessitas patriam protegendæ.
 “Qui sagittam belli indicem portare neglexerit, exul esto, bonis omnibus exuendus,
 “nisi intervenerit impedimentum, quod soli regis suberit arbitrio.” Pro sagitta Scoti
 & Sueci baculis in fine combustis, funeque instructis eodem modo utebantur. Vide
 Celeberr. Pennant, in *A Tour through Scotland*, 1769, p. 192, & Olai Magni *Histor.*
Rer. Svecicar. lib. VII. c. iv. “Cernitur, inquit Olaus, hic homo præcipiti equo
 “vestus fustem seu baculum in fine combustum altero fine ligatum offerens, cujus fi-
 “delior simpliciorque interpretatio hæc est. Ut quoties imminuant hostes in litore
 “maris seu limitibus regnorum septentrionalium, tunc illico iussu præfectorum pro-
 “vincialium, baculus tripalmaris communi eorum aspectu agiliori juveni cursu præ-
 “cipiti, ad illum vel illum pagum seu villam hujusmodi edicto deferendo commit-
 “titur, & tertio, quarto, vel octavo, die unus duo vel tres aut viritem vel omnes &
 “singuli ab anno triluistri cum armis & expensis decem vel viginti dierum sub pœna
 “combustionis domorum, quæ usto baculo, vel suspensionis patroni, aut omnium quæ
 “fune alligato signantur, in tali ripa vel campo, aut valle comparere teneantur, su-
 “bito causam vocationis, seu executionis prædicti præfæcti provincialis, quod fieri
 “debeat audituri. Itaque nuntius ille quovis postea seu veredario celerior peracta
 “commissione lente revertitur, signum afferens omnia se legaliter fecisse.” Conf. l. c.
 cap. v. & Reinhielmii notas ad Thorsteni Vikingssonii vitam. Canam autem sapere
 antiquitatem sagittæ missionem docet idem apud Chili incolas in America olim usus
 de hoc Margravius, lib. VIII. c. iv. refert quod “rædera ineunt & stabiliunt in
 “hunc modum. Qui alium primatum aut rectorem communitatis ad fœdus &
 “societatem armorum invitat, mittit per aliquem suorum, aut portat ipse sagittam,
 “quam invitatus si consentiat, manu dextra tangens, vice jurisjurandi se obligat,
 “atque hoc præcipuum inter eos fidei est vinculum ad eundem modum, cum neque
 “scribere sciant, siquid aliquid alteri nuntiari velint, quod bellum aut aliud reip.
 “negotium tangat, per fidum aliquem suum ministrum mittunt sagittam cui fascia
 “alligata est, societatis armorum index, quam ille, ad quem mittitur dextra manu
 “accipit, & si vicissim, aliquid nuntiari velit, addit & alteram fasciam, atque ita
 “eandem sagittam remittit. Si autem opus sit, alios quoque moneri, retinet prior sa-
 “gittam cum fascia, et ad suos confederatos, per suos circumferri curat, ad eundem
 “modum.” Apud Islandos ante fidem Christo datam s. ann. Christi M. Mallei,
 Thoro, summo eorum Deo tributi icon circumlatus in comitia conventusque publicos
 incolas vocabat. Vide Steph. Joh. Stephanii notas in Saxonis Grammatici *Histor.*
Rer. Danic. Cui haud multo post successit securis in hunc usque diem adhibita ex
 ferro lignove fabrefacta ad ejus formam, qua in prælio Stiklastadensi usus est Olaus
 Haraldus rex Norvegiæ & ejusdem protomartyr.

Sagittis

Sagittis vero utebantur Islandi circum circa missis, ubi homicidium factum esse innotuerit; & conventus, quem sine mora accolæ adire tenebantur, ad consultandum de persecutione rei, Orvarthing appellatus fuit. Vide Gragas. Tit. Vigfodi.

III°. *Vöndr* Virga, quæ ut semper dignitatis erat index, itaqueque securitate publica gerentes munivit. De Romanorum *fascibus* hic nihil agam, satis habens observare 1° *Virgas* Norvegis *Rikis vönd*, Saxonibus vero *Rod*, ignobilis sylvæ filias pro sceptro a regibus adhibitæ fuisse, donec crescente pedetentem luxu ex eburno auroque gemmis sociato id fieret. Tale Latino erat sceptrum

———— semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum

———— posuit—comas & brachia ferro

olim arbos, nunc artificis manus ære decoro
inclusit.

2°. Caducei vice fungebantur *virgæ*. Quomodo Gregorius Turonensis, libro VII. c. 32. memorat “Gundeboldum duos legatos cum virgis consecratis, misisse” juxta ritus Francorum, ut scilicet non contingerentur ab ullo.” Et Fredericus dux Saxonie Carolo V. Cæsari bellum indicturus nuntium cum *virga* tenui misit. Sæpius autem pro virgis baculo utebantur veteres, ut patet ex vita Friderici II. Daniae regis per Resenium edita Havniæ 1680.—Etenim rex facialem Heidenibus cum baculo albo & literis instructum misit, qui Ditmaris bellum denuntiaret. Quem ritum non modo Heidenes ad incitias redacti observarunt, mittendo ad regem suos sacerdotes pacis petendæ gratia baculos albos gestantes, sed etiam Elfsburgenses Sueci, anno 1563, præfectum suum Ericum Bagge in castra Regis Daniae ablegarunt cum albo baculo, ut claves oppidi ad pedes victoris supplex poneret.

3°. *Virgæ* sunt tesserae imperii & dignitatis, siquidem olim sine iis in publico fiebat nihil, nec apud Anglos, quorum res moribus antiquis stant vigentque, hodie quid peragitur. Hic *Virga*, the rod, sive baculus semper adest in ecclesia, aula, foro, jam niger jam albus, prout res id postulat emblamate insignitus muneris, quod repræsentat, & ante eos latus, qui imperio funguntur. Hinc *Virga* s. *baculus*, imperii emblema, sive actu spontaneo diffingatur, ut moris est Stevardo regni, sive auctoritate legis alicui adimatur, indicat honores virgæ baculive comites non amplius geri posse, donec regi, populoque id placuerit. In sacris ordinibus hoc commune fuit, ut docet Chronicon Saxonicum ad annum 1047, quando Ulfum episcopum ex Anglia, qui ab Edvardo rege ad Synodum Vercellensem missus erat, eo pene redactum indicat, ut pedum episcopale illi confringeretur, quod officium suum præstare non posset. Et Wilhelmus II. Herberto episcopo Theotfordensi 1194, episcopatu abdicavit baculo episcopali ablato. Imo “in synodo Londinensi 1102, “multis Francis & Anglicis clericis *baculi* & officia per sententiam sunt ablata.”

Ecclesiastica symbola quæ ad synodos, templa, aliosve conventus sacros indidit fiebat, cruces fuisse docent leges Norvegico Gulathingenses Haconis Haconis filii. Vide Jus Ecclesiasticum. Ubi “Huer Prestir skal crofs skera fá er kirkiu fokn heldr, “oc fara láta fyrer helgum degi huerium oc föstudegi, sua morgum nóttum fyrer “sem fylkismenn verða áfatter.—Crofs skal egi yngri madr bera enn xii vetra til “carl sem cona oc selia i hönd buanda ef hann vill egi vidrtaca, þá beri heim til “húfs oc seti yfer duri upp oc gangi inn oc fegi hium. Sua skal bera þingbod sem

M

“crofs

“cros oc bera til næsta bæar:” i. e. “Qvivis sacerdos, ecclesiæ rector crucem mittat, ad indicendum quamlibet diem sacram jejuniumve, tam multis ante noctibus, quot parochiani communi consensu decreverint. Cruces minor annis XII, mas, fœminave, non portet, qṽi proximo accolæ crucem in manum tradat: si accipere qvis recusaverit, crucem domum portet, super fores ponat, & ingressus ædes, domesticis id se fecisse dicat. Eodem modo qvo cruces feruntur conventus civilis indices ferantur, ab alio ad alium.”

P. 33. *Vestfoldia* regio ad sinus Osloensis s. Christianienfis latus occidentale sita. Qvi sinus olim vocabatur *fold*, i. e. mare, eodem modo ac Germanorum *phal*.

Ibid. *Dofrini montes*, vocantur vallosa juga, qvæ Thrandhemiam ab diocesi Aggerhusiensi determinant, Norvegiamque in Septentrionalem & Australem, *Norden* & *Sonden* fiælds dividunt. A Dofro Jotorum antiquo rege ita vocata fuisse nobis persuadere vult vita Bardi Snæfellsæfs. Verum bona authoris pace ego potius a Wallico Dýffrin vallis deduxerim Lat. *Dubris* unde Anglosax *Dofre*, *Dofro*, *Douere*, *Doure*, *Dovere*, *Dover*, Cantia portus oppidumque dictum est. Qvis enim nescit majores sæpius a natura, & situ locis nomina dedisse.

Ibid. *Lidandesnes* promontorium Norvegiæ Australis extimum nautis καλῆζονη, *Næs* & *Næsset* dictum.

Ibid. *Vena Rhenana*, sic aurum veteres poetice vocarunt, a loco, unde aurum venire credebant, Rheni scilicet ripis.

Ibid. *Minus decet fortem regem annulorum numerus, quam militum*, inter vitia principum maxime veteribus exosa sorditis, tenacitasque erant, & nihil fuit quod Haraldi Pulcricomi filiis magis esset opprobrii, quam quod avaritiæ dediti, thesauros terra abscondere dicerentur. Snorro, tom. I. p. 167.

P. 34. *Solis munera* dicebatur aurum, tum ob præstantiam, cum ob attributam a majoribus vim fovendi, producendique omnia ex terra. Sol autem poetice apud Islandos vocatur *Mundilfari* a circumeundo, siquidem mundum immobilem sidera circumvolvi, ad Galilæi tempora usque antiquitas pro certo habuit.

Ibid. *E filis ferici* inferius vocatur *filki* s. fericum, cujus apud Septentrionales usus erat haud infrequens, nonmodo pro vestitu, sed etiam pro velamine culcitra- rum. Prima ejus, quod memini, occurrit mentio in vita Orvarrodii, qṽi dum seculo tertio Hiberniæ arma intulit a principe quadam fœmina indusio sericeo donabatur. Confer. Hervaræ Saga. Havn. 1785. Post ea sæpius occurrit; in vita Haraldi Pulcricomi apud Snorronem, tom. I. Ubi de culcitra fericea agitur; in Nialfaga Carius Hæbudenfis thoracem fericeam gessisse fertur, & Magnum regem Norvegiæ Nudipedem amiculum sericeum rubri coloris, cui leo a pectore & a tergo ferico

ferico, flavi coloris inscriptus erat, super loricam induisse testatur Snorro, tom. III. Sed unde venit sericum in regiones Boreales? Ex Constantinopoli credo, ad quam urbem nostri confluerunt majores stipendia Imperatorum meritori. Huc tandem a Seribus, qui magna cura bombyces nutriendi, telasque conficiendi artem, diu secretam occultarunt, ne quæstus ad alios irer, serica opera migrarunt auspiciis Justiniani, etenim illi της των σκωληκων γεννησιν αινηρ Περσης βασιλευσι Ιαζινιαν εν Βυζαντιω υποδειξεν ουκ απολερον εγνωσμενην Πομαιον, ob quod Turcas, Serum successores haud parum consternatos fuisse, dum illis ab imperatore modus sericum texendi monstraretur, docet Photius in historia Theophanis Buzantii. Verum tamen majores serici usum noverint, tamen ejus origo ignota erat, quapropter *Gud-vef* deorum opus vocabatur: innuitque vox *bar-limi* coma arboris & *filki* molle quid iis creditum fuisse serici fila ex arborum ramis depexa. Neque omnino hoc mirum; etenim Græci Romanique sericeas vestes jam Medicas, jam Coas, Persicæque appellantes, diu putarunt, earum fila arboribus gigni. Quo sensu Virgilius dicit, quod

———— Arboribus depectunt vellera Seres.

Et Plinius lib. XII. c. 10. Lanigeras arbores adducit. Quamquam non negaverim Assyriam bombycem apud eundem lib. XI. c. 23. nominari, & a Propertio lib. II. eleg. III. Arabicæ bombycis mentionem fieri.

P. 34. *Nec mordebunt te acies.* Constat hinc haud ignotam fuisse Borealibus artem fabricandi arma, quæ ferro invia essent, nec secari, disrumpive possent. Præter vitam Orvaroddi & Hervaræ sagam edit. Havn. p. 31. quarum utraqve testatur Oddum in Hibernia natum fuisse indusum sericeum, cui ferrum nocere non posset, Speculum regale editum Soræ Danorum, 1768, haud pauca recenset arma, quæ facta ex lino, lana, serico, corioque, si aqua maduerint, vix ac nevis diffecari possent. Et sane majores nostri pectora loris operiebant, haud secus ac Romani, qui ut testatur Varro *loricam* a *loris* dixerunt, quod, de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant, donec Galli sub eodem vocabulo e ferro ea facerent. Quæ ut magna artis ususque eximii cimelia sæpius in historiis *Valskar brynior* dictæ, apud nostros celebrantur. Nec ex lana, pilisque confectæ vestes ad usum belli ignotæ erant. Etenim *þofa-kust* vestis strictior, *þofa-treja* thorax ex lana coacta hirta pilosæque in commercijs erant. Conveniunt hæc cum Græcorum *Πιληοις*, & Latinorum Centonibus, quorum illa ex lana cogebantur; hi, a Servio Cilicia dicti ex caprorum pilis conficiebantur. De utilitate eorundem Plinius certus erat docens quod lanæ coactæ vestem faciant, & si addatur acetum ferro resistent imo etiam ignibus—puppesque aceto madefactis centonibus integantur, ut obstant & ferro & ignibus.

Ibid. *Pyris*, quarum in Argenide Barclaius pulcherrimam descriptionem dedit, invasiones hostium resque novas indicare utriusque orbis gentes consueverunt. Græci *Πυρσεια*, signa data, speculas autem *Πυρσους* appellarunt, ignibus nocte, fumo die nova vicinis exponentes. Quomodo Polybius lib. X. ut Æschylum in Agamemnone taceam, iis Philippum Macedoniæ regem usum fuisse docet, jubentem suos quotidianis ignibus notum facere, quid Eubœi molirentur novi. Conf. Herodoti

Herodoti lib. IX. c. 3. de Mardonio. Et egregie Zedrenus refert, Pyras fuisse introductas ab imperatoribus in oriente contra Saracenorum irruptiones. Nec defuit Peruvianis igneus ille nuntius. Illi ad quātam quāmqve leucam per omnes provincias aluere pyras in ædiculis, summis super montibus ita dispositis ut ab alia ad aliam prospectus libere pateret, qveis factum est, ut intra tres aut quatuor horas imperator redderetur certior, siquīs impetus hostium, tumultusve subditorum acciderit in loco sexcentis ab ejus aula miliaribus distanti. Vide Yncæ Garcilassi de la Vega Hist. lib. VI. Ejusmodi speculas Japanensibus fuisse novimus ex Ambassades des Hollandois vers Japan, quarum author, singulos ignes a duobus viris semper custodiri, testatur. Nostros autem majores quod attinet, tunc multa iis circa pyras fuit cura. Norvegos hoc primum docuit Herthiofus Gunthiofi filius rex Hordiae, qui, cum plurima hostilia molitus esset, multos hostes sibi comparavit. Igitur ad improvisam eorum irruptionem præcavendam, pyras in celsis montibus erigi curavit, custodesque adjecit cum mandatis, ut perspecto hostis adventu, subditis de more facibus omnes ditionis suæ subditos, ad signum datos armati exirent impetui hostium propulsando. Vide Thörn. Torfei Historiam Norveg. Pars I. p. 236. Sed videtur hoc institutum tandem fere in desuetudinem abiisse: etenim Haconus rex Bonus, alias Adelftani alumnus ex Anglia redux nova lege jussit, ut in montibus excelsis, ex ingentibus arboribus pyræ ita struerentur, ut ab una pyra ad alteram facilis & liber esset prospectus. Quo pacto excitatus hostilis irruptionis nuntius a prima in extremo regni ad meridiem angulo exstructa pyra ad remotissima boream versus publicorum comitiorum in Hælogalandia VII dierum spatio volitasse fertur *. Vide Snorronis Sturlæsonii Heimskringla, tom. I. p. 147. Quam legem Magnus legum reformator Jure Gulathingensi Tit. De patria propugnanda. § de Pyris, sanxivit. Verba hæc sunt. “ Nu er
“ hers van i land vart, þa skulu menn vita-vörðr reida, þa skal barun eda um-
“ bodsmadr bod skera, enn sá er sekr halfri mörk fylfrs er egi cembr til. Böndr
“ ero skyldir til vita ad gera, þar sem verit hefir at forno fare, fiordungr herads
“ Manna þeirra er næster bua, oc vard-hus med oc dyr fiorar á. Nu skal stefna
“ skipreidu þingvord at bida. Barun eda umbods madr konungs skall gera bon-
“ dum lagha stefnu til vörð at halda oc bida; þa skulu bændr a verdi sitia hina
“ fimtu nott, fra þui er vordr er bodin nema fyr þurfi. Enn þæir sem vita vörð
“ eigo at halda oc koma þæir egi til, þa sekiaft þeir vardviti vid konong þat er
“ mörk filfrs. Þrir menn skulu vita-vord hallda. þeir menn ero allir vardsfæter er
“ augnaheiler ero oc eyrna, frialser menn oc fulltida herlendskir, enn egi utlendskir
“ or annara konunga rikum. Menn skulu a vörð ganga at midium degi, oc halda
“ til annars middags. Enn ef seinna er afgengit eda fyr af, þa er sekr vardviti vid
“ konung, nema einn gangi erenda þeirra. A verdi skal madr vaka enn egi sofa,

* Utrum Anglis debeat, facile non dixerim, nam etsi non lateat, eos ignis ministerio usus fuisse ad res novas indicandas, pyrasque vocavisse *beacons* a verbo *beacnian* signo ostendere ego tamen non ullam potui circa eos invenire legem, usque ad annum 1588, quo die 8 Maii, populus ad propulsandam Hispanorum tyrannidem pyris convocari jubeatur.

“enn ef allir sofa a verdi oc brennr viti fyrer nordan eda sunnan, þa er secr vard-
 “viti vid konung. Nu skulu varðmenn vita brenna at þeimr Herskipum senu,
 “enn ef þeir brenna egi vita þa ero þeir seker vardviti vid konung. Enn ef þeir
 “efaz i huart ero herskip, eda egi, þa skulu þeir kalla til hina vitraustu menn
 “med ser þa sem næstir ero þeim oc hafa vid rad þeirra, huert vita skal brenna edr
 “egi. Barun eda umbods madr konungs skal fa mann til skilrikan at skoda vörd
 “oc ranfaka huern dag medan þefs þikir vid þurfa, oc greida vörd at ret fare.
 “Enn ef þeir gleima secir viii ærtogom oc xiiii mörkum vid konong, ef skade
 “verdr at.” Id est, “Si hostis in patriam nostram adventus expectetur, incolæ
 “ocius pyras struunto, ut possit baro siue præfectus nuntios ulro citoque mittere.
 “Quicumque hoc neglexerit dimidiam argenti marcæ solvito. Incolæ obligati
 “sunto ad faciendum pyras ubi ab antiquo accensæ fuerunt. Quarta pars incolarum,
 “qui proximi adstant pyras custodiunto, domum excubitoriam quatuor ostiis instruc-
 “tam ædificant. Tunc nauæ ad portus convenire iubentur. Baro siue præfectus
 “regius publicam mittito incolis citationem, qui pyras custodiant. Qua accepta in-
 “colæ pyras per quinque continuas dies a tempore, quo primum accensæ erant custo-
 “diunto. Quicumque, cui necessitas inerat pyras adeundi, non venerit, multam
 “unjus marcæ argenti regi solvito. Tres viri pyras semper custodiunto. Unus
 “quisque incolarum, cui oculi auresque se bene habent, obligatus esto, modo li-
 “ber, ætatisque legitimæ sit, nostrasque, ad pyras excubandi. Extraneis hoc offi-
 “cium non committitor. Excubiæ ad pyras ab uno meridie ad alterum habentur.
 “Qui prius posteriusve venerit, multam regi solvat, nisi unus quidam negotii ne-
 “cessarii gratia abiverit. Ad pyras vigilandum est, minime vero dormiendum. Si
 “vero omnes ad excubias dormiverint & pyræ austrum boreamque versus luceant sin-
 “guli multas regi danto. Excubiæ pyras struunto visis tribus navibus hostilibus
 “una navigantibus, quodsi neglexerint, multam regi solvunto. Si dubitaverint
 “hostiles navés sint necne, consilium ineunto cum viris prudentibus, eorumque opi-
 “nionem sequuntur, circa pyras siue accendendæ fuerint necne. Baro siue præ-
 “fectus regis virum probatæ fidei singulis diebus mittito, qui pyras examinet, & pro
 “ut necessitas id postulaverit, res eo pertinentes dirigat. Qui id neglexerit aut offi-
 “cio rite non fundus fuerit viii uncias argenti regi solvat, præter xiiii marcas ar-
 “genti, si damnum rei publicæ inde natum fuerit.”

Quibus apud vicinos Suiones instituta convenisse testatur Olai Magni Historia Rer.
 Svecicar. lib. VII. c. 10. Idemque apud Scotos.

P. 34. *Serpentem gynæceum Thoræ cingentem occiderat.* De cæso a Ragnaro
 Thoræ tutore, cui nomen erat *Ormus*, & poetica vitæ Ragnerianæ authoris fictione,
 ductaque inde metaphora. Vide Thorm. Torfæi Histor. Rer. Nerveg. tom. I.
 Northern Antiquities, London, 1770, vol. I. p. 321. The Death Song of Lod-
 broc, published by the Rev. J. Johnstone, 1782, p. 94.

Ibid. *Gynæceum.* Virgines ævo medio separatam ab aliis ædibus domos, beneque
 sæpius munitas inhabitabant. Quæ domus islandis jam *Skemma* ut in vita Rag-
 naris,

naris, cap. 42. jam *Dyngia* ut in *Nialfsaga*, Latinis vero Barbaris *Genetium* dicebatur. Hic a vi externa tutæ artibus, quæ sexum muliebrem ornant, incubuere, etenim in texendis, pingendisque acu vestium ornamentis tempus fallere solebant. Quomodo vita Ragnaris vestis, a Thora prima ejus conjuge auro argentoque, ope acus variegatæ meminit. Quam vestem Ragnarus, Aslaugæ, dum ejus favorem peteret, postea obtulit his dictis

“ Viltu þenna þiggia
 “ Er þora Hiörtr atte
 “ Serk vid filfr of merktan
 “ Soma all vel þer klæde
 “ Þoro hendor huítar
 “ Hennar of þessar gervar
 “ Su var budlungi bragna
 “ Blidum þeck til dauda.”

Id est,

“ Vis ne hanc accipere
 “ Quam Thora Cerva possidebat
 “ Vestem argento pictam ?
 “ (Tibi sedent optime vestes)
 “ Exspatiatæ sunt manus nivosæ
 “ Ejus per hoc cymelion,
 “ Ejus, quæ regi populorum,
 “ Multum ad mortem grata erat.”

Confer Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, vol. I. p. 324.

Verum acu pingendi artem solertiamque veterum heroinarum apud Anglo-Saxones præ cæteris optime describit Adelmus episcopus circa ann. Chr. 680 florens, in suo *De Laude Virginitatis* libro, cap. 6. in Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, tom. XIII. “ Sola inquit virginitatis prærogativa sine cæterarum adjumento virtutum non sufficit ad perfectionem, atque opus est, ut multimoda mandatorum varietate decenter decoretur. Siquidem cortinarum sive stragularum textura, nisi panniculæ *purpureis* imo *diversis colorum varietatibus fucatæ* inter densa filorum stamina ultro citroque decurrant, & *arte plumaria* omne textrinum opus diversis imaginum thoracibus perornent, sed uniformi *imaginum thoracibus* coloris fuco sigillatim confecta fuerit, liquet profecto, quomodo nec oculorum obtutibus jucunda, nec pulcherrimæ venustati formosa videbitur.”

Igitur nihil mirum, si *Gesta Gulielmi Conqvistoris Angliæ apud Muratorem in Antiquitt. Italiæ*, tom. II. p. 404. testentur. “ Quod Anglicæ nationis fœminæ multum acu & auri textura egregie valuerint.” Cui testimonio addi potuerit Glossa ad vitam Petri Cœlesti Papæ, in tom. III. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. lib. II. c. 6. “ In pluviali, inquit, Papæ, erant imagines sanctorum patrum de serico & auro laborate & acu operis Cyprensis seu Anglicani. Sed tandem,” per gravem quærimoniam *sericatricum* & *filatricum* mysteriæ & occupationes operis serici infra civitatem Londoniæ ostensum fuit qualiter diversi Lumbardi & alii alienigenæ dictam mysteriam

mysteriam & omnes hujusmodi virtuosas occupationes mulierum in regno prædicto destruere conati sunt. Vide Madox Firma Burgi, c. 1. sect. 10.

P. 35. *Pugnas pugnavi quinquaginta unam* magnam harum pugnarum partem recenset in carmine Lodbrocarquida vulgo dicto, quod post Ola: Wormium in literatura Runica. Havn. ediderunt summi viri. Anglice in five Pieces of runic Poetry, London, 1763. Northern Antiquities, London, 1770. J. Johnstæus, Havn. 1782. Malletius Gallice in Introduction a l' Histoire de Denmark, Copenhagen, 1768. Atque Denis Germanice in Sammlung von Lieder Sineds des Barden. Wien, 1772.

Ibid. *Australes regiones. Sudr-rike*, ita respectu *Austr-rike*, & *Austr-veg*, quæ regiones orientales a Norvegia Daniaque mare Balticum cingunt, vocabantur terræ austrum versus sitæ quales sunt Frisia, Gallia, Italia, &c.

P. 36. Principes mensis accumbentes adire mos olim fuit, iisque inter epulas & pocula negotiorum seriem exponere. Vide Speculum Regale. Conf. Snorron. Sturlesonii Heimskringl. tom. II. p. 283. Conf. Eigla, cap. 16. ubi Thorolfus Haraldum pulchricomum, regem, mensis accumbentem adit, negotiorum causa. Idem in Anglia observatum fuisse docet idem author his verbis. "Thorarin Loftunga var madr kalladr; hann var Íslendíkr madr at kyne, skald mikir, oc hafde verit miök med konungum. Hann var med Knuti enum ríka oc hafde ort um hann flokk. Enn er konongr víssi þat varð hann reidr, oc bad hann færa sér drapuna um dagin eptir þa er konongr sæti yfir bordum. Enn ef han gerdi egi sua, þa segit konongr, at þorarin mundi uppi hánga fyrer dyrfð þa, er hann hafdi ort dræpling um Knut konong. Knutr launadi qvædit L. marka silfrs. Id est, "Thorarinus Loftunga vir eras natione Islandus & poeta insignis, qui in aulis principum partem ætatis multam vixerat. Canutum magnum adiit oblatum carmen quod de illo composuerat. Quod ubi rex rescivit, iram concepit & poetam iussit, ut die crastino sibi mensis accumbenti heroicum carmen offerret, secus Thorinus patibulo suspenderetur, ob audaciam pusillos aliquot versus autem offerendi. Canutus carmen suo iussu compositum quinquaginta marcis argenti remuneravit."

Ibid. *Convivio* excepti erant. Convenit hoc cum Taciti de Germanorum moribus testimonio dicentis, cap. 15. quod, quoties bellum non ineant, non multum venationibus, plus per otium transigant dediti somno ciboque. Hunc in finem *veitflor* seu feoda instituta erant, ex quorum redditibus *vasallus* (quod nomen ab *veitfla*, quod a *veita* præbere, originem ducit), dominos feodi convivio excipere possent. Observavit hoc immortalis Spelmannus, *vassí* & *vasalli* voces barbaris deberi. Et *veitflumenn* nobis audiunt vasalli, cæterum antiquis temporibus feoda alia erant *militaria*, quæ miles alendus erat, *convivalia* alia, ad expensis, regibus eorumque satellitibus, qui sexaginta excedere non debebant, regnum, dum cautas judicandi gratia circumirent,

irent, hospitio recipiendis faciendas; ad quas si non ipsi venirent, pecunia jure sol-
vebatur. Vide Verel. Clav. Linguæ Scando-Schyticæ in voce Veitfla. Conf.
Snorro. Sturl. in vita Olai Sti. tom. II. Harekus, inquit Snorro Halogiam parvum
pro ferendis in convivia sumtibus, partim feudo militari habuerat. Quæ convivia
author Eiglæ optime describit. Cap. 11. "Haraldus konongr fór þat sumar a
"Halogaland, oc voro gerfar veitzlor moti honom, bædi þar er bu hann voro, oc
"sua gerdo lendir menn oc rikir bændor. Þorolfr bio veitzlo moti konongi, oc
"lagdi a kostnad mikin. Var þat akvedit nær konungr skyldi koma. Þorolfr bau-
"þangat fiölda mans, oc hafði þar alt & bedsta manval þat er kost var. Konongr
"hafði nær CCC manna, er hann kom til veitzlunnar. En þorolfr hafði fyrer V
"handrud manna. Þorolfr hafði látit bua kornhlöðu mikla er þar var, oc látit
"leggja becki i, oc let þar dreka. Þuiat þá var engi stofa sua mikil, er þat fiol-
"menni mætti alt ivera. Þar voro oc festir skyldir um huerfis i husino. Konongr
"settiz i hafæti. Konongr var þar þriar nætor sem ætlad var. Þa er konongr biöz
"brott, leiddi þorolfr hann til strandar oc gaf honom dreka þan er han hafði gera
"látit med tiöldum oc öllum reida." Id est, "Haraldus rex (pulvericomus) hac
"ætate in Halogiam delatus conviviiis ubicunqve excipitur, non solum in villis ad
"eum pertinentibus, verum etiam, a præfectis regiis, & nobilibus privatæ fortis
"viris. Thorolfus convivium regi sumptu magno struxit. Et tempus indictum fuit,
"quo rex adesse vellet. Thorolfus optimates meliorisqve notæ viros invitavit, qui
"frequentes aderant. Regem convivium adeuntem trecenti secquebantur viri. Tho-
"rolfo autem quingenti erant. Ille granarium magnum instrui fecit, & id scamnis
"circumcirca auxit, ut cænaculi vice fungeretur, cum nulla ædes esset par hospi-
"tibus tam multis recipiendis. In parietibus cænaculis undequaque clypei erant
"suspensi. Rex folium occupabat & tribus, ut definitum erat noctibus convivio
"interfuit. Qui itineri accinitus a Thorolfo ad littus deducitur & Dracone, navi
"recens fabrefacta cum tentoriis & apparatu quocunqve donatur."

P. 36. Aleæ ludum a Germanis adamatum fuisse Tacitus narrat, nec minus
nostris majoribus placuit antiquis temporibus. Etenim Tessera, latrunculi, schachi-
cusque ludus seculis X. XI. & XII. Principibus in deliciis erant, qui ludus in Islandia
ab incolis, multa cum dexteritate hodie dum exercetur. Et ad artes liberales per-
tinere censebatur teste Calio in Historia rerum Orcadenfium, p. 151.

"Tafl em ec ör at efla.
"I þrotter kann ec niu
"Tyne ec traudla rúnum
"Tid er mer boc oc smider.
"Skrida kann ec a skídum
"Skyt ec oc ræ sua at nyter
"Huart tueggia kann ec hyggia
"Harpilátt oc brag þátto."

Id est,

"Alea ludere delectat,
"Artes ego calleo novem,

“ Runas ægre dedisco
 “ Freqvens mihi liber est, fabrileqve opus
 “ Ligneis novi percurrere soleis
 “ Jaculari & remigare expedit
 “ Utrumqve curat animus
 “ Cytharæ ludum, vocalemqve musicam.”

Cæterum de Aleæ origine & usu apud majores nostros. vid : Loccenii Antiquitates Sueticas. S. Bringii Monumenta Scanica, tom. II. p. 155. Debes Færoa referata, p. 252. Claufenii Descriptio Norvegiæ, p. 167. Huitfeldii Historia Rerum Danicar. tom. II. p. 199, & Speculum Regale, quod tessellarum pecunia interposita ludum fugere, aulico fuadet.

P. 37. *Cornua* principibus in præliis erant tubæ, sed pocula inter mensas. Hic armorum, non solum vice fungebantur sæpius, verum etiam super ea vota fuisse nuncupata novimus. Quibus Thraces pugnaverint poculis, in lætitiæ usus datis, lyricorum nos celavit pater; Norvegos autem cornibus cerevisia, medove, bene exsiccatis, fortiter certasse, veteris ævi monumenta evincunt. Etenim præter Heriolfum, Halfdani Nigri, regis aulicum, qui cæso quodam sociorum cornu, *Hornbriot*, i. e. cornufragi cognomen accepit, multos in diplomatibus ævi medii, heroas inveni qui Evoo cornibus victimas cædebant. Inter pocula Germani de rebus maximi momenti consilia iniere, & nostris id moris erat, si ulla Snorrioni fides, dum Sveno Rex Daniæ, Anglis, Norvegis, Wandalisque, certam ruinam minabatur. Verba Snorronis hæc sunt. “ Sveinn konongr gerdi mannbod riðt oc stefndi til sin höf-
 “ dingiom öllum, þeim er i voro rikino; hann skyldi erfa Harald födr sinn. Sendi
 “ Sveinn konongr þa ord þeim Iomsvikingum, at Sigvaldi Iarl oc Bui oc Brædr þeirra
 “ scyldo þar coma oc erfa fedr sina, at þeirri veitzlo er konongr gerdi. Fyrsta dag
 “ at veizlunni adr sveinn konongr stigi i háfæti födor fins, þa drack hann minni
 “ hans, oc streingdi heit adr þrír vetr være lidnir, at hann skyldi cominn med her
 “ sinn til Englands at drepa Adalrad konung, eda reka hann or landi. Þat minni
 “ skyldu aller drecka þeir er at erfino voro. Þui næst var skeinkt fyrst hofdingium
 “ Iomsvikinga hin stærstu horn af enum sterkasta dryck er þar var. Enn efter þat
 “ drack Sigvaldi Iarl minni födor fins oc streingdi heit sidan, at adr III. vetor væri
 “ lidnir, scyldi hann vera cominn i Noreg, oc drepa Hacon Iarl eda reka hann or
 “ landi.” Id est, “ Structo quam maxime opiparo convivio omnes regni Magnates,
 “ atqve principes viros convivas invitavit rex Sveinus, patri Haraldo parentalia so-
 “ luturus. Missis ad Iomsvikingos nuntiis, Rex Sveinus invitavit Sigvatum Comitem
 “ & Bujum, eorumqve fratres, ut ad convivium quod struerat rex, convivæ acce-
 “ dentes, parentibus suis iusta solverent. Primo convivii die, antequam Rex Sveinus
 “ solium patris sui conscendit, exhausto in memoriam defuncti poculo, solenne nun-
 “ cupavit votum, se ante triennii tempus elapsum, suscepta, in Angliam expedi-
 “ tionem, Adalradum regem, vel vita, vel regno & patria privaturum. Qui pa-
 “ rentalibus adhibiti fuere convivæ omnium erat istud in memoriam defuncti bibere
 “ poculum. Postea Iomsvikingorum præfectus cornu capacissimum, ad summum
 O “ usque

“ usque potu fortissimo repletum. Hoc facto in defuncti patris memoriam evacuans
 “ Sigvaldus comes solenni voto se obstrinxit ad expeditionem in Norvegiam susci-
 “ piendam ut Haconum Iarlum vel vita exueret vel patria pelleret.”

Ab hoc non multum distare crediderim morem per cornua res immobiles tradendi, quo seu juramento, exhaustionem, cornu dato, tradens se ad evictionem obligavit. De usu cornuum, omnium instar sit eruditissima dissertatio Domini Pegge. Of the Horn, as a Charter or Instrument of Conveyance. Some Observations on Mr. Samuel Foxlowe's Horn; as likewise on the Nature and Kind of these Horns in general. Archaeologia Societat. Antiquit. Lond. tom. III. p. 1. conf. An Historical Dissertation upon the ancient Danish Horn kept in the Cathedral Church of York, by Samuel Gale. Archaeolog. tom. I. p. 168.

P. 39. *Aquilam in tergo pingat.* Fuit itaque majoribus nostris corporum pictura alia decora, infamis autem alia. Illam Britonibus, Germanis, Pictis, Scotis, atque Getis fuisse in usu Claudianus docent,

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.

Crinigeri sedere patres pellita Getarum

Curia, quos, plagas decorat numerosa cicatrix.

Scoto-feroque notatas

Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

Tacito de moribus Germanorum Arii tincti corpora, & Isidoro lib. xix. c. 23. Britonum Stigmata, memorantur. De hoc Saxo Gram. p. 77. Hæc autem a tergo: quo vulnera excipere contumeliosum fuit omni ævo, immani supplicio conjungebatur. Vid. Vita Ormi Storolfi filii subnexa Historiæ Olai Tryggvasonii, edit. Skaltholtenf. p. 16. Eo modo Enarus comes Orcadensis aquilam in tergo Hafdani incidit. Snorro, tom. I. p. 107. Eadem forsane ratione Estones olim captos Teutonicos gladiis suis in dorsis eorum crucibus factis jugularunt. Chronic. Livonic. Gruberi, p. 70.

Ibid. *Frackland* Franciam s. mediterranea Galliæ loca appellarunt veteres.

Ibid. *Valland* majoribus nostris vocabantur 1º regiones a Celtis. s. Galatis & Gallis olim habitatæ. 2º, Regio Galliæ maritima, quo sensu hic venit. 3º, Italia.

Ibid. *Danica lingua* id olim fuit, quod hodie est Gallica; ejusque nomine cæteræ omnes veniebant. Vid. Pauli Widalini Dissertatio de Lingua Danica etiam in Anglia communi, doctissimis illustris Erichsonii Commentariis illustrata, ad finem vitæ Gunlogi Ormstungæ. Havn.

Ibid. *Agdæ* Regio ab utroque latere promontorii Norvegiæ Lidandisnæs inter Westfoldiam & Amnem Sira.

P. 39. *Roid-Gotaland* Regiones vocabantur quas ad mare Balticum, ubi nunc est Estonia Livoniaque, incolebant Gothi, sic dictæ a palustri earum situ. Vide Thunberg's *Unterfuchung von Ursprung der Nordöstlichen Völker von Europa*, Halle, 1772.

Ibid. *Selund*, alias *Sæland*, & hodie corrupte *Siælland*, *Sælland*, Danicarum insularum regionæ nomen. Quod ab amænissimis Sylvarum recessibus, quibus, hodie cum gaudet, indubie obtinuit, & sic dicta est *Lucus Maris*. Cum iis tamen non litigabo qui *Sælland* appellari maris terram maluerint, etsi non videro, quo jure magis illud huic insulæ, quam aliis mari cinctis nomen conveniat. In Otheri Periplo, in Ælfredi Verf. Orosii, Lond. 1773, p. 25. vocatur *Sillende*, & *Selon*. apud Ditmar. Merseburg. Vide Leibnitii Script. tom. I. p. 327. *Sialand*, Saxoni & Svenoni Aggonis audit, sed Adamo & Ælnotho *Seland*.

Ibid. *Vindland* Wandalia, five regiones Germaniæ maritimæ Pomerania & Mecklenburgum.

Ibid. *Scania*, hodie *Skaane*, vocatur *Sconeg*, in Ælfredi Orosio, provinciæ Sveciæ, Sælandiæ Danorum obversa, sic a campestri situ dicta. Nam *Skæn*, vel *Skaun*, planitiem significat, in quo sensu Islandis eodem nomine placenta dicitur, alii a *Skön* pulcher, quasi terra pulchra & amoena sit, nomen, derivant.

Ibid. *Upplönd*, Uplandia Norvegiæ complectebatur Gudbrandsdaliam Raumari-
kiam, hodie Rommerige, & Thelemarkiam.

Ibid. *Vikin* & *Vik*, provincia Norvegiæ Australis Vestrogothiæ Suecorum contermina, olim dicta *Alfheimar* & *Elfarfylke*, a duobus fluviis, Raumelfa & Gothelfa, quæ a vicinis ab utroque latere dividebatur. Primis illa temporibus continebat regiones, quotquot inter promontorium Norvegiæ *Lidandesnæs* dictum, & Gothelfam interjacent. Cæterum, *Vik* denotat finum, cujus æqvor five mare vocabatur antiquis *Fold* & Germanis veteribus *Phal*.

P. 40. *Promontiorum Reges*. Regum olim principumque filii piraticam excercientes ita vocati fuerunt a statione ad promontoria, unde ab utroque latere visus facile patebat in advenientes. Sed tota piratarum turba *Vikingar* sunt dicti, unde Lat. Barb. *Vicii*, *Vixi*, *Viccingi*, *Vixcingi*, apud Huntingdon; a *Vik* mare, sinus. Quod nomen non minoris olim erat gloriæ, quam hodie id ducitur ab Algerinis atque Mauris. Quibus ut Taciti verbis utar de moribus Germanorum; nec arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile persuaferis quam vocare hostes & vulnera mereri. Pigrum quippe animo & iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod posses sanguine parari. Etenim ut Barbari ad raptum feruntur necessitate se suosque susten-

tandi, ita majores nostros ad arma Venus excitavit & Valhallæ næstar. Claros Othinnus cædibus mensis tantum adhibebat, & a puellis repulsam ferebant, quorum arma cædibus non maduerunt. Illud Edda, hoc Egilli Skallagrimi vita docet sequentibus. Cap. 48. " Þórólfr hellt lidi sínu norðr fyrri Halland. ok lögdu þar til hafnar er " þeim bægdi veðr. Þeir ræntu þar ecki. Þar var skamt á land upp Jarl sá er " Arnfríðr er nefndr. En er han spurdi at víkingar voro þar komnir vit land. Þá " sendi han menn sína á fund þeirra. Þess erendið, at vita hvart þeir villdi þar " fríðland hafa eða hernat. En er sendimenn voro komnir á fund Þóroldfrs með sín " erendi. Þá sagði han at þeir mundu þar ecki heria, sagði at þeim var engi naud- " syn til at heria þar, ok fara herðskildi, sagði at þar var land ecki auðigt. Sen- " dimenn fara aptr til Jarlsins, ok sögdu honum erendið lók sín. En er Jarlinn varð " þess varr, at han þurfti ecki lidi at safna fyrri þá fauk. Þá reid han ofan með " ecki lid til fundar vit víkinga. En er þeir funduz þá foro þar allt vel rædur " með þeim. Jarl baud Þóroldfr til veizlu með sér, ok lidi hans þú er han villdi. " Þóroldfr het ferdinni, En þá er á var kvæðit, let Jarlinn fenda reidðkióta ofan " móti þeim. Reduz þeir til ferðar bæði Þóroldfr ok Egill, ok höfdu með sér xxx " manna. En er þeir komo til Jarlsins, fagnadi han þeim vel, var þeim fylgt inn í " stofu, var þar þegar inni mungát, ok gefit þeim at drecka, sátu þeir þar til " kvældz. En áðr bord skylldu upp fara. Þá sagði Jarl at þar skyllði sæti hluta, " skyllði drecka samam karlmadr ok kona sva sem til ynniz, en þeir sér er fleiri " veri. Menn báru þá hluti sína í skaut, ok tók Jarlinn upp. Jarl átti dóttur all- " fríða, ok þá vel frumvaxta, sva sagði hlutr til, at Egill skyllði sitia hiá Jarlsdót- " tur um kvældit, hon geck um gólf ok skemti sér. Egill stóð upp ok geck til " rúms þess er dóttir Jarlsins hafði fetid um daginn. En er menn skipuduz í sæti " sín, þa geck Jarlsdóttir at rúmi sínu, hon qvæð :

" Hvat skaltu sveinn í sefs minn ?

" (þú er) sialldan hefir þú gefnar

" Vargi varmar bráðir :

" Vera vil ek ein um mína.

" Sáttadu hrafn í hausti

" Of hræfelli gialla :

" Varattu at þar er eggjar

" Á skel-þunnar runnuz.

" Egill tók til hennar, ok setti hana niðr hiá sér, han qvæð :

" Farit hef ek blóðgum brandi,

" Sva at mer benþidurr fylgdi,

" Ok giallanda geiri

" Gágr var harðr at víkingum.

" Giördum reidir rostu,

" Rann elldr um fiót manna,

" Letum blóðga búka

" Í borghlidum sæfaz.

" þá

“ þá drucku þau saman um kveldit, ok voro allkát. Var þar veizla hin bezta, ok fya um daginn eptir.” Id est,

“ Thoro'fus cursu in septentrionem instituto, præteriit navibus Hallandiam; ibi, adversante vento. ingressi sunt portum, at nihil prædabantur. Parvo inde intervallo aberat (rurî superiore) Comes, nomine Arnfidus: qui cum cognosceret istis oris accessisse piratas, suorum quosdam ad hos mittit, eo fine ut cognoscant, si advenæ pacem in sua regione, an bellum malint? Legati cum Thorolfo momenta legationis exposuissent, negabat se vel suos hostilia illic exercituros, nihil esse necesse ostendit, cur ibi populentur aut infestò invehantur clypeo, addit regionem illam non esse opulentam. Reversi legati, Comiti nuntiant eventum negotii. Qui cum animadverteret, hac de causâ, copiis sibi contrahendis nullum opus esse; eqvo devehitur ad piratas, nullo cum agmine: inter quos & ipsum, cum convenirent, colloquia optime conveniebant: Comes Thorolfum, cum quo vellet numero suorum, ad convivium domum suam invitabat, & spondebat Thorolfus se venturum. Constituta autem die, Comes eqvos fellarios iis adduci fecit. Thorolfus & Egillus cum triginta virorum cohorte iter adibant: venientes ad Comitem, liberaliter excipiuntur, & in triclinium intrò ducuntur: ibi statim præsto erat potus eximius, ipsis ad bibendum datus; ita in vespèram usque sedebant (accumbabant). Ante vero quam mensæ (ad cænandum) struerentur: Comes loca fortienda esse dicit: ita ut vir & mulier, quoad utriusque esset copia, per paria (copulas biberent, at seorsum qui superessent. Tum conjectæ sortes omnium in finem (togæ Comitis), ab ibsoque Comite educæ. Comes filiam habebat forma conspicuam, & tum in ætatis flore constitutam, huic fors confessorum assignavit Egillum per eam vespèram; virgo, animi causâ, per triclinium inambulabat; Egillus surgens locum, quo per diem federat filia Comitis, adibat: ut vero cetera multitudo loca sua ordine occupabat, accedens quoque ad locum suum filia Comitis, ita modulata est:

“ Quid tu puer in meam sedem?

“ (Nam) raro dedisti

“ Lupo calidas prædas:

“ Sola esse volo circa mea.

“ Non vidisti corvum hoc autumnò

“ Super inpositam stragem crocitare:

“ Nec adfuiisti ubi acies (ensium)

“ Ostraceorum extremitatum instar tenues, sibi invicem occurrerunt.

“ Qvam Egillus apprehensam, apud se collocabat, & cantilenam regerebat:

“ Ivi cum sanguineo gladio

“ Ut me corvus comitaretur.

“ Et sonante hasta

“ Strenue processerunt (processimus) piratæ.

“ Fecimus irati prælium,

“ Volitabat per sedes hominum ignis,

“ Fecimus sanguineos truncos

“ In portis urbis obdormiscere.

P

“ Inde

“ Inde per vesperam magnâ ambo cum hilaritate conjunctim potabant. Convivium tam eâ vesperâ, quam posteriâ luce, erat eximium.” Confer cap. xl. quod Egillum ætatis anno xii. Grimum quendam occidentem cecinisse meminit.

þat fagdi min moder
At mer skyldi kaupar
Fley ok fagrar arar
Fara i hring med vikingum.
Standa uppi stafni,
Styra dirum kneri,
Hallda fva til hafnar,
Hauggua man ok annan.

Id est,

Dixit mea mater
Mihi emi oportere
Navem cum elegantibus remis,
Conscenderem hanc cum piratis,
Starem celsa in puppi,
Navem gubernarem pretiosam,
Portum ita subirem,
Virum unum alterumque cæderem.

Si igitur virtus bellica tanta in laude fuerit apud Veneres gratiasque, & tam necessaria ad obtinendos eos honores, qui post mortem fortes sequebantur, nihil mirum est, quod majores nostri fuerint

Prodiga gens animæ

quos ille timorum

Maximus haud urfit lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignavum *redituræ* parcere vitæ.

Quam ob rem aliis totum tempus navali expeditione transactum, alii solum istas anni partes, quæ ab agrorum cultura vacare datum erat prædis seduli incumbabant, unde *Hauft*, & *Vor-Viking*, autumnalis vernalisque piratica nomen habuit. Et ut arti tam liberali sua ne deesset majestas, duces *Regum* titulo salutabantur. Vid. Snorro Sturlesonii *Heimskringla*, tom. II. p. 3. Et leges latæ erant, quibus cautum fuit.

1. Nullus gladio cubitu longiori utitor.
2. Fœminam infantemve ne capito.
3. Vulnera ante viginti quatuor horas a conflictu ne obligato.
4. Tentoriis naves ne tegito.
5. Vela, quavis tempestate oborta, ne diminuito.

Vide Vitam Halfr Regis & Sociorum anecdotam Legati Magnæani. Confer Historiam Rerum a Iomsvicensibus gestarum, Historiam Watsfdælenfium in Islandia, quæ sola hæc legem habet.

Socius qui relicto vexillo ad naves se recipit prædæ partem ne capito.

Omnia tandem instar sit oratio Ketilli Prumi nobilis Norwegi, filium domi desidem ad fortia facta excitantis, “Mos, inquit, erat, magnorum virorum, regum & comitum, æqualium meorum, ut piraticæ incumberent, opes & gloriam sibi acqvirentes, atque illa pecunia in hæreditatem non cederet, neque succedens patri filius eam possideret, potius tumulo ipso cum defuncto mandaretur. Licet autem filii magnas a parentibus hæreditates relictas haberent, despiciebantur tamen, nec in ullo momento ponebantur, nisi ipsimet cum sociis periculis se objicientes, opes & prosperam sui memoriam pararent” Vide Historiam Watsdælensium, cap. 1.

Qui de piratis & piratica veterum plura noscere voluerit, adeat velim, Gvaldon : in Vita Sancti Ansgarii. Anonym. de Profectione Danorum in terram sanctam. Adamum Bremens. lib. de Situ Daniæ, p. 5, edit. Elzev. 1629, cap. 6. Wil. Malmesburienf. de Gestis Regum Angliæ, lib. I. cap. 20. Giraldi Topographiam Hiberniæ Distinct. II. cap. 11. Joh. Hermanfon de Vikingis Veterum Hyperboreorum, Upsal, 1730-34, 2 Partes, 4to. Bryn. Tegmanni de Angaris Upsal, 1697. Joh. Tyl-lander de Angaris Dissertationes, Aboæ, 1732. Johan. Erii Annotationes uberriores ad Vitam Gunnlogi Ophyoglotti & Scaldrafni Havniæ, 1775, p. 268.

P. 40. *Klifland*, hodie *Cliveland*, in parte septentrionali comitatus Eboracensis haud longe a Whitebya. Locus a natura soli præcipiti ita dictus. Vide G. Camdenii Britannia, edit. E. Gibsonii, Lond. 1722, vol. II. p. 908.

Ibid. *Scardaborg*, hodie *Scarborough*, in parte comitatus Eboracensis septentrionali. Vide G. Camdeni Britanniam, edit. E. Gibsonii, p. 903, 904.

Ibid. *Principes Regii natarent*. Ars urinatoria in deliciis olim erat regibus. De Olavo Tryggvafonio, vide Historiam rerum a Laxdælensibus gestarum. De Olavo Haraldii filio Snorron. Heimskringlam, tom. II. p. 2, ubi. “Olafr var iprotta madr mikill, kunni vel vid boga, scaut manna best handscoti oc syndr vel, hagr oc sionvandr vid smidir allar.” Id est, “Olaus artibus excelluit, quippe qui jaculis arcu manuque emissis scopum dexterrime tetigit; arte natandi nemine secundus, faber ipse egregius, de aliorum operibus fabrilibus acutissime dijudicavit.”

A

FRAGMENT OF IRISH HISTORY;

OR, A

VOYAGE TO IRELAND

UNDERTAKEN FROM

ICELAND

IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

A

U M fúmarit varð þat til tidenda at konongr Hacon of No-regi for i stefno-för auðr i Brenneyar oc giördi frid fyrer land sitt, efter því sem lög stódo til, hit þridia sumar. Sá fundr skyldi vera höfðingia imilli, oc sitia at þeim malum sem konongar áttu um at dæma.

Þat þotti skemtileg för at sækia þann fund, þvíat þangat com menn nær af öllum löndum þeim er ver höfom tidende af.

Höskuldr setti fram skip sitt, oc vildi sækia fund þenna þvíat hann hafde egi fundit konong a þeim vetri. Þangat var oc kaupstefna at sækia. Fundr þessi var all fiölmenr, þar var skemtun mikel, dryckior, leikar oc allsþins glede.

Ein dag er Höskoldr for at skemta fer vid nockora menn, fá hann tiald eitt skrautlegt fiærri öðrum búðum, Höskuldr geck þangat i tialdet oc sat þar fyrer madr i gudvefiar klæðum, og hafdi gerfkan hatt a höfði.

Höskoldr spurdi þennan man at nafni, han nefndest Gilli hinn Gerfke. Höskoldr segest oft hafa heyrt hans geted, kallade

THIS summer it happened, that Hacon, king of Norway, went to the assembly in the islands of Brenneyar, for the purpose of establishing peace throughout his dominions, in obedience to the laws of the country, which obliged the neighbouring princes to assemble and continue there, as long as the arrangement of the public affairs required their presence.

It was esteemed the highest pleasure to attend this assembly, as it was crowded with the chiefs of every nation of whom we have any knowledge.

Hofkuld, having put his ship to sea, got himself in readiness to wait on his majesty, to whom he had not paid his duty the preceding winter; and at the same time to make himself acquainted with this celebrated market, which was exceedingly numerous, and at the same time equally splendid and attractive, every interval of business being filled with banqueting, interludes, plays, and a variety of other entertainments equally enchanting.

On a day as Hofkuld took a walk with some of his attendants, chancing to see a neat tent at a distance from the rest, curiosity induced him to bend his steps that way; having come up to it, he met with a man at the door cloathed in purple, with a Ruffian hat on his head.

On enquiry he found that his name was Gilli the Ruffian. Hofkuld said he had often heard his name, and that his fortune

was

lade han þeirra manna audgazan, er vered höfdo i kaupmanna lögom, oc munt þu hafa þa luti at selia ofs er ver vilium kaupa.

Gilli spyr hvat þat være? Foronautar Höskoldar fegia, hann vili kaupa ambátt nockora, ef hann hefdi at selia. Gilli svarar: þar þyckiz þer leita mer meinfanga um þetta, er þer falid þa luti er þer ætled ec muni egi tilhafa. En þat er þo egi rádit, hvert sva ber vid.

Höskoldr fá at um þvera búdina var fortiald: þá lypti Gilli fra tialdino, oc fá Höskoldr at xii konor fáto fyrer innan tialdit.

þa mælti Gilli at Höskoldr skyldi gánga þangat oc líta á ef hann villdi nockora kaupa af þeim konom.

Höskoldr gerir sva; þær fáto allar saman um þvera búdina, hann hyggr uandliga at konom þessom, hann fá at kona fat utarlíga vid tiald skörina, fú var illa klædd. Höskoldi leyft konan frid fynom ef nockot mætti áfía. þá mælti Höskoldr; hverso dyr er fú kona af ec vil kaupa?

Gilli svarar: þu skalt reida fyrer hana þriár merkor sylfors. Sva virde ec sagdi Höskoldr, at þu munir leggja, kono þessa heldr dyrt, þviat þetta ero þriu verd.

þa svarar Gilli; rett mæltir þu, at ec met hana dyrari enn adrar, kíós þer einhveria af hinom xi oc giald fyrer eina mörk sylfors, enn þesse se efter i minne eigo.

Höskoldr mælti; vita mon ec hve mikit filfr er i fiód þeim sem er a bellti mer, oc bad Gilla taka vogina.

þa

was superior to that of any other merchant, in consequence of which he expected to find some things with him, of which he was desirous.

Gilli enquired what he wanted. One of Hoskuld's attendants answered, that he wanted to purchase a maid slave, if he had any. Gilli replied, no doubt you intend to rally me, for you probably guess that I have not what you ask for; but in that you are perhaps mistaken.

Hoskuld having cast his eye round the tent, observed it to be divided with a curtain, suspended in the middle; which, on being drawn up, disclosed twelve women.

Gilli on this invited Hoskuld to approach and take his choice.

Hoskuld accepted the invitation; and, after a close inspection, fixed on one seated last of all next the tent, and of course less conspicuous. Notwithstanding the meanness of her dress, her beauty shone throughout so irresistibly, that Hoskuld was immediately captivated with her charms, which evinced an illustrious descent.

The price set on her amounted to the weight of three marks of silver. It seems to me, said Hoskuld, that you place too high a value on her; inasmuch as this appears to be triple the price.

Gilli acknowledged he was in the right, as he estimated her beyond the rest; at the same time acquainting Hoskuld, that if he left her and chose any of the rest, he should have her for one mark of silver.

I will see, said Hoskuld, the quantity of silver at present in my purse, which was hung to his girdle; on this he called for the scales.

Þá mælti Gilli þetta mal skal fara ovela af minne hende, þvíat á er mikill liodr um ráð kononnar, vil ec at þu vitir þat, aðr ver flaum kaupi þessu. Höskoldr spyr hvat þat veri.

Gilli fvarar; kona þessi er omala, hefi ec marga vega leitað máls vid hana, en aldrei fengit ord af henne, er þat at vifo min ætlan, at hun kunni ecki at mæla.

Höskoldr fvarar; lat fram reidsluna, oc siaom hvat vegr fiodr fá er ec hefe her. Gilli giörer sva, vegr silfret, oc voro þat þriár merkor vegnar.

Þá mælti Höskoldr: sva hefir nu tiltekez, at þetta mon verða kaup ockart, tak þu fe þetta til þin enn ec Mun taka vid cono þessari, kalla ec at þu hafer drenglega af þessu haft, þvíat víft vildir þu mig ei falsadan.

Sidan geck Höskoldr heim til búdar sinnar; oc þat fama qvöld rekti hann hiá henne.

En um morgynen efter er menn foro i klæde sin, mælti Höskoldr; litt er stórlæte á klædum þeim er Gilli hinn Audgi hefir þer fengit, er þat oc fatt, at honom var meira i mun at klæda xi, enn eina.

Sidan lauk Höskoldr up kistu einni oc tok þar uppúr góð kvenn klæde oc feldi henni, var þat oc allra manna mál at henne fæmde god klæde.

Enn er höfðingiar höfðu mælt þeim malum er lög stodo til þá var flitid fundinum, geck þá Höskoldr á fund Hæconar konongs oc qvadde hann virdugliga. Konongr mælti, tekit munda ek hafa qvediu þinne, þó fyrre hefde ordet. Efter þat tók konongr Höskoldi med allri blíðo,

oc

Gilli seeing this, observed that no imposition in this affair should be laid to his charge, on account of which he thought it but just to acquaint the intended purchaser, that the woman was subject to a remarkable defect. Hoskuld was impatient to know what it might be.

Gilli soon gratified him, in letting him know that she was dumb ; and notwithstanding, continued the merchant, I have endeavoured by various means to induce her to speak, they have all proved ineffectual.

Hoskuld again demanded the scales, and desired to see how much the purse contained. Gilli obeyed, and having weighed the silver found it exactly to amount to three marks.

Having closed the bargain, Hoskuld took the fair, and acknowledged that Gilli throughout the whole had dealt with candour.

Hoskuld returned to his lodging and slept with his fair purchase the night following.

The ensuing morning as he was dressing, he said to her, those cloaths you wore with the monied merchant Gilli, carry little appearance of quality ; surely it requires more trouble and expence to provide for eleven than one.

On this he opened a chest, and drew thence a fine suit of female dress, which he presented to her, in which she appeared to the utmost advantage, as suitable to her dignity.

The public affairs being settled, the assembly was dissolved. Hoskuld immediately waited on king Hacon ; and, after saluting him with all proper obeisance, his majesty acquainted him, that his earlier attendance would have been very acceptable ; he received him exceedingly gracious,

oc bad han ganga á sitt skip, oc vera með fer meðan han være i Norege.

Höfkoldr dvaldiz með konongi nockora hrid, let konongr ferma skip hans með húfa vide. Þá mælti konongr til hans, egi skal dvelia þic lengr en þer likar, þott ofs þiki vandfeingen madr i þin stad.

Síðan leiddi konongr Höfkold til skips oc mælti : at fæmdar manne kefe ec þik reindan oc nær er þat minne ætlan, at þu sigler nú hit sídaza sín af Noregi so at ec se her yfermadr ; dró konongr gullhring af hendi fer þann er vog mörk oc gaf honom oc fverd grip annan, þat er koftat hafdi halfa mörk gulls.

Höfkoldr þackadi konongi allan þan sôma er han hafdi framlagt, steig síðan á skip og sigldi til hafs.

Þá er hann var heim komin, spyr Ioron, hver kona sú se er i för være með honom.

Höfkoldr svarar; sva mun þer þyckia sem ec svari þer skætinge ; ec veit egi nafn hennar. Iorun mælti, þat mun tveimr skifta, at sá hlutr mun loginn, sem fyrer mik er borinn, edr þú munt talad hafa við hana, oc frettad hana at nafni.

Höfkoldr qvez þefs egi þræta mundi oc seger henne it sanna, oc bad henni virkta, qvad þat nær sínu skapi at hún væri þar heima at vistar fare.

Á ofan verdum vetri fæddi frillan Höfkoldi sveinbarn, hann var þangat kalladr, oc synt barnit, leitst honom sem öðrum, at egi hefdo þeir fed annat barn vænra ne stórmanligra.

Höfkoldr var at spurdr, hvat sveinnen skyldi heita, hann bad han vatni afa oc kalla Olaf, því þá hafdi Olaf Feylan andaz modor broder hans.

Olaf

invited him on board his ships, in order to accompany him in his voyage to Norway.

Having stayed some time at court, in the mean while the prince ordered the ships of Hoskuld to be loaded with building materials; which being done, his majesty let him know that he did not wish to detain him any longer than his pleasure; notwithstanding the king acknowledged it was difficult to find his equal; such was the opinion he entertained of him.

His majesty, having accompanied him to the port, disclosed the confidence he reposed in him; and, as it was his opinion that this was the last voyage Hoskuld should make in the present reign, he took off his hand a gold ring, weighing one mark, which, with a sword worth half a mark of gold, he presented them to Hoskuld.

Hoskuld having returned his thanks to the monarch, for these, and all other marks of royal favour, embarked for Iceland.

In which having safe arrived, Iorun asked her husband, who the strange woman might be?

Hoskuld replied, perhaps you may think I intend to affront you, if I tell you that I do not know her name. One of those things must be false, said Iorun, either what you now report, or what I have been told, that you have spoken with her.

Hoskuld said he would not deny it, but rather tell the truth; in consequence of which he recommended the stranger, and expressed a wish that she might live with them.

Toward the spring the maid servant was brought to bed of a boy, who being brought to Hoskuld, was allowed by him, as well as every one that saw him, to excel in beauty and figure.

It being required of Hoskuld, to know what name he should bear, the father preferred the name of Olaf, which the child was baptised by, because Olaf Pheylan the uncle of Hoskuld was dead.

Olafr var afbragð flestra barna, oc lagði Höskoldr mikla áft á vid sveinin.

Um fumarit epter mælti Ióron vid frillona, at hun mundi upp-taka verknad nockorn, eda fara i burt ella.

Höskoldr bad hana vinna þeim hionom, oc þar med gæta sveinfins.

Enn þa sveinninn var tvævetr, var hann almæltr, oc rann einn saman sem fiögtra vetra gömol börn.

Þat var til tidenda einn morgon, at Höskoldr var gengin út at síá um bæ sin, vedr var gott oc sól skín, oc var litt á loft kómen, hann heyrde manna-mál, geck hann þa þangat til sem lækr fell hiá tún-breckunne, sá hann þar tvo menn oc kende, var þar Olafr sun hans oc moder hans, fær hann þa skilit at hún er egi mallaus, þvíat hún taladi margt vid sveinin.

Sídan geck Höskoldr til þeirra, oc spyr hana at nafne, oc qvad henne egi stoda at dyliáz lengr.

Hún qvad sva vera skyldi, setiáz þau þá níðr i tún-breckuna. Sídan mælti hún : ef þu vilt nafn mitt vita, þá heite ec Melkorka. Hann bad hana segia lengra ætt sína. Hún svarar, Mirkiartan heiter fader minn, hann er konongr a Írlandi, oc var ec þadan her-teken xi vetra gömul.

Höskoldr qvad hana helz til oflengi þagad hafa yfer so godre ætt.

Sídan geck Höskoldr inn oc sagði Iorónni þessi tidende. Iorón sagdez egi vita hverio væri at trúa, qvads sér egi vera um kynia men alla, oc skilia þau þessa rædo, var Iorón hvergi betr vid hana efter enn ár, enn Höskoldr nockoro fleira.

Litlo

Olaf encreased so fast in strength and beauty, that he was allowed to excel every boy of his years; on every occasion disclosed the strongest marks of love for his father, which the father failed not to return.

The summer following Iorun told the maid slave that she must either quit the house, or perform the duties of a servant.

Hofkuld requested that she might attend to the child in preference to any other duty.

When the boy was two years old he spake perfectly, and walked quicker than others at four.

One morning it happened as Hofkuld was walking round the house rather early, as the weather was exceedingly fair, and the sun inviting, he thought he heard a voice at a little distance; he sought the margin of a rivulet, that washed the foot of a neighbouring hill, under the shade of which he could distinguish two persons, whom he found to be his son Olaf and his mother; on this he found that she was not dumb, being occupied in speaking to the child.

Having listened for some time, he approached at length, and desired to know her name.

Seeing that she could no longer conceal it, she complied; on his being seated, she said my name is Melkorka. He then desired to know something of her family. In return to this she acquainted him, that her father Merkeartan (Murcartoc) was king of Irèland, from whom she was taken captive at the age of eleven.

Hofkuld observed that she had kept this a secret too long.

He then returned to his wife, and recounted this incident, who did not seem to relish the intelligence, as she said she did not know what to believe, nor did she like the family. This circumstance, however it might raise the envy of Iorun, failed

not

Litþó síðarr er Ioron fór at sofa togade Melkorka af henne oc lagde focklæden a golfet. Ioron tók fockana oc keyrde um höfut henne; Melkorka reiddez oc rak hnefan á náser henne so at blóð vard laust. Höskoldr kom at oc skylde þær.

Efter þat let Höskoldr Melkorko fara a brott oc gaf henne bústað uppi í Laxárdal þar heiter síðan a Melkorku-stöðum. þar er nú audn. þat er fyrir sunnan Laxá.

Setr nú Melkorka þar bú saman, oc fær Höskoldr henne alt þat er hún þurfti.

Lidr nú sva þar til er Olafr var fullvaxinn, oc in fridazti fy-num allra manna, þeirra er menn höfdo fet. Hann var a Melkorku stöðum.

Höskoldr var þá hniginn a efra aldr oc veik meir af fer umfiá um ráða hage Melkorko enn verit hafde, qvöð þat egi koma síðr til Olafs sonar þeirra.

Olafr sagðiz skylði veita flika umfiá er hann kynne.

Melkorku þokti Höskoldr egi giöra til sín sem fyrr hafde han giört hefer hun þat nú i hug fer at gera þat nockot, sem honom þykki egi betr.

Þorbiörn Skriufr hafde mest umfiá veitt búi Melkorku, oc vakit bonord vid hana, þá er han hafdi nockora hrid med henne verit, enn hon tok því færr.

not to encrease the esteem of Hoskuld, who heaped favours on the captive princess.

Soon after this, as Melkorka attended Iorun to bed, and had drawn off her stockings, she dropped them on the floor, which enraged Iorun to such a degree, that she took up the stockings and struck Melkorka about the head with them. This was an indignity that Melkorka could not sustain, in consequence of which she struck her mistress with such violence at the nose, as to provoke blood; in the moment the presence of Hoskuld interposed, and put an end to the dispute.

After this he deemed it proper to dismiss Melkorka, having assigned her a house in the valley of Laxardal, called Melkorkastader, which is now deserted. It is pleasantly situated on the south side of Laxa.

Here Melkorka took up her abode; Hoskuld taking care to supply her with every thing that she might stand in need of.

Olaf was educated with his mother till he had attained to the years of manhood, and was universally allowed, in shape and personal accomplishments, to excel all his cotemporaries.

Hoskuld was old at this time, and began to shew somewhat less attention to Melkorka as he advanced in years, leaving this to Olaf, whose duty he said it was.

Olaf acceded to this, and promised to fulfil that duty; which he did as far as his situation would permit.

Melkorka taking this in dudgeon, as she did not conceive to have given any offence that might occasion this coolness, determined with herself to do something that might avenge the slight.

Thorbiorn Skruf, on account of his having superintended the domestic affairs of Melkorka, often paid his addresses to her, but in vain.

Skip fíod uppi á Bordeyri í Hrúta-firde Orm hét stýrimaðr, hann var hirdmaðr Haralds konungs Gunnhildar sonar.

Melkorka talar við Olaf son sinn þá er þau finnast, at hun vil at hann fari utan, oc viti frænda sinna gaufugra, þvíat ec fæ þer fatt sagt, at Mirkiartan er at vífo fader minn, oc er hann konongr Ira; er þer at vífo hægt at radast til skips a Bord-eyre.

Olaf svarar: talat hefi ec þetta við faðr minn, oc tók hann lett á, enn þan veg er fíarhag mínom háttast oc fostra míns, at þat er meira í laundom ok kuik-fe, enn Íslendfíri leggiandi vauro.

Melkorka svarar; egi nenni ek, at þu fert lengr ambattar fín kalladr, oc ef þat nemr við faurinni at þú þickiz hafa fe of-lítit, þá mun ec helldr þat til vinna at giftast þorbyrne ef þú ræðst til ferdar helldr enn áðr, þvíat ec ætla at hann leggi fram vauror sua sem þú kant við at þurfa ef hann náir ráða-hag við mik.

Er þat oc til kostar at Höskoldr muno tueir lutir illa líka þá er hann spyr huarotveggia, at þú ert or landi farinn, enn ec em gift.

Olaf bad modr sína eyna ráða. Síðan ræddi Olaf við þorbiörn at hann villdi taka vauro at honom at láni, oc giöra mikit at.

Þorbiörn svarar þat mun því at eins, at ek náí ráða-hag við Melkorku þá væntir mic at þer se íafn-heimilt mitt fe, sem þat þú hefir at vardveita.

At this time a ship lay in the port of Bordeyri, in the forth of Hruta. The captain's name was Orn, who belonged to the court of king Harald Gunhildson.

Melkorka disclosed her anxious wish to her son, that he should go about for the purpose of paying a visit to his noble relations in Ireland, particularly Mirkiartan, king of that island. Now, said she, it is easy to put this wish in execution, seeing that there is at present a vessel in the harbour of Bordeyri.

To this Olaf answered, I have already conversed with my father on this subject, and must say that his answer gives me no great encouragement to pursue it; and you know that my property, as well as what belongs to my foster-father, consists more in landed estates and cattle, than in merchandizes of Iceland.

Melkorka replied, I cannot any longer support the idea of your being called the son of a slave, for which purpose, if indigence is the only impediment to your voyage, I shall comply with Thorbiorn's solicitations; if you conceive that a portion of his wealth will enable you to prosecute your journey, I am confident of his readiness to furnish you with whatever you may want.

I know, continued she, those two things will not fail to displease Hoskuld, when he comes to the knowledge of your departure, and my marriage.

Olaf said the whole should entirely depend on the prudence of his mother. He then requested the loan of some money from Thorbiorn.

To which Thorbiorn replied, that he could not think of complying with this request, till the mother of Olaf had consented to marry him; after which he might command his purse.

Olaf

Olafr qvad at þat mundi þá at ráði gert, taulodo þeir þá með fer þá luti er þeir vildo oc fkyldi þetta fara allt af hliódi.

Höskoldr mælti víð Olaf at hann mundi ríða til þings við honum : Olafr qvadz þat egi meiga fyrer bú-fýflo, letz mundi gera láta lambhaga við Laxá.

Höskoldr líkadi vel at hann villdi um buit annaz.

Síðan reid Höskoldr, enn buit var til brúðlaups a Lamba-ftaudom oc redi Olafr einn mál-daga, feck hann xxx hundrod af vauro óskiptri, oc fkyldi þar ecki fyrer-koma.

Bárdr Höskolds sun vas at brúð-laupi oc vissi þessa ráða-gerð með þeim.

Enn er bodi var lokit, reid Olafr til skips oc hitti Orn stýriman oc tók fer þar fari. Enn ádr enn þau Melkorka fkylduz, felldi hún honom i hendr fingorgull mikit oc mælti; þenna ring gaf fadir minn mer at tann-fe, oc vænti ec hann kenni, ef hann fer. Enn feck hún honom kníf oc belkti oc bad han selia fostro sinni, get ec at hún dylez egi við þessar iard-tekner. Oc enn mælti Melkorka; nú hefi ec þic fva heiman buit, sem ec kann best, oc kent per Iríko at mæla, fva at þic mun egi skifta hvar þic ber at Irlandi.

Olaf gave him hope of success, and began to bring it to a conclusion as secretly as possible.

Hofkuld invited Olaf to accompany him to the general assembly, but Olaf excused himself on account of some domestic affairs, particularly an intended inclosure in the neighbourhood of Laxa.

This was in itself a sufficient apology to Hofkuld, who delighted in husbandry, and was happy to find that his son was of the same disposition.

In a short time after Hofkuld repaired to the general diet ; in the interval of which the intended marriage betwixt Melkorka and Thorbiorn was privately celebrated at Lambastad, Olaf himself having stipulated the contract ; one of the articles of which was, that he should previously receive thirty pounds without any obligation of re-payment.

Bard Hofkuldson was present at the wedding, as conscious of the intrigue.

As soon as the feasting was ended, Olaf set off for Bordeyri, and agreed with Orn, the captain of the vessel already alluded to, for his passage. Having taken a most affectionate leave of Melkorka his mother, she presented him with a ring, saying, My father made a present of this gold ring to me, on the appearance of my first tooth, and I hope that he will know it again ; at the same time presenting a knife and a girdle, which she charged him to deliver to her nurse, if living, and whom she said would recognize them in an instant ; adding withal, you see, my son, that I have done every thing in my power to enable you to accomplish your wished-for voyage. The Irish language I have taught you perfectly, that you can be at no loss in that point, and where you will in the island.

Nú skilia þau eftir þetta. Þegar kemr byr á er Olafur kom til skips, oc sigla þeir þegar í haf.

Nú kemr Höskoldr heim af þingi oc spyr þessi tidindi; honom likadi heldr þungliga enn með því vanda menn hans áttó í hlut sefadiz hann oc let vera kyrt.

Þeim Olafi byriadi vel oc taka Noreg Orm fyrir Olaf at fara til hyrdar Haralds konongs Grafelds, qvad han gera til þeirra góðan sóma er egi voro betr menter enn Olafur var.

Olafur qvadz þat mundi upptaca oc fara nú til hirdarinnar, oc fá góðar vid-töcor vaknar konongr þegar vid Olaf, fyrer sakir frænda hans, oc baud honom þegar með fer at vera.

Gunnhildr lagdi mikil mæti á Olaf þegar hún vissi hann var broðor-sun Rúts enn sumir menn mæltu þat, at henni þætti skemtan at tala vid Olaf, þótt hann nyti egi annara at.

Olafur ógladdiz þegar áleid vetrinn. Orm spyr hvat honom var at ecka.

Olafur svarar: ferd á ec fyrer höndom at fara vestr um haf, þætti mer mikit undir at sú ferd væri farin sumarlángt, oc ættir þú þar lut at.

Orm

As soon as Olaf had embarked, a favourable gale courted the swelling sails, and in a short time bore the vessel into the main.

Scarcely had Olaf returned from the assembly, when the whole of what had been transacted in his absence came to his ear, which in the beginning failed not to kindle his anger. In consideration, however, of the relationship in which the persons stood to him concerned in the transaction, he was induced to mollify his passion, and to endeavour to be as calm as possible on the occasion.

Olaf and his companions reached the Norwegian shore after an agreeable voyage. Here Orn insisted that Olaf should appear at court, in order to pay his respects to the king Harald Grafeld, assuring him that many, who could by no means boast a superiority, had met with a very favourable reception at the court of that affable monarch.

Olaf at length complied, and, in company with Orn, repaired to court, where he was most graciously received, as his majesty well remembered his family; in consequence of which he was indulged in all the freedoms of the court.

Gunhild knowing Olaf to be nephew to Rut, distinguished him by several marks of favour; yet such was the public opinion, that the very pleasure of conversing with Olaf was deemed sufficient to recommend him; such was the elegance and attraction of his manner.

Olaf at length became very thoughtful: this did not escape the eye of Orn, who watched an opportunity in order to enquire into it.

Olaf thus answered his enquiry, I am obliged, said he, to undertake a voyage through the western ocean, which I wish to accomplish this summer, under your auspices.

Orn

Orn bad hán þess egi fýfaz, qvaz egi vita þeirra skipa von er vestr um haf gánga mundi.

Gunnhildr geck a tal þeirra oc mælti. Nú heyri ec ydr þat mæla er egi hefir fyrr verit, at fin veg þyckir hverom.

Olafr fagnar vel Gunnhildi oc lætr egi nidr-falla talit : síðan gengr Orn í brott, enn þau Gunnhildr tóco þá tal, segir Olafr þá ætlan sína oc sva hvat honom lá vid, oc at Mirkiartan Ira konongr var ödr fadir finn.

Þá mælti Gunnhildr ; ec skal fá þer styrk til ferðar þessarar, at þú megir fara sva skörugliga sem þú vilt þangat. Olafr þackadi henni bod fin.

Síðan lætr Gunnhildr búa skip, oc fær menn til, bad Olafr áquæða á hve marga men hann vildi hafa með fer vestr um haf, enn Olafr qvad á LX manna, oc letz mundi miklo skipa, at lid þat væri líkara hermönnom en kaupmönnom. Hún qvad sva vera skyldi.

Orn var nefndr oc Olafr til ferðarennar ; þetta lid var all vel búit.

Haraldr oc Gunnhildr leiddo Ólaf til skips, oc saugðoz mundi leggja til með honom hamingio sína oc vinátto með vingan sínni annari er þau haufðo tillágt, oc kaullodo engan hafa vænlegri comit af Íslandi á þeirra dögum

Þá spurdi Haraldr hverfo gamall maðr hann væri : Olafr mælti ec em nú XVIII vetra gamall. Konongr mælti þá ; miklir ágætis menn ero flikir sem þú ert, þvíat þú ert enn litit af barns-alðri oc sæk þegar á vorn fund, er þú kemr afr.

Orn endeavoured all he could to dissuade him from it, but in vain, saying, that he knew of no vessel bound to that part of the world.

Scarce had those words dropped from his lips when Gunhild entered; now I perceive, said she, addressing herself to Olaf, what as yet never struck me, that you and Orn are not agreed on the point in question.

Having paid his due respects to Gunhild, he acknowledged the truth of the remark, and as soon as Orn retired, he repeated the wish he had already disclosed to the captain, adding how much it concerned him, as Mirkeartan, king of Ireland, was his grandfather.

Then, said Gunhild, I shall do every thing in my power to enable you to undertake this voyage, as you wish to perform it with all the becoming dignity imaginable.

In consequence of which, Gunhild gave orders to fit out a ship with all convenient speed, and to man it with as many sailors as Olaf should think proper to chuse, which was sixty, as he said his wish was, that they might rather have the appearance of war than merchandize.

This being granted, Olaf and Orn were appointed captains of the whole, which was remarkably brilliant.

Harald and Gunhild accompanied him on board, and having assured him of the disposition of their friendship and fortune towards him, complimented him in many particulars, asserting that as long as they could remember, none had come from Iceland more gallant than he.

The king having asked his age, was struck with surprize to find he was only eighteen, declaring, that although he was scarce above his childhood, his figure, and mental and personal accomplishments, entitled him to the highest esteem.

Síðan bað konongr oc Gunnhildr hann vel fara.

Þeir stiga þegar á skip oc sigla á haf. Þeim byriadi illa um fumarit, hafa þokor miklar, enn vinda litla, oc óhægftæda þá sem voro, rak þá víða um hafit, voro þeir flestir innan bords, er á kom haf-villa. Þat varð um síðir er þoko hof af haufdi, at giörði a vind, var þá hlaupít til fegls.

Tókz þá umræða hvert til Írlands væri at leita, oc urdo menn egi áfátter um þat.

Orn var i móti, enn mestr luti manna mælti ígegn, oc qvado Orn allan villaz, oc faugdo þá ráða eiga er fleiri voro.

Síðan skuto þeir til ráða Olafs; enn hann svarar: þat vil ec þeir ráði er hyggjari ero, þúi verr þyckir mer, sem ofs muni duga heimskra brögd er þar koma saman fleiri. Þótti þá urfsokrit er Olafur mælti þetta, oc redi Orn leidsögn þadan í frá. Sigla þeir þá nætor oc daga oc hafa byr-litit.

Þat var einhveria nótt, at Nordmenn lupu upp oc bádo menn vakna sem tíðaz, qvadoz síá land nærri fer, hverio þeir stungo stafni at: var seglit uppi, enn vedr egi lítit.

Menn hlaupa þegar upp, oc bað Orn beita fra landi brott ef menn mættu. Olafur mælti ecki efni þar til, því at ec se at bodar ero á bæði bord, oc alt fyrer skut-stafni, enn fellit seglit sem tíðaz oc gerom ráð vor þegar er liós dagr er, oc menn ken-na land þetta.

Síðan

The king and queen having promised to shade him with their auspices and royal favour, at length dismissed him with their warmest wishes; and invited him, at his return, once more to grace their court.

Having thus taken leave of the royal family, the vessel spread her sails to the passing breeze, which in a short time gave way to storms and clouds, inasmuch that the seamen lost their course; at length the storm subsided, and the sun began to smile, and the sea to expand its briny bed.

On this a debate arose whether they should steer for Ireland or no, seeing they had lost their course.

Orn was for Ireland, which the greater part of the crew deprecated, insisting that the majority should be followed.

The dispute, after some time, was entirely submitted to the decision of Olaf, who gave it as his opinion, that on this occasion it would be proper to attend to reason, and the dictates of experience; and if possible to avoid every debate that had not those for their support. This being granted, Olaf delivered his sentiments in favour of Orn's, in regard of which the entire command devolved on him, and the voyage was continued without intermission, notwithstanding they were often becalmed.

One night the Norwegians arose, and awakened the chiefs, crying out that they saw land, on which the vessel would inevitably run, notwithstanding the stillness of the air.

Having mounted the deck, Orn gave orders to set out from the land if possible. Olaf gave contrary orders, desiring that the sails might be furled, and all consultation suspended, till the return of day, that they might with certainty judge of their situation.

Having

Síðan kafta þeir atkerom oc hrifa þau þegar við. Mikil er umræða um nöttina hvar þeir ero at-komnir. Enn er liós dagr var kenna þeir at þat er Irland. Orn mælti þárs þat hygg ec at ver höfom egi góða vidtöko því þetta er fiæri haufnom oc þeim kaup-ftaudam er Utlendskir menn íkulo haða frid, þvíat ver erom nú komnir fva at ver erom fiáradir uppi, oc nær ætla ec þat lögom þeirra Ira, þo þeir kalli fe þat er ver haufom med at fara, med sínom peningom oc heita láta þeir þat vog-reg er minna er fiarat fra íkut-ftafne.

Olafr qvad ecki mundi faka enn fed hefi ec at mann faufnodr hefir á landi uppi verit i dag oc mun þeim Irum þyckia um vert íkip koma þessa, hugda ec oc at i dag er fiara var at her geck upp ós við nes þetta, oc fell þar óuandliga or ósnom fiór út, enn ef íkip vort er ecki fakat, þá manom ver íkiota báti fyrer bord oc flytia þat þángat, oc kafta þar atkerum.

Þá er áleid dagin, dreif fiölmenni mikit ofan til ftrandar; síðan fara tueir menn á báti til kaup-íkipfins, oc fpyria huerir fyrir ráði.

Olafr fvarar á Iríka túngu fem þeir til mæltu, þá beidaz þeir laga at þeir íkulo gánga frá fe síno, oc mundi þeim þá ecki gert til mífka ádr konongr átti dóm a máli þeirra.

Olafr qvad þat laug vera, ef engi væri túlkr med kaup-man-nom, enn ec kann ydr þat med faunno at fegia at ver erom frid-menn, en þó manom ver egi uppgefaz at óreindo.

Having in compliance to order cast anchor, at the approach they discovered the land to be no other than that of Ireland; in consequence of which Orn dreaded lest they should be treated with incivility, on account of their not having regularly landed in one of the harbours of the island, which strangers were permitted to frequent with security; and this dread was not a little increased, on finding that the tide had retired and left them on the shallow beach, enabling the Irish to claim their pretended right to the vessel and goods, in virtue of their laws, which confiscated whatever they should find on the shore as a wreck, although nearer the sea than the ship at present lay.

To this Olaf answered, that the consequence need not be dreaded; notwithstanding he could observe the inhabitants about to assemble, which he attributed to the surprize of their arrival. He had observed besides, at full tide, a river wash the neighbouring promontory, whose capacious bed contained a vast depth of water; thither he advised the ship to be conducted by the boat, if the damages she had already received did not prevent it.

Toward the afternoon the natives assembled on the shore, and sent messengers in a boat to the ship, in order to enquire for the commander of the same.

Olaf answered in Irish to all their questions; but the Irish, understanding that the crew were Norwegians, claimed the vessel under the sanction of their laws; at the same time entreating them to leave the vessel, and to rest assured that their persons should meet with every protection, until the final decision of the king took place.

Olaf allowed this to be a law, if foreigners had no interpreter, but at the same time begged it to be understood that his property and companions, under the laws which then existed, should be

Irar æpto þá her-óp, oc æda út a fiáin, oc ætla at leida upp skipit undir þeim með valdi, var egi diúpara en þeim tæki undir hendur edr í brók-linda sem stærstir væro. Pollurinn var sva diúpr þar sem skipit flaut, at egi kendi nidri.

Olafr bad þá menn brióta upp vopn sín, oc fylkia á skipino allt millum stafna, var þat sva þíkt at allt var skipat skiauldom, oc stóð spióts oddr út hía hverom skialdar spordi.

Olafr geck þá framm i stafnin, oc var sva búinn at hann var i brynio, hafdi hiálm á haufdi gull rodin; hann var gyrtr sverdi oc gullrekinn hiöltin; hann hafdi króka spiót í hendi hoggrekki; raudan skiauld hafdi hann fyrer fer oc var ádregit leo með gulli.

Irar fiá nu við-buning þeirra, oc skytr þeim skelk i bringo, oc þyckir egi iafn-audueld fe-faung er þeir hugdo til: hneckiaz Irar nú frá oc hlaupa saman i eitt þorp, þík er þeim nú aud-vitat at þetta er her-skip, oc muni vera miklo fleira von skipanna; giöra nú skyndiliga ord til konongs, oc var þat hægt, þvíat hann var skamt þadan at veitzlu.

Konongr rídr þegar með sveit manna þar til er skipit var, egi var lengra í milli landfens oc þefs er skipit flaut enn vel mætti nema til manna í milli. Opt haufdo Irar veitt þeim Olafi áráfir með skotom, oc varð þeim ecki mein at.

Olafr

sacred, adding withal that he did not think it proper to relinquish his property without farther necessity.

The Irish, hearing this, prepared to attack the vessel, with an universal shout; for this purpose they proceeded toward her, with an intent to draw her on shore, as the water was not deeper than their arm-pits, or the girdle of the tallest. The place, however, where the vessel rode, was deep enough to keep her afloat.

At the instance of Olaf his companions seized their arms, and ranged them along the sides, betwixt the stem and the stern, which they covered with shields, forming, as it were, a kind of breast-work, or parapet, the inferior part of which was filled with spears, for the purpose of being in readiness.

This being done, Olaf ascended the prow, arrayed in a gorget, his head invested with a gilded helm, and a gold hilted sword by his side, with a lance in his hand, formed hookwise, as well for stabbing as cutting; the shield with which he covered his breast, was blazoned with a lion of gold.

On beholding this, the Irish were struck with amazement, as through this they lost all hope of their booty, which they flattered themselves could be attained without any difficulty; on this they resumed their former situation, convinced that the vessel could be nothing less than a man of war, belonging to some fleet which might soon be expected; in consequence of this opinion, a report was instantly dispatched to the king with intelligence of the whole.

His majesty at the time happened to be at a banquet in the neighbourhood; having set off, as soon as he received the message, immediately to the assembly, which was at that time sitting not far from where the ship lay, so that one party could hear the other with ease.

Olafr stóð með þessum búningi sem fyrr var ritat, oc fanz mönnum mikit um hverso skaurugligr madr fá var er þar var skips foringi.

Enn er skipveriar fía mikit riddara lid ríða til þeirra, oc var hid frækiligasta, þá þagna þeir, er þeim þókti lids munr vid at eiga.

Enn er Olafr heyrði kur þan er í sveit hans gerðiz, bad hann þá herða hugina, þar nú væri gott i þeirra máli.

Heilsudo nú Irar Mirkiartani konongi sínom, rídr hann nú fva nærri skipino at hverir máttu skilia hvat adrir taulodo.

Konongr spurði hver skipi stýrði? Olafr sagði nafn sitt oc spurði hverr væri hinn vasklegi riddari, er hann ætti tal vid? Sá svarar ec heiti Mirkiartan. Olafr mælti: hvert erto konongr Ira? hann qvad fva vera.

Spyr konongr þá al mæltra tíðinda, oc leyfti Olafr vel or aullo, er hann var adspurdr. þá spyr konongr vandliga at um ætt Olafs, enn fyrer því at þessi madr var ríki-látr oc villdi ecki segia lengra enn hann var spurdr, þá villdi hann egi lengra spyria at sinni.

Olafr sagði; þat vil ec ydr kunnigt gera, at ver íttom af Norvegi, ero þetta hird-menn Haralds konongs Gunnhildar funar, er her ero komnir, oc ero her nú innanbords. Enn ydr ér þat herra frá ætt minni at segia, at fadir minn byr a Íslandi er Höskoldr heitir, hann er madr stórættadr enn móðor-kyn mitt vænti ec at þer munod sed hafa fleira enn ec, þvíat Melkorka heiter móðr min oc er mer sagt at faunno at hún se dóttir þín konongr, oc þat hefir mic tilrekit at hitta þic fva lángan veg,

ease. Meantime the Irish made several attempts to annoy the Norwegians with arrows, but without effect.

Olaf still maintained his post, in the dress already mentioned, attracting the admiration of his very enemies, through the gallantry of his behaviour.

When the Norwegians, however, observed the approach of the equestrians, they began to dread lest they should sink beneath the superiority of their numbers.

On the contrary Olaf inspired them with fresh courage, asserting that their situation had now taken a lucky change.

The Irish by this began to welcome their king Mirkiartan, who approached so near to the Norwegian ship, as to hear, and be understood by them.

The king asked the name of the captain ; which being told, Olaf, in return, desired to know the name of the gallant knight with whom he now spoke ; the king replied, Mirkiartan, adding, on Olaf's farther enquiry, king of Ireland.

After this the king entered into closer conversation with Olaf, and interrogated him as to several particulars, especially his rank and family, to which he received satisfactory answers ; but, as the stranger supported his dignity, and would not descend from it ;

On this the king dropped all farther enquiry. Olaf, seeing this, addressed the monarch thus, Sire, I think it necessary to acquaint you, that we are Norwegians, and belong to the court of Harald, Olpinnildson : as to my family, this may be depended on, my father, whose name is Hoskuld, at present resides in Iceland, born there, of an illustrious family ; but as to my mother's, I will venture to say, that you have seen more of her kindred than I have : Melkorka is the name of my mother ; who, as I

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veg, oc liggr mer nú mikit við, hvör fvaur þu veiter míno máli.

Konongr þagnar oc gengr á tal við menn sína, spyria vitrir menn þa konongin hver gengnd se í þessu máli, er síá madr sagdi. Konongr svarar: auðsed er á þessum manni at han er stórættadr, hvert sem hann er vor frændi edr egi, oc fva þat með at hann mælir allra manna best Iríko.

Efter þat stóð konongr upp oc mælti. Nú skal veita fvaur máli þíno at ec vil gefa ydr aullum skipueriom grid enn um frændsemi þá er þú telr við oss, munom ver tala fleira, ádr enn ver veitom þer andfvaur.

Síðan fara bryggior á land, oc gengr Olafr oc hans fauro nau-tar af skipu sínu, oc finst þeim Irum mikit um hverso virduligr madrinn er oc vígligr, fagnar Olafr þá konongi vel, tekr ofan hiálmin oc lítr honum, en konongr tekr honum með allri blíðu.

Taka menn þá til með fer, flitr Olafr enn sitt mál at nyio oc talar bæði langt erinde oc sníalt, lauk fva málino at han qvadz hafa þat gull a hendi fer er Melkorka féldi honum at skilnadi á Íslandi, oc sagdi at þú konongr gæfi henni at tann-fe. Ko-

am confidently assured, is your daughter; this, and this only, induced me to visit this island, notwithstanding the length of the way, and the danger of the voyage; so that your majesty sees the answer you may please to return is of no little consequence.

The king, on having heard this, thought proper to remain silent, till he came in conference with his ministers, to whom he imparted the whole; observing, that if it should be evident that the stranger was of the blood royal of Ireland, it was proper that he should meet with every indulgence; and that if he was not, he was still entitled to a very considerable degree, as his descent was illustrious, and particularly as he spoke the Irish language with so much elegance and ease.

His majesty, having taken the opinion of his nobles on an affair of such importance, arose to impart it to the Norwegians; to whom he thus addressed himself: It is our pleasure that ye shall enjoy the most perfect safety; in the mean time, said the king, peculiarly addressing himself to Olaf, as to the relationship that you say exists betwixt us, I hope you will put it in a clearer point of view before I venture to say any thing farther on it.

Olaf had no sooner heard those particulars, than he went on shore with his companions; and, having paid due obeisance to the king, was received with all the politeness imaginable, which, on his side, was as fully returned to the admiration of the Irish, who failed not among themselves to compliment the elegance of his person and courage.

Olaf, having watched a proper opportunity, in a speech of some length and considerable eloquence, set forth his pretensions, in respect to the relationship in question; at the conclusion of his speech he told the king, in order still farther to confirm what
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nongr tók við og leit á gullit og giördiz rióðr miöc álits. Þá fvarar konongr; fannar ero iardteknir þessar, enn fyrir engan mun ero þær ómerkiligri, er þú hefir fva mikit at-bragd af modr þinni, at þic má vel kenna þar af, og fyrer þessa luti þá vil ec at vífo gánga við þinni frændsemi Olafr, at þeirra manna vitni sem her ero hía og ord min heira: skal þat og fylgia at ec vil biöda þer til hirdar minnar með alla þína sveit, enn sómi yðar mun þar við liggja hvert mannkaup mer virdiz í þer þá er ec reyni þic meir.

Síðan lætr konongr fá þeim hesta til reidar og sendir menn til at setia upp skip þeirra, og buá um reida og annan varnat er þeir áttu.

Konongr ríðr þá til Dísflínar og þótti mönnum þetta mikil tíðindi, at dottor fun konongs er í faur með honum, þeirrar er var fyrer laungo hertekin xi vetra gaumul. Enn þó brá fostro Melkorku so við þessi tíðindi, er þá lá í kör ók fokti bæði at stríð og elli, at hun geck staf lauft á fund Olafs.

Þá mælti konongr til Olafs. Her er nú komin fostra Melkorko, og mun vilia hafa tíðinda saugo af þer um hennar hagi,
Olafr

he had said, that he, at the very moment, had a gold ring on his hand, which his mother Melkorka had given to him at their last parting in Iceland, which she had declared to have been presented to her by the king her father, on the appearance of her first tooth; on this Olaf presented the ring to his majesty; who, having surveyed it for some time, at length changed colour, saying, that although those proofs were undeniable, yet the similarity of features betwixt Olaf and his mother put the truth of the matter beyond all doubt. Having tenderly embraced his grandson, and having received him as such in the presence of the assembly that encircled them, his majesty's next step was to invite the young prince and his companions to reside with him in future; at the same time acquainting him that whatever honours he might confer on him from that time, were only to be in proportion to the gallantry of his arms in the service of the crown.

The royal order was then issued, that the foreigners should be immediately provided with horses, and every other suitable habiliment. Proper persons were appointed to guard the vessel, with all that it contained; and at the same time to hale it on shore, which was instantly done.

The king then set off for Dublin. The citizens were not a little rejoiced to hear that their monarch was attended by the son of his long-lost daughter, who was captured in the eleventh year of her age. The joyful tidings having reached the nurse of Melkorka, though bent beneath the burthen of years and other infirmities, she could not resist the pleasure of setting out to hail the son of her affectionate pupil.

His majesty himself having announced the approach of the good old woman, Olaf received her with open arms, acquainting

I

her,

Olafur tók við henni báðom haundom og setti hana í kne fer, og sagði henni at foftra hennar sæti í godom koftom á Íslandi, feldi henni knífin og beltit : kendi hún báða gripina og varð grát-fegin ; qvað bæði vera at funr Melkorko er íkoraligr, enda á hann til þefs varit.

Var kelling hraufl þann vetr allan. Konongur var lítt í kyr-fetom þennan vetr þvíat þá var íafnan ófríðsamt um veftrlöndin, rak konongur af fer víkinga og uphlaups menn þan vetr, var Olafur með fveit sína á konongs skipi, og þókti sú örogg viðskip-ta, þeim er imóti voro. Konongur hafði tal og ráða gerd við Olaf, þvíat hann reyndez bæði vitr og framgiarn í aullum mann-raunum.

Enn at lidnum vetri stefndi konongur þing fiölment. Konongur ftóð síðan upp og hóf fva mál fit. Þat er ydr kunnigt at her kom fá madr til mín á haufi er dottor funr minn er, er hann ftor-ættadr í faudor ætt sína, virdiz mer hann fo mikill atgerfis madr og íkörungur, at ver eigum her ecki flíkra manna koft. Nú vil ec bióða honom konongdomin efter min dag, þvíat hann ert betr tilfallinn enn fynir minir.

Olafur

her, in compliance to her earnest enquiries, with the good fortune and easy situation of his mother in Iceland, delivering at the same time the knife and girdle already mentioned as the pledge of his mother's affections for her nurse, who recognized them in an instant. The elegance of Olaf drew many expressions of pleasure from the old woman, inasmuch as they brought Melkorka so warmly into her mind; such was the likeness that subsisted betwixt the mother and her son, who in every other respect proved himself worthy of his royal descent.

The old lady throughout the winter lived quite at ease; but the king enjoyed little rest, as the western isles were much harraffed with the frequent irruptions of the enemy; notwithstanding that his majesty was indefatigable in the pursuit of these pirates, and other disturbers of the public peace. Olaf and his companions attended the sovereign on board his own ship throughout the winter, exhibiting the greatest bravery against the foe, from whose very lips they extorted praise; which induced his majesty, in cases of arduous enterprize, to confer with Olaf, as he plainly saw that prudence dictated to all the actions of that aspiring hero in the most difficult crisis.

Toward the approach of spring, the king called a general diet, which being remarkably full, his majesty arose in the midst, and, having delivered an eloquent speech, addressed to the states, observed in the course of it, alluding to Olaf: Ye know, ye know that a young man, the son of my daughter, arrived on our coast the autumn past, a man whose actions even shed light on his descent, which is well known to be illustrious on both sides. This induces me to constitute him heir of my realm, as I find he is fitter to assume that weighty burden than my own sons.

Olaf

Olafr þackadi honom þetta bod með miklóm oc faugrom orðom, enn qvadz þó egi mundi áhætta huerfo synir hans þyldo þat, þá er Mirkiartans misti við. Qvad betra vera at fá fkióta fæmd enn lánga fuírvírding, oc lets til Norvegs fara vilia, þá fkipom væri óhætt imillom landa at hallda, qvad modor sína hafa lítit yndi ef han kæmi egi aftr.

Konongr bad þá Olaf ráða oc var flitit þingino.

Enn er Olafr var albuinn, fylgdi konongr honom til fskipis oc gaf honom spíót gullrekit, gull búit fverð, oc margt fe annat.

Olafr beiddiz at flytia fofstro Melkorko burt með fer, enn konongr qvad þefs enga þauf, oc fór hún egi. Stiga þeir Olafr á fskip oc fkiliaz með mikillri blíðo.

Efter þat figlir hann i haf oc byriadi vel, oc tók Norveg. Er nú fór hans all-fræg. þeir fetia upp fskipit. Fær Olafr fer hefta oc fækir a fund Haralds konongs með síno fauroneyti. Olafr Höskolds fún kom nú til hirdar Haralds konongs, tók konongr við honom vel, enn Gunnhildr miklo betr; budo þau honom til sín oc lögdo þar mörg ord til. Olafr þiggr þat oc fara þeir Orn bádir til konongs hirdar, leggr konongr oc Gunnhildr fua mikla vírding á Olaf, at enginn útlendr madr hafði flíka fæmd af þeim. Olafr gaf Gunnhildi oc konongi marga fáfena gripi er hann hafði fengit a Írlandi vestr.

Olaf having listened with due attention, thanked his royal grandfire, with all the effusions of the warmest gratitude for his intentions, which, in his present situation, he wished to wave, as it was not his intention to put the pretensions of the princes to any trial on his account, after the demise of their royal father; preferring any mark of present estimation, consistent with his situation, to any future glory, which might end in everlasting shame: in the first place, requesting permission to set out for Norway, as soon as the season permitted the navigation to that kingdom to take place; adding, in order the sooner to be indulged in his request, that his mother would be exceedingly uneasy if he did not return in a short time.

This being granted, as reasonable in itself, the diet adjourned.

As soon as Olaf was ready, he was accompanied on board his ship by the king, who, with many other precious things, presented him with a spear, and sword, highly finished with gold.

Olaf begged to be permitted to take the nurse with him to Iceland; but as the king did not seem to approve of her departure, the request was no longer urged.

Having got under sail, a favourable gale soon landed them in Norway. This voyage was highly celebrated. Having drawn their vessels ashore, and being furnished with horses, he and his companions immediately set out for the court of king Harald; at which they had no sooner arrived, than the king received him very graciously; Gunhilda conferred every mark of favour on him, and entreated him to reside some time at court. Olaf accepted the royal invitation, and continued to remain at court with his friend Orn. Never were such abundant honours conferred on any foreigner as on Olaf, who, in return, made pre-

Haraldr gaf Olafi at Iolum aull klædi af íkarlati ískorin.

Sitr Olafur nú kyrt um veturin, er áleidd taká þeir konungur og Olafur tal með sér, og beiddi þá Olafur orlofs af konungi at fara út til Íslands um sumarit, á ec þá angat at vitia gaufígra frænda fagdi hann.

Konungur svarar, þat væri mer nærri íkapi at þú staddfestiz her með mer, og tækir allan ráðakost ílíkan, sem þú villt fíalfr.

Olafur þackadi konungi allan þenna fíma, er hann baud honum, enn qvaz þó giarnan vilia fara til Íslands, ef þat væri egi ímóti konungs vilia.

Þá segir konungur : egi íkal gera þer þetta óuin-ueitt Olafur ; fara íkaldu til Íslands í sumar, þvíat ec se þat at hugr þinn stendr til þess miöc, enn enga aunn ne starf íkaldu hafa um búnat þin, íkal ec þat annast. Efter þetta íkildo þeir talit.

Haraldr konungur lætr framsetia ískip um vorit, var þat knör, bædi mikill og gódr

Þat ískip lætr konungur ferma víði og búa með aullom reidda, og sem þat var buit, lætr konungur kalla Olaf og mælti þetta ískip íkaldu eignaz Olafur, vil ec egi, at þú figlir af Norvegi þetta sumar, sva at þu sert annara farþegi.

Olafur þackadi konungi með faugrom ordom sína stórmenskó.

fents to the king and queen, of such different things as he had brought with him from Ireland.

At Christmas the king presented Olaf with a suit of purple-coloured cloaths.

This winter Olaf enjoyed all the sweets of rest; but at the return of spring, he requested, with the permission of his majesty, to visit Iceland the summer following, in order to have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with his noble relations.

The king replied, that he much wished that he should fix his residence in Norway, and turn his mind on whatever situation that should best suit his inclinations.

Olaf listened with respect, and acknowledged, in very becoming language, the deep sense he entertained of the royal bounty from time to time conferred on him; at the same time acquainting his majesty with the warmth of his wish to revisit his native land, if consistent with his majesty's pleasure.

Then, said the king, if you go to Iceland the ensuing summer, I shall act as an enemy: in the mean time I shall take care that nothing shall be wanting to facilitate your intended journey; after which his majesty withdrew.

In the spring a large vessel, by order of his majesty, was fitted out for the reception of Olaf, loaded with timber.

The king having requested the attendance of Olaf, in the course of conversation gave him to understand, that he intended to present him with the vessel as his own property, in order to prevent the necessity of his dependence on those that hired out vessels at his departure from Norway.

Olaf failed not, in the warmest language, to convey the sensible impressions this act of liberality made on his feelings.

Olaf

Efter þetta byr Olafr ferd sína, oc sem hann er búinn oc byrið
gaf, skilduz þeir Haraldr med hinom mefsta kærleika.

Olafr byriadi vel um sumarit; hann com skipi sínu i Hrúta
fiörd á Bordeyri. Skipkoman spurðiz bráðt oc huer styrimadr er.

Höskuldr fagnar vel útkomo funar síns, oc rídr þegar norðr
til Hrúta fiardar, urdo þar fagnadar funder, oc bídr Höskuldr
Olafr til sín, enn hann qvadz þat þiggia mundi. Olafr setr nú
upp skipit, oc sem fiárlutr hans er fluttr nordan, rídr hann med
xii menn á Höskuldsftadi.

Olafr varð frægr af ferd þessari, var þa kunnigt giört kyn-
ferdi hans, at hann var dottor fun Mirkiartans Ira konongs.
Spyrz þetta um land oc þar med virðing fú er ríkir menn haufðo
á hann lagt, þeir er han hafði heim sókt.

Olafr hafði oc mikit fe utan. Melkorka kom bráðt á fund
funar síns oc fagnar hann henne vel oc blíðliga. Spyr hún nú
margs af Irlandi, fyrst af föðor sínom oc odröm frændom.
Olafr segir flikt sem hún spyr.

Bráðt spurði hún ef foftra hennar lifði, Olafr spyr hvi hún
æfkti hennar, oc qvadz hana lifa at vífo. Melkorka spyr því
hann vildi egi veita henni þat efterlæti at flytia hana út til Íslands.
Þa fvaradi Olafr: egi fyftu menn þefs moder, at ec flytia fofstro
þína af Irlandi. Sva má vera fagði hún, oc fanzt þat á at henni
þókti þetta miög i móti fkapí.

Olaf delayed not to equip himself; and being now ready, took leave of their majesties in the most affectionate manner.

Scarcely were they at sea, when a favourable gale swelled the sails, and bore them to the destined harbour. As soon as they arrived at Bordeyra in the frith of Hruta, the arrival of the ship, and the name of its commander, was soon spread abroad.

Hofkuld felt the highest pleasure, and hastened to see his son, in order to welcome and invite him, which, after mutual congratulations, Olaf accepted. As soon as the ship was unloaded and drawn ashore, the whole of the cargo was consigned to Hofkuld; after which Olaf repaired to his father's, with twelve of his companions.

This voyage placed Olaf high in the estimation of his country, who were highly pleased to partake in the honour of his being the son of an Irish princess. In consequence of this they listened with pleasure to the recital of all the marks of favour heaped on Olaf by the foreign princes whom he had visited.

Olaf had brought a great sum of money from abroad. Melkorka soon visited her son, and was not disappointed in the return of the warmest affection. Her next anxiety was to hear some news from Ireland.

Her first enquiry regarded her parents and relations; to all of which she had the pleasure of receiving satisfactory answers. She wished then to know if her nurse was alive. Having received an answer in the affirmative; and as his mother wished to know the reason why he did not bring her with him to Iceland, he satisfied her on that head, in acquainting her that her friends interfered on account of her age and weakness; notwithstanding he had urged the proposal.

Þau Melkorka oc Þorbiörn áttu sun, er Lambi het, hann var vinfæll madr oc sterkr; líkr fautr sínum yfirlits oc at skaplyndi.

Enn er Olafr hafði verit einn vetr á Íslandi, ræddu þeir fedgar um ráða giörder sínar. Þat vilda ec sagði Höskoldr at þer væri ráðs leitat Olafr, oc tækir þú síðan við búi föstra þíns at Godda-stödom.

Olafr svarar: litt hefi ec hugleitt þetta her til, oc veit ec egi hvar sú kona sitr, sem mer er happ í at fá, máttu sva til ætla at ec muni framarla áhorfa um kuanfangit, veit ec oc þat giör-la, at þú munt þetta egi hafa fyrr uppborit, enn þú hafer hugfat hvar þetta skal níðr koma.

Höskoldr mælti; rett getr þú: madr er nefndr Egill Skallagríms sún, hann byr á Borg í Borgarfirði, Eigill á dóttor þá er þorgerdr heiter, hennar ætla ec þer til handa at bidia, er kostur sá allbestur í Borgarfirði oc víðar, er þat oc værna at þer verði efling at mægdum við Mira menn.

Olafr svarar, þinni forsiá mun ec hlíða her um, oc vel er at skapi þetta ráð ef víðgengiz, enn sva muntu ætla til, ef þetta ráð er uppborit oc gangiz egi efter, at mer muni illa þyckia.

Höskoldr svarar: til þess manom ver ráða at bera þetta mál upp. Líðr nú til þings fram, Höskoldr bióz heiman oc fiölmen-
ner

In the interval Melkorka had brought forth a son to Thorbiorn, named Lambi, who was not less famous in regard to his strength and activity, than to the close resemblance that he bore to his father in almost every respect, features, and character.

Olaf had been now about a year in Iceland, when his father addressed him thus: My son, of all things I wished to see you provided with an amiable consort, that would superintend your house at Goddastad, where your foster-father lives.

Olaf confessed that the subject in question had occupied very few of his thoughts, being as yet unacquainted with any that, in his opinion, could add to the happiness of the situation he then had the pleasure of feeling; yet such, however, was his will to be dictated to by so tender a father, that, delicate as the subject was, he had no objections to comply with his request, as he supposed the proposition did not come without an object in view.

In this Hofkuld assured him, that he was right, as he had fixed upon Thorgerda, the daughter of Egill Skallagrimson, residing at Borg, near the frith of Borga, one of the most accomplished beauties of the neighbourhood, connected in relationship with all the powerful inhabitants of Mira.

Olaf, on hearing this, submissively resigned the reins of government in this point into the hands of his father, in whom he placed an implicit confidence; at the same time hoping that, if it should once begin, he should be concerned if it failed of success.

Hofkuld replied, that he would try, at the approach of the next diet. Hofkuld, accompanied with his son Olaf, and a nu-

ner miöc, oc er Olafr fun hans i ferd med honom. Þá er Höskoldr kom til þings tialda menn búdir sínar. Þing var fiölment.

Eigill Skallagrimr fun var á þingi. Allir menn haufdo at máli er Olaf fáo hue frídr madr hann var, oc vel búinn ad vopnom oc klædom.

Þat er sagt at þeir Höskoldr oc Olafr gánga einn dag frá búdom sínom til fundar vid Eigill. Hann fagnar þeim vel, því at þeir Höskoldr voro miöc mál-kunnuger.

Höskoldr vegr nú bonordit fyrer haund Olafs, oc bidr þorgerdar, hún var oc þar á þingino.

Egill tók þessu vel, qvaz hafa goda frett af þeim fedgom bádom, veit ec oc sagdi Egill, at þú ert ættstór madr oc mikils verdr, enn Olafr er frægr af ferd sinni, er og egi kynligt, at slíkir menn ætli framarla til, því her skortir huerki ætt ne fridleika, enn þó skal þetta vid þorgerdi ræda; er þat einkis mans at fá hennar án vilia fins.

Höskoldr mælti: þá vil ec at þú rádir þetta vid þorgerdi dottor þína. Eigill qvad sva vera skyldi, geck hann þá til fundar vid hana oc toku þau tal saman.

Þá mælti Eigill. Madr heitir Olafr, oc er hann Höskoldson einn hinn frægasti madr. Höskoldr fadir hans hefir vakit bonord fyrer hans haund oc bedit þín, hefi ec því miöc vikit til þinna ráða: vil ec nú heyra þín svaur um þat, enn þó list ofs sem þessum málom se vel hendt at svara, þvíat þetta giáford er gau-fugt.

Þorgerdr svarar; þat hefi ec heyrt þic mæla at þú unnir mer mest barna þinna, þyckir mer þú þat nú ófanna, er þú vilt
gipta

merous retinue, set out for the general assembly, which was exceedingly crowded.

Amongst others Egill Skallagrimson was there. The form and elegance of Olaf was the subject of universal admiration, together with his arms and dress.

One day it chanced that Olaf and Hoskuld walked from their tent to that of Egill, who received them very courteously, being well acquainted with Hoskuld.

After some conversation Hoskuld desired that Thorgerda might be promised to his son.

Egill politely answered, that he had the most perfect knowledge of the persons interested, not only of Hoskuld, whose noble descent was ornamented with the most conspicuous virtues, but also of Olaf, whose voyage and adventures had so highly distinguished him; on which account he was not in the least surprized at the application, the success of which entirely depended on the will of his daughter; for, notwithstanding nobility, wealth, and accomplishments, if she did not chuse to comply, she should never be impelled to marry against her own consent.

Hoskuld requested that he would communicate what had passed to his daughter, to which Egill consented.

Having imparted the whole to Thorgerda, setting forth at the same time the mental and personal excellence of Olaf; acquainting her, however, that the whole entirely depended upon her will, which he wished to know :

Thorgerda answered that she was well convinced of her father's affection; and that she wished at all times for the oppor-

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gipta mic ambáttar fýni, þott hann se vænn oc mikill af-burðar
madr.

Egill fvarar : egi erto um þetta iafn vitr sem um annat, hefir
þú þat egi spurt at hann er dottor sun Mirkeartans konongs a
Írlandi, oc er hann miclo betr borinn i modor kyn enn fauðr
ætt, oc væri ofs þat þo full bodit. Þorgerðr let ser þat egi skil-
iaz. Skilia þau nu talit oc þyckir sinn veg huerio.

Annan dag efter gengr Eigill til búðar Höskoldar, oc er honom
vel fagnat, tóko þeir Höskoldr báðir tal saman oc spyr huernveg
gengit hafi bonordit. Eigill let litt yfir, sagði alt huernveg farit
hafði, oc qvad fastliga horfa. Egi var Olafr við tal þetta. Ef-
ter þat gengr Eigill á brott, oc frettir Olafr fauðr sinn huat lidi
um bonordit.

Höskoldr qvad seinliga horfa af hennar hendi. Þa mælti Olafr.
Nú er sem ec mælti fyrr faðir, at mer mundi illa líka ef ec
fengi nockora fuivirding, oc reds þú meir enn ec at þetta væri
uppborit, enn nú skal ec því ráða, at her skal egi lykta malit,
er þat fatt sem mælt er, at ulfr etr annars erinde; skal ec nú
ganga til búðar Egills.

Höskoldr bað hann því ráða.

Olafr var fva búinn at hann var i Íkarlats klædom þeim er
Haraldr hafði gefit honom, hann hafði hialm gullroðin a höfði,
oc sverd gullbúit i hendi er Mirkeartan hafði gefit honom þat
var allgoðr gripr.

Nú gánga þeir Höskoldr oc Olafr til búðar Egils, gengr
Höskoldr fpr enn Olafr þegar a efter. Egill fagnar þeim vel oc
setz

tunity of returning it; yet she could not conceive that the whole was any thing more than a mistake, as she did not believe that it was his inclinations to permit her to marry with the son of a slave, however gallant and handsome.

Egill said she did not consider this with her usual discrimination; otherwise she would have found that Olaf was son to the daughter of Mirkeartan, king of Ireland, still nobler on that side than on his father's, and of course superior to their own. Thorgerda said she could not comprehend the matter on which her father left her.

The next day Egill went to the tent of Hoskuld, where he was received with every mark of politeness; having told the event of his conversation with his daughter. Olaf was not present at this interview, and therefore, as soon as Egill had taken leave, he was anxious to know how matters went on.

Hoskuld only said she had some objections: Olaf rather felt himself hurt at this, as he construed it into an affront; he was, however, determined, as his father to whom he had wholly consigned the business was so unsuccessful, to pursue the matter himself; in compliance to the common saying, that the one wolf destroyed the other's interest, for which reason he should himself go to the tent of Egill.

To this Hoskuld said he had no objection.

Olaf dressed himself in a suit of scarlet, which he had received as a present from the king Harald. His head was covered with a gilded helm; and in his hand he had a sword highly finished with gold, which, being a gift of king Mirkeartan, was a weapon of great value.

Having repaired to the tent of Egill, Hoskuld entered first. Egill received them both with much politeness, and desired that they

fetz Höskoldr nidr hia honom, enn Olafr stóð upp oc litadiz um, hann fá huar kona fat á pallinom i búðinni, sú kona var væn oc stórmannlig oc vel búin. Vita þykez Olafr at sú muni þorgerdr vera dotter Egils. Hann gengr at pallinom oc fetz nidr hiá henne: hun heilfar honom oc spyr hver hann se. Olafr segir nafn sitt oc faudr sins; mun þer þyckia diarfr giöröz ambáttar funrinn, er han dyrfiz at sitia her, oc ætlar at tala vid þic.

þorgerdr svarar. þat muntu hugfa, at þú munir þyckiaz hafa gert meiri þoran oc raun enn tala vid conor. Síðan taca þau tal milli sín, oc tala þann dag allan heyra egi adrir men til þeirra. Enn er þau slito talit er til kalladr Egill oc Höskoldr, tókz þá upp bonords malit Olafs, oc var þat þa audsókt oc foro festar fram.

Var unt af metordi þeim Laxdælom þvíat þeim skyldi heim færa konona. Var nú aqvedin brullaups stefna at Höskoldstaudom at vii vikom sumars.

Efter þat skiliaz þeir Egill oc Höskoldr oc ríða þeir fedgar heim á Höskoldstade oc voro heima of sumarit, oc er alt kyrt.

Síðan var stofnat til brullaups a Höskoldstodom oc ecke tilsparat, er ærin voro efne.

Como bods-menn at áquedenne stefno, voro þeir Borgfirdingar all-fiölmennar, var þar Egill oc þorsteinn sun hans. þar var oc brúðrin i faur oc mikit lid or odrom herodom.

they would sit down, to which Hofkuld assented; but Olaf having cast his eyes round the tent, saw a lady seated in a closet, whose elegance and beauty led him to take her for Thorgerda, in which he was not mistaken; and having entered the closet and sat down, the lady wished to know his name, which he told her in an instant; adding withal that of his father; confessing that he conceived that she would take it very daring in him to sit down in the manner in which he had done, as being in her opinion only the son of a slave.

She answered, that he had given such extraordinary proofs of courage as never fail to attract the attention of her sex, on which she complimented him, which brought on a conversation that lasted a considerable time; at the conclusion of which Höfkuld and Egill were called upon, in whose presence the courtship was renewed at large, graced with the richest viands. This brought on the wished-for betrothing.

It was at length agreed that the bride should be brought to the Laxdálmen, in order that the nuptial feast should be celebrated at Hofkoldstad in the course of seven weeks after the present summer.

This being concluded on, Hofkuld took leave of Egill, and returned with his son to their own house, in which they passed the summer, without the occurrence of any thing worthy of recording.

In the mean time every attention was paid to the nuptial feast, which was furnished with every necessary.

At the appointed time the Borgfiord men assembled in numbers in order to attend Egill, his son Thorstein, and the bride. The inhabitants of other countries likewise joined in the suite.

Höskoldr hafde oc fiölmenne fyrer. Var veitzlan all skauroglig oc menn med gíaufom á brott leiddur. Þá gaf Olafur Egli fuerdit Myrkiartanfnaut, oc varð Egill all lett brynn við göfina.

Nockoro ofar enn Höskoldstader ero fyrer nordan Laxá, var hauggved riódr í skogenom oc var þar nálíga til grafs at ganga, só þar íafnadez saman fe Olafs, hvart sem vedr voro betri edr verre.

Þat var a einu haufte at á því sama holte let Olafur bæ reísa af víðom þeim er þar voro hauggner í skogenom enn sumt hafði hann af reka ítraundom þessu bæri var reífulígr; húfin voro audum vetrinn.

Um voret fór Olafur þángat bygðom; hann let ádr saman reka fe sitt oc var þat mikill fíauldi ordinn, því enginn maðr var þá audígre af quíkfe í aullom Breiðafirði. Olafur fendir nú fauðr sínom boð, at hann stæðe úte oc sæe ferð hans þá er hann fór a þenna hin nýa bólstað, oc hefde orð heill fyrer.

Höskoldr qvað svo vera skyldi Olafur skipar nú til, lætr fyrst reka fauðfe, þá bú-smala og síðan klífa hrofs. Sva var skipat mönnom at með fe þessu at þat skyldi engan krók rísta. Var þá ferðar broðdrinn comenn á Goddastaðom.

Höskoldr stóð úte með heima menn sína oc mælte at Olafur fun hans skyldi vel kominn, oc með tíma á þenna nýa bólstað oc nær er þat mino hugboði sagde hann at þat gángiz efter at nafn hans verði lengi uppe.

Hofkuld had also invited many; the entertainment in every respect was superb, and ended to the satisfaction of every guest, who were dignified by presents. Olaf presented Egill with the sword which he had received from Mirkeartan his grandfather, king of Ireland; on which Egill seemed to place a due value.

On the Northern side of Laxa, somewhat higher than Hofkuldstad, and opposite to it, a place was prepared in the road, which being covered with fine grass, attracted the cattle belonging to Olaf; especially in warm weather, as it served for a shade.

Some time in the autumn, it chanced that Olaf gave orders to raise houses on the hill of the trees cut out of this delightful spot, together with the wood driven on shore; to which he removed as soon as completed.

The spring following, for this purpose, he collected all his cattle, which were very numerous, being possessed of more than any other in the country of Breidfirth. When all was prepared, a message was sent to his father, requesting that he would inspect his son's removal to his intended mansion, and grant him his benediction.

Hofkuld readily complied with this request, on which Olaf gave orders first to drive the sheep, then the horses, laden with burthens, the whole to be conducted under the superintendance of his servants; by which means the rear had reached the new abode, by the time the master had left his former residence at Goddestad.

Hofkuld, with his family, saw the whole procession, and, welcoming his son with the best wishes, gave it as his opinion that the name of Olaf should be everlasting.

As

Þat var iafn skiótt at húskarlar haufdo ofan tekit klifjar af hroffum at Olafr reid i gard. Hann tók til orða. Nú skal mönnum skeita forvitne í því er iafnan hefir verit um rædt i vetr hvat bær fea skal heita, hann skal kallaz Hiardar holt.

Höskoldr Dala kolls fun tók fott i Elli finne hann fendi þá epter funom finom oc ödrom frændom, oc er þeir komo ræddi hann vid þá sono fina þorleik oc Bard, oc qvadz hafa fengit þyngsle nockor, hefir mer egi verit sótthætt, oc því hygg ec at þessi muni leida mic til bana; erot þer bádir skil-getner sem aulom er kunnigt, enn fá er fun minn hinn þridi er egi er ódalborinn. Nú vil ec bidia ydr brædor, at Olafr fe leiddr til arfs oc take fe at þridongi vid ydr. Bardr svarar fyrr at hann muni þetta gera, efter því sem fadir hans villde, vænte ec mer söma i alla ftade, oc því helldr sem hann er fe ríkare. Þá mælte þorleikr: færrer er þat minom vilia at Olafr fe arfgengr gerr, hefir hann aud fiár oc þú fader marga lute þar til gefna, oc lengi mis-iafnat med ofs brædrom; mun ec egi uppgefa þann söma at siálfs villd er ec em til borinn.

Höskoldr mælti egi munto ræna mik laugom, at ec gefa xii aura syne minom, so stór-ættadr sem hann er í modor ætt. Þorleikr iátar því. Sidan let Höskoldr taka gull hringenn Háconar naut, hann vo mörk gulls, oc sverdit kónongs naut, er tilkom half mörk gulls oc gaf Olase syne finom oc þar med gífto sína oc þeirra frænda, oc qvadz þo þarfyrer egi þettat mæla, at egi vissi hann at hún hefði ádr hiá honom ftadar numit.

Olafr tekr vid giöfenne, líkadi þorlecki þat illa oc virdte sem Höskoldr hefde haft under-mál vid sic. Olafr mælte: egi mun

As soon as the horses were unloaded Olaf arrived, and told the assembled people, that the village which the past winter had been the occasion of so much curiosity, should be called Hjar-dar-holt.

Hoskuld Dalla-karlson at length fell into sickness, the natural consequence of his very advanced age; he therefore called his sons, Thorleik and Bard, and telling them his situation, as they were known and acknowledged to be his heirs apparent, he trusted they had no objection to the admission of Olaf, his natural son, to partake of a third part of his property: Bard immediately answered, that his father's will in that point should be obeyed, as he was sure of every mark of paternal affection from Olaf, especially as he was wealthier; yet Thorleik did not assent to this, as Olaf was already a man of great fortune, whereof much flowed from the liberality of their father, which had often been in that line, to the disadvantage of his legitimate children.

Hoskuld on this asked of Thorleik, if he intended to oppose the right of his father to dispose of a twelfth part of his goods to his son whose mother's kindred were of such acknowledged eminence; which, as Thorleik acknowledged, induced Hoskuld to give orders to produce the gold ring he had accepted of king Hacon, weighing eight ounces, together with the royal sword, worth half a mark of gold, both of which he presented to Olaf, together with the paternal blessing, which should make him as happy as his ancestors had been.

Olaf received those presents, envied by Thorleik, to whom it seemed as if his father Hoskuld had not acted in a fair manner;

mun ec giöfina laufa láta, með því þú leifdir með vottom, oc mun ec til hætta hvort ec fæ halldét.

Bardr qvaz vilia fam-þyckia rádi faudr fins.

Efter þetta andadiz Höskoldr, þókti aullom þat mikill skadi.

Syner hans leto verpa haug virduligan efter han sem þa var tíðska i þa mund. Litit fe var lagt í haug hía honóm.

Sem þessu var lokit, taka þeir brædr tal, at þeir muno erfi gera efter faudr sin. þá mælti Olafr. þat litz mer, at egi megifva fliótt at þeirri veitzlo snúa, ef hún skal so virdolig sem ofsþycki soma, er nú alidit hauftit, oc þeir menn fiar-læger er ver helst vildom fækti bodit, mun ec því til biódaz i fumar á þingi at bidia mönnom til bods þessa, oc leggja at þridongi kostnat til. þeir brædr iáta þessu.

þat var einn dag um fumarit efter a álþingi, at menn gengo til lögbergis, stóð Olafr þá upp oc qvedr fer hlióds.

Hann feger þá mönnom fyrst frá fall faudr síns: ero her margir vinir hans oc frændr: Er þat vili brædra minna at ec biódi ydr til erfis efter faudr vorn, fyrst aullom godords maunnom, skal oc því lyfa at engin þeirra skal giafa laus a brott fara, oc þar næst bændom, oc huerom audrom er þiggja vill, sælum oc vesælóm. Skal sækja veitzlo á Höskoldstaudom þa er x vicor ero til vetrar.

Oc

ner; on which he said, that whereas Thorleik had, in presence of witnesses, permitted the transfer of those things, he would put the possession of them to a trial.

Bard said, that his father's actions met with his entire approbation.

Soon after Hoskuld expired, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune.

His sons erected a magnificent barrow to his memory, according to the custom which prevailed at the time, depositing therein but a small sum of money.

This being done, they consulted about the funeral feast; Olaf said he did not see any possibility how the funeral feast could be celebrated with all due honours so soon as the rest seemed to wish; the year was very far advanced, and their friends at a distance; if they would therefore defer it till the next summer, he offered to take upon himself the one third of the expences, and to invite all such as should be deemed proper to attend at the next general diet: to which his brothers readily agreed.

One of the days of the general diet, when the assembly were most numerous at the Law-hill, Olaf arose and requested their attention.

On this he recited the death of his father, and in the end invited his friends and relations to partake of the funeral feast; the chiefs were first invited, to whom he promised presents at large, the freeholders next, nay every one, rich as well as poor, who would be pleased to attend. The festival was appointed at Hoskuldstad, ten weeks for the beginning of the winter.

When

Oc þá er Olafr lauk sínu máli var góðr rómr at því ger, oc þótti erendit hit fkauroligazta.

Þá er Olafr com heim til búdar, sagdi hann bræðrom sínom þessa tilætlan, enn þeim fanz fátt um oc þokti ærit mikit viðhaft.

Þat er sagt at flestir kæmi virðinga menn til veitzlunnar er heitit haufdo, var þat svo mikit fialmenni, at þat er faugn flestra manna at egi fskorti þcccc.

Þessi hefir onnor fialmennoz veizla verit á Íslandi enn fú er Hialta fyner gerdo efter faudr sinn; þar voro mccc manna.

Þessi veitzla var hin fkauroligazta at aullø oc fengo þeir bræðr mikin sóma. Olafr var meft fyrermadr, geck hann móte við þá báða um fe giafer: var þar fe gefit aullom virðinga maunnom.

Oc er flestir menn voro brottfarnir, víkr Olafr til móts við þorleik brodr sinn oc mælti. Sva er frændi, sem ofs er kunigt, at með ofs hefir verit ecki margt brodorligt elskumerke, vil ec til þess mæla at ver betrim frændfeme ockra, veit ec at þer mislíkar at ec tók við gripunom er faðir minn gaf mer a deyanda degi. Nú ef þú þyckist af þessu vanhalldinn, þá vil ec þat vinna til heils hugar þins, at fostra sun þin; er sá kalladr minne madr er öðrom fostrar barn.

Þorleikr tekr þessu vel, oc skiliaz þeir nú með hinom mesta kærleik.

When Olaf had done, a general applause took place, and an invitation so liberal met with that encomium which it so highly deserved.

Olaf, on his return to his tent, told his brothers what he had done, who did not seem to approve of it, as they gave him to understand that it far exceeded their income.

It is related the nobility attended, and that the guests were not less than nine hundred.

This festival has been second to none in Iceland, save that given by the sons of Healta in honour of their father; twelve hundred persons are said to have assisted at it.

The banquet abounded with every thing in the greatest abundance, and reflected much praise on the noble hosts. Olaf was considered as the first man, which he deserved, as he took on him the one half of the expences and presents which were given to the nobles.

When the greater part of the company had retired, Olaf accosted his brother Thorleik, and said, You know, brother, that to the present time few marks of friendship have been mutual between us, this I beseech you to endeavour to amend in future; being acquainted with your displeasure, on account of accepting the presents given to me by our dying father, yet if you think yourself injured therein, I offer in return to educate your eldest son, though you will know that he that educates the child of another, is considered as his inferior.

Thorleik accepted of this, and took the most friendly leave of his brother.

Olafr oc þorgerdr átto fun. Sa fveinn var vatni auðinn oc nafn gefit oc kalladr Keartan, efter Mirkeartan, modorfauðr Olafs.

Enn átto þau fleiri baurn son þeirra annar het Steinþor, Halldor þridi, Helgi fiordi, Höskoldr enn fimti: Bergþora oc þorbiörg heto dætor þeirra. Aull voro baurn þeirra hin mann-vænligufo.

The first son Olaf had by Thorgerda was baptised by the name of Kertan, in memory of Mirkeartan, grandfather to Olaf.

They had more children, the sons were Sternther, Haldor, Helgi, and Hofkuld; and the daughters were Bergthora, and Thorbiorg; they were all children of great hopes.

TWO SHORT
ACCOUNTS OF DISCOVERIES
MADE BY THE
ICELANDIC NAVIGATORS
IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

EYRBYGGIA, CAP. CXII.

GUDLEIFR het madr hann var fun Gudlaugs Audga or Straumsfirði, enn brodir þorfinn er Sturlungar ero frakomnir. Gudleifr var farmadr mikill, hann átte knör mikin. Þat var ofarlíga a daugom Olafs hins Helga at Gudleifr haufdi kaupferð til Dyflinar, enn er hann siglde vestan oc ætladi til Íslands, siglde hann fyrer vestan Írland, hann feck austan vedr oc landnyrðinga oc rak þá langt vestr i haf oc utfuðr, þo þeir vissi ecki til landa. Þar kom at, at þeir urdo varir við land, enn egi vissu þeir hvat land þat var. Þeir sigldo at lande, þvíat þeim leiddiz hafs megne oc fengo haufn góða. Efter skamma stund komo menn til fundar við þá. Þeir kendo þar engan mann enn helst þokto þeir þeim Írsko mæla. Skiótt kom þar fíaul-menni sva mikit at skipte maugom hundroðom. Þessir menn veitto þeim atgaungo oc toko þá haundom oc voro þeir i baund keyrdir oc rekner a land upp til móts. Her vildo sumer at þær væro drepner enn adrir, at þeim væri með þeim skipt, oc þíadir. Oc sem þetta var kíært síá þeir hvar reid flokkur manna til þeirra, var i flokkinom borit merki. Under merkino síá þeir er flokkinn bar at, ríða mann mikin oc garp-ligan; sa var á efra alldri, hann var hvitr af hærom, allir hneygdo þessom manni oc faugnodo honom, oc var til hans skotit aullom atquæðom um málit. Sá aldradi madr sendi þegar efter þeim Gudleifi oc spurdi margs af Íslandi.

I öðrom

GUDLEKUR, son to Gudlaug the wealthy, of Straumfirð, and brother to Thorfin, from whom the Sturlings, the first nobility in Iceland, have descended, was a famous sailor, and commanded his own vessel. Toward the close of the reign of the king St. Olaf, it happened that Gudleif, according to custom, sailed for Dublin; but, as he returned, directing his course along the western coast of Ireland, in order to proceed for Iceland, he met with heavy gales from the east and north, which drove him far into the western ocean toward the south-west, entirely out of the sight of land. At length they perceived land, but not being able to ascertain it, they determined at all events to approach it, as they were exceedingly fatigued with the sea. Having at length attained a commodious harbour, they anchored in it. The inhabitants soon after came to them. The Icelanders knew nobody, nor did they understand their language, though it seemed to border on the Irish. In a short time several hundreds assembled; and having insulted the strangers, and having made prisoners of them, conveyed them handcuffed into the country. Here some thought it expedient that they should be killed; but others gave it as their opinion, that they should be divided amongst the inhabitants as slaves. Occupied in this consultation, a large body of horsemen appeared, under a conspicuous

I öðrom stæð kaullodo landsmenn at ráð nockort væri gert fyrer skipföfninne. Hinn mikle madrinn geck þá brott, oc nefndi med fer XII af sínom maunnom, fæto þeir langa hríd a einmæle, ganga síðan til fundarins oc tók fa mikle madr til orða. Ver landsmenn haufom talat um hagi ydra, og hafa þeir gefit mál ydar á mitt valld, enn nú vil ec gefa ydr faraleifi, þángat sem þer vilit; ræð ec ydr at leita hedan, því fólkit er ótrútt, oc illt vidr eignar, enn þycker brotin laug a fer, er landit oc vidt en illt til hafna, oc ráðinn úfridr hver vetna útlendom maunnom.

EX LANDNAMA.

SON Mars a Reikholum oc þorkautlo dottr Hergils Hrapps fúnar var Ari. Hann vard Sæhæfi til Hvitra manna lands. Þat kalla sumir Írland hid mikla. Liggr þat vestr i Hafi nær Vinlandi hino goda. Þat er kaullud sex dægra figling vestr fra Írlandi.

spicuous standard, under which, as they approached, they saw a man of an elegant form, though somewhat in years; his temples were shaded with locks of venerable white: the whole assembly paid him homage, and with one accord submitted the whole of the decision to his opinion. The old man on this sent for Gurdleif and his companions, whom he asked in Norse, after comparing them, who they might be? The most part being natives of Iceland, afforded him an opportunity to enquire for many things relative to that country. The people called out impatiently for the final decision. The old man, observing this, left the assembly, and took with him twelve men, with whom he held a long conversation, which being over they returned. The sage then said, addressing himself to the strangers, We the inhabitants of this country have had an interview about your affairs; but, as they have been submitted to me, I give you leave to go where you please, and at the same time advise you as soon as possible to get under sail, on account of the little confidence that is to be placed in the faith of this people on this head, who deem their law to be infringed; added to this, the harbours are scarce, and strangers are liable to be treated as enemies.

From the Book called L A N D N A M A.

A R I was the son of Mar, of Reikholar, and Thorkatla daughter of Hergils Hrappson. He was cast on the shore of the Whitemen's land, which others call the Great Ireland. It is situated in the Western ocean, near the good Vinland. Here

R

Ari,

landi. Þáðan náði Ari egi brott at fara oc var þar skyrdr. Fra þessu sagdi firstr Rafn Hlimreks fari, er lengi hafdi verit i Hlimreka a Irlandi. Sva kuad þorkell Geitissón segia Íslenska menn þa er heyrt haufdo segia þorfinn iarl of Orkneyum at Ari hafdi kendr verit a Hvitra manna landi, oc náði egi brott at fara. Enn var þar vel virdr.

Ari, not being permitted to return, was detained and baptised. This was first related by Rafn, the Limerick merchant, who had resided many years in Limerick; and, besides this, Thorkil Geetson said he had heard several Icelanders relate the same, who had been present when Thorfin earl of Orkneys asserted that Ari had been seen in the Whitemen's land; and although he did not get leave to return, he had been very much esteemed.

A

COLLECTION OF RECORDS

CONCERNING THE

ORKNEY ISLANDS.

S

C I R C A 1319.

REVERENDO in Christo patri & Domino suo, Domino Elawo, Dei gratiâ archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi, sui humiles & devoti Cormacus archidiaconus Sodorensis, & Grimarus suæ ecclesiæ Nidrosiensis præbendarius, salutem & omnem reverentiam tam debitam quam devotam. Qvoniam uterque peccat, qvi veritatem occultat, & mendacium profert, quia hic prodesse non vult, & alius nocere desiderat; idcirco testimonium veritati perhibere volentes, paternitati vestræ reverendæ significamus, quod cum nos, ex commissione mandati vestri, in officio visitationis ad diocesim Orchadensem circa festum Sancti Michaelis accessimus apud Cirkewan, & porrectâ ac ostensâ commissione mandati vestri, venerabili patri, ejusdem loci episcopo, in ecclesia sua cathedrali, coram suo capitulo, nos ad executionem officii nobis injuncti satis gratiose & obedienter admisit, & in omnibus necessariis, ob vestræ paternitatis reverentiam humaniter & benigne pertractavit; officioque visitationis per totam Orchadiam per nos plenius peracto & discussso, defectus quos invenimus in ecclesiis ibidem, magis remissitudinem & negligentiam prædecessorum suorum, quam suam, ut ad plenum intelleximus, existentes, cum tot & tales defectus infra breve tempus, licet proposse suo nifus fuerit, eos reparare non suffecit. Promisit tamen nobis, fide mediâ, coram domino Magno comite Orchadiæ, & Cathaniæ, &

Caterina,

Caterina, sponsa ejusdem, capituloque suo, ac multis aliis fide dignis, dictos defectus infra [breve] tempus emendare; assignavitque ad hoc certam portionem reddituum subrum, prout unicuique ecclesiæ opus fuerit, & sibi & capitulo suo visum fuerit oportunum, quoad usque dicti defectus plene fuerint emendati. Præterea quia quædam sinistra de persona dicti domini episcopi paternitati vestræ fuerunt suggesta, super quibus nobis specialiter inquirere præcepistis, habita super hiis fideli & diligenti inquisitione & examinatione, tam per archidiaconum suum & canonicos, quam vicarios ecclesiæ, corporali sacramento interposito, invenimus prædicta suggesta omnino esse falsa & inania, & magis ex iniquitatis & odii fomite quam radice veritatis processisse; maxime quoad incontinentiam, dicto domino episcopo impositam, prædicti archidiaconus, canonici, & vicarii, per sua juramenta specialiter deposuerunt, se nunquam scivisse, vidisse aut intellexisse, seu per modum aliqualem probabilem, vel alicujus suspicionis similitudinem perpendisse aut percepisse hujusmodi contra præfatum dominum suum episcopum, postquam fuit in episcopum consecratus; sed potius se credere & scire hujusmodi penitus esse falsa, & ab æmulis & malevolis, si quæ dicta sunt, ortum habuisse. Unde ad innocentiae puritatem declarandam, & detrahentium versutiam comprimendam, quatenus facultas nobis adeo data est, inquirendi & investigandi super præmissis, paternitati vestræ veritatem patefacimus per præsentem litteras, sigillis nostris consignatas. Datum, &c.

Transcriptum

Transcriptum super sententiis Domini Archiepiscopi contra
Orchadensem Episcopum.

MCCCXX.

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus, præsentes literas inspecturis, Audfinnus Dei gratiâ episcopus Bergensis, nec non capitulum & canonici ecclesiæ memoratæ, salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis, qvod anno Domini mcccxx, in octavo beati Olavi regis & martyris, in consistorio curiæ Bergensis, præsentes fuimus, audivimus, ac diligenter ascultavimus, cum dominus Grimarus Ormeri legit coram domino Villelmo, Dei gratia, episcopo Orkadensi, tres literas venerabilis in Christo patris ac domini nostri, domini Elau, permissione divinâ, Nidrosiensis archiepiscopi, sigillo suo consignatas; quarum tenor de verbo ad verbum talis extat:

IN nomine Domini, Amen. Cum nos Elawus, Dei gratiâ, Nidrosiensis archiepiscopus, dudum valido nostris auribus deferente clamore, vos dominum Villelmum episcopum Orkadensem, per totam nostram diocesim enormiter intellexerimus infamatum, idcirco nos ex officii nostri debito scire volentes, si dictus clamor opere sit completus, ad ipsam vestram ecclesiam & diocesim per viros discretos, dominum Cormacum archidiaconum Sodorensem & Grimarum, ecclesiæ nostræ præbendarium, a nobis plenariam optinentes potestatem, descendimus visitandam. Qvi quidem nostri nuncii, visitatores, & inqvisitores in hoc negotio per nos commissum

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missum sibi legationis & visitationis effectum, diligenter per processus legitimos & formam debitam exsequentes, invenerunt vos, frater episcope, non solum bona episcopalia, per prædiorum alienationes & infendationes adeo dilapidasse, ac etiam distraxisse, quod ipsa ecclesia cathedralis & curia episcopalis in ipsis ædificiis pro magna parte corrutis, de reliquo subitam minatur ruinam, verum etiam omnium quasi aliarum ecclesiarum redditus & proventus, ad rectorum earundem sustentationem & ædificiorum reparationem pertinentes, vestris inordinatis usibus in tantum applicasse, quod cultus divinus deperit, honestas præ expensarum penuria negligitur, clericalis & cleri pariter & populi caritas & devotio contabescit. Invenerunt vos insuper, tanquam canonum contemptorem, beneficia nulla canonice contulisse, sed personas diversas, videlicet alienigenas, vagabundos, ac etiam diversarum religionum apostatas, ad terminum limitatum annorum vel mensium instituisse, in eisdem: certa vobis pensione vel pecuniæ quantitate de eorum quolibet reservatâ; ac etiam subditorum appellationibus rite interjectis, injuriose, non deferre; vosque personaliter, pontificali dignitate & debita morum gravitate neglecta, aucupiis & clamoris venationibus, ac hujusmodi levitatibus, ut de aliis taceamus, tanta vos frequentia occupatis, quod ecclesiarum regimini & pastoralis curæ sollicitudini, sic dissolute vivendo, nichil vel parum intenditis, subditos vestros, ydolatrias, veneficos, hæreticos, ac etiam alios criminosos malè viventes, & claviùm contemptores, in nullo penitus corrigendo; sed in vestris expensis & familia, excommunicationis sententia manifestè ligatos detinentes. Cum igitur hæc, & hiis similia, animarum saluti plurimum adversentur, scandalum generent manifestum, & divinam provocent offensam, si eis obviatum non fuerit remediis opportunis; idcirco nos, Orchadensis ecclesiæ indempnitatibus, ex

officii

officii nostri debito providere cupientes, ne per vestram dilapidationem bonorum suorum jacturam & dampna sustineat ampliora, auctoritate Metropolitana a bonorum administratione sententialiter vos suspendimus in hiis scriptis, quoad alios vestros excessus correctione nobis debitâ reservatâ; fraternitatem insuper vestram caritative requirimus, & paternis affectibus exhortamur, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ vobis firmiter demandantes, quatinus excessus vestros & processus improvidos, emendatione debitâ corrigatis. Lecta & lata est hæc sententia, ipso domino episcopo præsentem, ac sæpius prius ammonito, & tunc specialiter ad ipsam sententiam audiendam legitime citato xvi kal. Augusti, in consistorio curiæ nostræ Bergis, anno Domini mcccxx.

Ad evidentiam majorem collationis factæ ad ipsa originalia cum præsentem transcripto, sigilla nostra episcopi & capituli prædictorum præsentibus sunt appensa. Datum viii idus Augusti, loco & tempore supradictis.

Litera de collecta denarii Beati Petri.

MCCCXX.

UNIVERSIS præsens scriptum cernentibus, Villealmus Orkadenfis, Audfinnus Bergenfis, Haqvinus Stafwangrenfis, Hallwardus Hamarenfis, Dei gratiâ episcopi, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverint universi, quod anno Domini mcccxx, die septimo mensis Julii, Bergis in camera venerabilis in Christo patris ac Domini, domini Elawi Dei gratiâ archiepiscopi Nidrosienfis,

fiensis, sedis apostolicæ nuncii, ac denarii Beati Petri per Nidrosiensem provinciam generalis collectoris, nobis præsentibus & specialiter ad hoc vocatis & rogatis, infra scriptam pecuniæ summam ostendebat: quam ipse, ut dicebat, post susceptum mandatum apostolicum, per civitates & dioc' Nidrosiensis provinciæ, in diversis monetis cupreis, retroactis temporibus, usque ad annum Domini & diem prænotatos inclusive, pro denario sive censu Beati Petri collectam invenit, ac ipse postmodum eadem auctoritate collegit & levavit, ac in purum argentum fideliter commutavit; quod ipse statim in præsentia nostra, ut præmittitur, fecit diligenter ponderari ad summam quadringentarum septuaginta octo marcarum, & quatuor solidorum bonorum & legalium steringorum communis & consueti ponderis Noricani promittens bona fide, quod antedictam pecuniæ summam nomine sedis apostolicæ, secundum formam mandati apostolici faceret in tuto & securo loco fideliter custodiri, donec mandatum sedis apostolicæ receperit quid & qualiter de eadem duxerit ordinandum. In cujus rei testimonium sigilla nostra præsentibus sunt appensa. Actum & datum loco & tempore prænotatis.

MCCCLXXII.

NOTA. QVOD anno Domini mcccxxii, tertio non. Martii, dimisimus à nobis & nostra jurisdictione, Thorkillum & Herbrandum, ad eorum supplicationem, propter causam in eorum literis dimissoriis contentam; quod eis annuimus in præsentia domingrum Borghari & Haqvini canonicorum nostrorum, Johannis Suænonis, fratris Stullonis, cum pluribus aliis fide dignis.

UNIVERSIS

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus præsentēs literas visuris vel audituris, Elawus miseratione divina, Nidrosiensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, salutem in Domino Jesu Christo. Noveritis nos discreto viro Thorkillo, Bergensis ecclesiæ clerico, ecclesiam quæ dicitur þuæíta þing, Orchadensis diocesis, ad nostram donationem, ex statuto concilii generalis, pervenerabilis fratris, Domini. Orchadensis episcopi negligentiam devolutam, auctoritate Metropolitica, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, habitis & habendis, canonicè contulisse, perpetuis temporibus liberè possidendam. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum Nidrosiæ, kalendis Septembris, anno Domini MCCCXXI, consecrationis vero nostræ anno XI.

Litera vero Herbrandi, quæ sequitur, abbreviatur, quia ejusdem tenoris est cum præcedenti, exceptis locis & propriis nominibus, ut per eam, quæ sequitur, satis patet.

Univerfis, &c. Elawus miseratione divina, &c. Noveritis nos discreto viro, Herbrando, Bergensis ecclesiæ clerico, ecclesiam de Raudar þing, Orchadensis diocesis, ad nostram donationem, ex statuto concilii, &c. Datum, &c. Sicut prius.

Litera dimissoria.

MCCCXXII.

VENERABILI in Christo fratri & Domino, Domino Vilelmo, Dei gratiâ episcopo Orchadensi, Audfinnus eadem gratia episcopus Bergensis, salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Ac-

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cedens

cedens ad præsentiam nostram Thorkillus Hanewi, quem ad præsentationem venerabilis in Christo patris ac Domini nostri, Domini Elawi miseratione divina Nidrosiensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopi, ad diaconatus & presbiteratus ordines, statutis à canone temporibus, promovimus, nobis intimavit, quod cum eidem Dominus archiepiscopus memoratus ecclesiam in Hiatlandia vestræ diocesis, quæ þvæita þíng dicitur, ad ipsius archiepiscopi collationem, ex statuto generalis concilii, prout patet in literis super hoc confectis, devolutam, auctoritate Metropolitica canonice contulerit, perpetuis temporibus possidendam. Verum quia beneficium huiusmodi personalem requirit residentiam, nobis Thorkillus antedictus humiliter supplicavit, ut ipsum à nostra jurisdictione absolveremus, dandi sibi liberam licentiam in beneficio ei sic collato residere. Qvare vestram in Domino fraternitatem exoramus, qvatinus presbiterum prælibatum, cum ad diocesim vestram venire ac in corporalem mitti possessionem dicti beneficii contigerit, intuitu nostri benignè recipiatis; nullam eidem ab aliquo injuriam aut gravamen inferri permittentes; scituri pro certo eundem præbiterum à nobis cum bonâ licentia absolutum recessisse. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum Bergis VIII idus Aprilis, anno Domini MCCCXXII.

MCCCXXII.

ELAWS miseratione divina Nidrosiensis archiepiscopus, venerabili fratri, Domino Audfinno eâdem gratiâ episcopo Bergensi, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Qvoniam discreti viri, Domini Ingebertus canonicus Orchadensis, & Grimarius, ecclesiæ nostræ præbendarius,

præbendarius, super causarum cognitionibus & terminationibus, ac etiam negotiorum executionibus, pro quibus eos ad episcopatum Orchadensem, auctoritate Metropolitica, destinavimus, minus discretam, variam ac etiam singularem & divisam, nobis relationem fecerant, nos, de ipsorum actis & processibus legitime certiorari volentes, auctoritate vobis præsentium committimus vices nostras, ad exigendam etiam cum debita coercione, si necesse fuerit, & recipiendam, super processibus quibuscumque, virtute nostrarum commissionum per eos in Orchadia factis & habitis, rationem & relationem canonicam & fidelem; præcipue super hiis, quæ nostros processus contra Dominum episcopum Orchadensem habitos, & jura tangunt sedis apostolicæ, & ipsius ecclesiæ Orchadensis, ferendis in eos sententiis, si oportebit, pro eorum excessibus, negligentis vel aliis forefactis, nobis, una cum negotio principali, specialiter reservatis. Datum Nidrosiæ, septimo kal. Aprilis, Anno Domini MCCCXXII.

MCCCXXIV.

ELAWS Dei gratiâ archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis, venerabili in Christo fratri, Domino Vilelmo, episcopo Orchadensi, salutem in Domino. Quia cum bonæ memoriæ Domina Raghnaidis, uxor discreti viri, Domini Raghnnaldi Aslaci, dudum in præsentia nostra, cum adhuc omnimoda gauderet corporis sospitate ac prædicto Domino Raghnnaldo præsentem & consentientem, sibi in ecclesia nostra Nidrosiensi solempniter locum elegit sepulturæ, sicut in literis super hoc confectis clarius continetur, & sic[ut] intelleximus, illud idem in ultimis suis in Orchadia innovavit, non suffi-

cimus.

cimus admirari, quâ temeritate præsumitis funus prædictæ Domini Raghnnaldi, contra prædicti Domini Raghnnaldi requisitionem, detinere; qui se paratum offerebat, illud ad ecclesiam nostram Nidrosiensem cum honore transportare; in nostrum & ecclesiæ nostræ cui fidelitatem tenemini ex præstito juramento, præjudicium non modicum, ac sæpediti Raghnnwaldi dampnum evidens & gravamen, non advertentes, quod ecclesiæ & loca, in quibus contra decedentium voluntates corpora defunctorum detinentur, ipso jure, ecclesiastico supponuntur interdicto, & irregularitatem contrahunt; à qua nisi per sedem apostolicam absolvi nequeunt celebrantes in eisdem. Nos ergo tantam præsumptionem sub dissimulatione præterire nullatenus intendentes, & cum iustissimum sit, ut in quo quis dereliquerit, in eodem puniatur, vobis præcipimus, ac sub pœna ingressus ecclesiæ, quam in vos exnunc ut extunc, si mandatis nostris non parueritis, sententialiter ferimus in hiis scriptis, auctoritate Metropolitica firmiter demandamus, quatinus corpus sæpeditæ Raghnnaldi, cum omnibus inde perceptis, ad ecclesiam Nidrosiensem in expensis vestris, cum honore debito, ante festum Beati Johannis Baptistæ à dato præsentium proximo subsequens, per personas honestas nobis deferatis, nichilominus pœnas ulteriores pro injuriis, dampnis & aliis inobedientiis, nobis & ecclesiæ nostræ per vos irreverenter exhibitis & illatis, vobis infligendas, auctoritate præsentium, reservantes. Datum Bergis anno Domini MCCCXXIV, kal. Augusti.

Berg. MCCCXXVI.

VENERABILI in Christo fratri & Domino, Domino Willielmo Dei gratiâ episcopo Orchadensi, Audfinnus ejusdem gratiâ episcopus
 2 Bergenfis

Bergenſis ſalutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum Coloni Hialtlandiæ ſe voto longis retroactis temporibus, firmiter adſtrinxerunt, pro fertilitate terræ ſuæ, ut ſinguli ſingulis annis certam menſuram farinæ, quæ Sunnifumiöl in vulgari appellatur, ad ſcrinium beatæ Sunnivæ Bergis offerrent. Verum quia expenſæ terræ prædictorum inquilinorum parcere cupientes, procuratorium noſtrum commiſſimus Domino Evaro ibidem celebranti, pro dicta farina colligenda, ideo ſupplicamus, ut fraternâ viciffitudine media nobis aſtetis, & noſtro procuratori, ut votum ſic pie emiſſum per memoratos colonos plenariè & fideliter perſolvatur, demandantes nobis ſecurè, quæ vobis per nos videntur facienda. Valeat & vigeat veſtra reverenda fraternitas in Domino per tempora longiora.

Obligatoria Domini Orchadenſis ſuper decima papali ad ſexennium.

MCCCXXVII.

OMNIBUS Chriſti fidelibus, has literas viſuris vel audituris, Villelmus Dei gratiâ episcopus Orchadenſis, æternam in Domino ſalutem. Pateat univerſitati veſtræ, quod recognoviſimus nos teneri & per præſentes firmiter obligari venerabili in Chriſto patri ac Domino noſtro, Domino Elauro, divinâ providentiâ Nidroſienſi archiepiscopo, in centum octoginta & ſex marcis ſterlingorum, pro decima, papali ſexennali; ita videlicet, quod de bonis & redditibus noſtris in Hialtlandia recipiet, ſeu recipi faciet per procuratores ſuos, unum vel plures, anno præſenti incipiente ad feſtum Omnium Sanctorum, tam in denariis quam in denariatis,

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scilicet quod nos ibidem recipere consuevimus, octoginta marcas sterlingorum, & alias octoginta marcas anno immediate subsequente, & viginti sex marcas, quæ residuæ sunt, persolvemus in æstate proximo futura procuratori suo in Orchadia, sine ulteriori dilatione, aut alterius termini prorogatione. Unde prædictam terram Hiatlandiæ dominationi suæ reverendæ paternitatis supponimus & affedamus usque ad terminum biennii prætaxatum, ac etiam quoad usque dicta decima fuerit plenariè persoluta; quæ quidem terra, factâ hujusmodi solutione, ad nos & ecclesiam nostram plenè & integrè revertetur. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum Bergis, in crastino nativitatis Beatæ Virginis anno gratiæ MCCCXXVII.

MCCCXXVIII.

IN nomine Domini Amen. Cum nos Elaws Dei gratiâ Nidrosiensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, dudum sub anno Domini MCCCXXVIII, auctoritate sedis apostolicæ, nobis in hac parte specialiter commissâ, ad inquirendum de denario beati Petri in episcopatu Orchadensi, ac etiam ad ipsum ibidem levandum, discretum virum, Dominum Ingilbertum dictum Lying, canonicum Orchadensem, vos, Domine Vilelme, Orchadensis episcopo, nuncium nostrum memoratum, immo verius sacrosanctæ sedis antedictæ, omni reverentiâ postposita, propriæ professionis & juramenti penitus immemores, incarcerare præsumpsistis, in ejusdem apostolicæ sedis dampnum & injuriam, ac hujus negotii confusionem & impedimentum manifestum; ipsumque Ingilbertum, juris ordine totaliter prætermisso, præbenda sua & bonis omnibus, mobilibus

mobilibus & immobilibus, in Orchardia existentibus, spoliastis, & adhuc contra nostras ammonitiones & mandatum inobedienter bona eadem detinetis, taliter spoliata; vos insuper de denario memorato, à tempore, quo primo administrationem habuistis ecclesiæ Orchadenfis, pro quolibet anno tres marcas sterelingorum cum dimidia & quinque denariis, vestris usibus applicastis, summam hujusmodi per annos circiter quindecim occultando, prout per testium depositiones & vestram confessionem in jure factam coram nobis est probatum. Nos ergo tantam apostolicæ sedis injuriam sub dissimulationis conniventia sustinere non valentes, vos Dominum Vilelmum episcopum Orchadensem, pro injuriis & contumeliis antedictis, ab officio pontificali suspendimus in hiis scriptis, ad solutionem & restitutionem quinquaginta trium marcarum sterelingorum de vestris propriis bonis solvendorum, quas de sæpedito beati Petri denario vobis usurpative retinuistis, nichilominus condemnantes. Ad cujus quidem pecuniæ solutionem & traditionem nobis plenariam faciendam, terminum vobis trium mensium præfigimus, sub pœna excommunicationis; quam ex nunc in vos ferimus, si mandatis nostris parere contempseritis in præmissis. Infra quem terminum, sub pœna prælibata bona omnia, quibus Dominum Ingilbertum, Domini nostri papæ & nostrum nuncium, spoliastis, restitui præcipimus per hæc scripta; quem & nos ad præbendam & canoniam, quam in ecclesia Orchadenfi rite optinuerat, tanquam spoliatum manifestè sententialiter restituimus per præsentem. Lecta & lata est hæc sententia in consistorio curiæ nostræ Bergis, præfato Domino episcopo sæpe sæpius prius, super præmissis monito & vocato, tunc vero ad audiendam hanc sententiam specialiter citato. Anno Domini MCCCXXVIII, kal. Augusti.

Um

Um Pawa tíund ab Hialltlande.

MCCCXXVIII.

NOTA. QVOD anno Domini mcccxxviii, pridie ydus Julii, græiddi Giafalldr Ivarson af Hialltlande fo mikla pawa tíund, úirduleghom herra Audfinni Bpi j. Biorghuín & Suæíni Sighurðar syni fehyrdi j. konongs garde. Siau fkippond ullar, & æínu lifis pundí faat j. Var þat at spanna tale Híallta. Sextan spön ok xx ullar at Híatlenskra vaagh.

MCCCXXIX.

EILIFR med gudz mískun erchibiscop. í. Nídarose fænder síra Hakone. síra Salwa. & síra Jone. korsbræðrom. í. Biorghuín ok Remundi de lamena, sub-collectoribus pauatíundar. q. q. & fina. Ver hafum undírtadet, at þer hafet tækít þríar merkor & níu tighi marka brendra pavatíundar ab Orkneium. & framlæidifs æzlast at taka af Stawangs biscops dome allar æftet stædur ofkærdar fyr faghðrar tíundar mote herra pawans bode & goduília þeim fem hann gerdi varom herra kongenom ok allu landeno til styrkiar j. mote krítninnar ouinum undir vare skipan & forfio er þat hælmingren af allre sæx ære pavatíund um allt ríkit. Af þui firer biodom ver ydr at þer taket frammare en hælmingen tíundarennar fem nu er faght. Huarke af Stawangre ne Orkneyum eda vidare ok þer aftur lukit fem frammar hafe þer adr tekit vars herra kongfens

Of the Papal tithes of Shetland.

MCCCXXVIII.

OBSERVE, that in the year of our Lord 1328, the 25th day of July, did Giafaldr Ivarson of Shetland, pay to the Reverend Lord Audfin, the Lord Bishop of Bergen, and Suein Sigurdson, comptroller of the King's household, the tenths due to the Pope, viz. 22 cwt. of wool, less than 16 pounds, according to the standard of Shetland, being 36 span Shetland weight of wool.

MCCCXXIX.

BEILIF, by the grace of God archbishop of Nidaros, we greet you Sir Hacon, Sir Salwa, and Sir John, canons of Bergen, and Remund de Lamena, sub-collectors of the papal tenths. We have understood that you have gathered ninety-three marks of pure silver as a papal tithe of the island of Orkneys; and that you intend to collect all the arrears of the said tenths due throughout the diocese of Stavanger, however contrary to the writs and favour granted by the Pope to the King our master, and which are to be used, according to our pleasure and orders, for the benefit of the whole realm, against the enemies of the church. And whereas it is one half of the whole papal tithe of the realm, we forbid you to levy more than the other half part of the said tithe, neither in the diocese of Stavanger, nor

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of

kongfens umbods manne ok varom i hendr herra Audfinni biskopi j. Biorghuin. So framt sem þer vilit fordazft vars herra kongfens oblidu. Oc til sanz vitnisburdar sættum ver vart infighli fyrer bref er gört var i Nidarose a annan dagh Jola, anno Domini þta MCCCXXIX.

Litera qvittantiæ super qvinqvaginta sex marcis sterlingorum cum dimidia.

MCCCXXIX.

I N nomine Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis, qvorum interest seu interesse poterit in futurum, pateat universis, qvod sub anno Domini MCCCXXIX, III idus Februarii, nos officialis ecclesiæ Bergenfis, Fredericus Stirlraugh, Simon luari, ejusdem ecclesiæ canonici, Sueno Sighvardi, thesaurarius illustris regis Norwegiæ Bergis in Sacristia Majoris ecclesiæ, interfuimus & vidimus, rogati specialiter & vocati, qvandam summam sterlingorum, per dominum episcopum Orchadensem ex papali decimâ sexennali per suam diocefin collectam persolutam, qvæ totalis ad centum tredecim marcas argenti, Noricani ponderis, ascendebat. De qua qvidem summa, æqualiter in duo divisa Reimundus de Lamena, cum suis comprocuratoribus, ad hoc per nuncios summi pontificis specialiter deputatis, medietatem, hoc est, qvinqvaginta sex

of the islands of Orkneys, nor in any other place; and we demand you to repay to the king's agent, as well as to Lord Audfin, the Lord Bishop of Bergen, whatever you have received above the due, as soon as you wish to escape the displeasure of the king our Lord. In witness of this we have put our seal to this letter, written in Nidaros, the second day of Christmas, in the year of our Lord MCCCXXIX.

sex marcas cum dimidia sterlingorum, ponderis suprascripti, levavit & ad cameram Domini nostri summi pontificis assignavit & addixit deportandam. Reliquam verò medietatem summæ totalis ante tactæ, hoc est alias quinquaginta sex marcas cum dimidia sterlingorum, ponderis ut præfertur, levavit venerabilis pater & Dominus Audfinnus Dei gratiâ episcopus Bergensis, nomine procuratoris, ex parte regis Norwegiæ, per dominum archiepiscopum ejusdem regni constitutus, in custodiam seu gardiam, ad hoc per regni Optimates subputatam, reponendam. In quorum omnium & singulorum testimonium sigilla nostra præsentibus sunt appensa. Datum loco, die & anno supradictis.

ANNO-

A N N O T A T I O N S.

Page 3. *HAVING put his ship to sea.* The vessels of the ancients being light built, were at the end of an expedition drawn on shore, and kept in houses made for that purpose; and laws were passed which entitled the commander of a ship to the public assistance in drawing up, and fitting her out again. It is more than likely that the same custom has been in use among the Romans; for Horace seems to assert this in one of his odes.

Ibid. *Hacon*, who having been educated at the court of Athelstane, king of England, is called by the Icelandic historians *Adalsteinsfostri*, or *the foster-son of Athelstane*. This truly good and great king succeeded his father *Harald the Hairfair*, on the Norwegian throne, in the year of Christ 936, and was slain in a battle by his brothers in 950. Eivind Skaldaspiller composed on this occasion an ode, which has been published with an English translation, by the first antiquary of our age, among Five pieces of Runic poetry, p. 63, Lond. 1763; and in the Northern Antiquities, p. 240, Lond. 1773.

Ibid. *Brenneyar*, some small islands near the mouth of the river Gothelf, which, till the last century, divided Norway from Sweden. According to *Eigla*, or the life of Eigill Skallagrimson, written in the twelfth century, the pirates resorted to the said islands as a place of rendezvous in the beginning of the tenth century, on account of the brisk trade, which was carried on by the neighbours. Vide cap. 48. The assembly of kings and princes mentioned by our author, had been formerly kept in the town of *Konghella* (now *Kongel* in *Babus lehn*), situated on the border of Norway, close to the abovementioned river, as appears from the name itself, which signifies *the bill of kings*. This place I take to be the same, which the great *Ælfred*, in his *Hormesta*, calls *Sciringesheal*, i. e. *the hall of judges*. See the Anglo-Saxon translation from Orosius, translated into English by the honourable Daines Barrington, Lond. 1773, p. 24.

On this occasion I shall beg leave to differ from the learned Judge, as well as Dr. Forster, who in his notes, p. 255, places Sciringesheal on the shores of Uplandia, or Gothland, and of *at Hetbum*, p. 25, makes *Al-hedum*, p. 255, which he

asserts to be a town in the deserts of Jutland, afterwards known under the name of *Ar-bus*. In order to prove what I advance, I do but need to appeal to the royal author, and give the voyage of Othere from Halgoland, the northernmost part of Norway, along the coast, in as literal a translation as possible of his words :

“ Othere sæde þæt sio scir hette *Halgoland* * þe he on bude, he cƿæd þæt nan
 “ man ne bude be nordan him. Donne is an port on sudeƿeardum † þæm lande
 “ þonne man hæst Sciringesheal. þyder he cƿæd þæt manne mehte gefeglian on
 “ anum monde gyf man on nyht ‡ ꝥicode & ælce dæge hæfde amberne pind.
 “ And ealle þa hƿile he sceal seglian be lande & on þæt steorbord him bið ærest Ira-
 “ land § & þonne þa Iglanð þe synd betƿus Iralanð & þissum lande. Donne is þis
 “ land oð he cymd to Sciringesheale & ealne ƿæg on þæt bæc bord (are) Nordƿege ||.
 “ Bi sudan þone Sciringesheal fyld spide micel ** sæ up in on þæt land. Seo is
 “ brader þonne ænig man oferseon mege, & is Gotland †† on oðre healse ongean.
 “ Et sidda Sillende. Seo sæ lid mænige hundmæla up in þæt land. And of Sci-
 “ ringesheale he cƿæd þæt he seglode on fif dagan to þæm porte þe man hæst æt ‡‡
 “ Hæthum. Se stent betuð Winedum, & Seaxum, & Angle, & hyrd in on Dene.
 “ þa he þiderweard seglode from Sciringesheale. þa wæs him on þæt bæc bord
 “ Denameark & on þæt steorbord wið sæ þry dagas. And þa tƿegan dagas ær he
 “ to Hæthum §§ come him wæs on þæt steorbord Gothland |||, & Silende, & Ig-
 “ landa fela on þæm landum eardodan Engle ær hi hider on land comon.” Id est,

* The present name is *Helgeland*.

† þæm lande, shews evidently that *Sciringesheal* cannot be searched in *Sueoland*, Sweden; but on the contrary in the country belonging to Othere.

‡ To ƿic is to move, i. e. to proceed, in the Icelandic *at vicia*.

§ *Iralanð* involves here that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

|| Nordƿege cannot imply *Northward*, as translated by the honourable Mr. Barrington; for *Northwards* is always given by king Ælfred with the word *Nordƿearð*. It must therefore signify the same country, which in the Saxon Chronicle is called in *Nom. plur.* *Nonƿege*, *Dat.* *Nonƿegum*, *Acc.* *Nonƿegan*, or the present *Norway*, a name perfectly descriptive of that part of Scandinavia which, facing the north, lies behind the southern way, which for the same reason got the name of *Sudrƿeg*, *Suerige*, or *Sweden*. The inhabitants of Norway called themselves *Nordmen*, and their patry *Norweg*. *Nordmannaland*, and *Normannia*, was, however, at an early period more known abroad than *Norwegia*, which, though Adam of Bremen says it was of a later date, yet I cannot consider it to be later than Pytheas' *Nerigon*.

** The sea mentioned here is the present Cattegat, an arm of which called *Ijsfiord* runs up the island of Seland.

†† The part of Sweden now called *Wester Gotland*, or *West Gotland*.

‡‡ *Æt* is a particle used in the Anglo-Saxon; as *at* and *of* in the modern English. *þæm porte æt Hæthum*, i. e. the port of *Hæthum*.

§§ *Hæthum*, a sea port and town, situated between the Wandals, the Saxons, and the Angles, and yet belonging to the Danes, cannot be any other than *Sleswic*, which during the middle age was called by the Icelanders *Heider*, and *Heidabær*. Vide *Knytlinga Saga*. Snorro Sturleson, &c. by the Danes *Hedeby*, in the preface of king Waldemar I. Cimbric law. In the Latin translation of which Bishop Canute, of Wiborg, styles it *Sleswicum*, as does Saxo Grammaticus, and the German writers. Nay Adam of Bremen says expressly *Sleswig gœt & Heitaby digitur*, p. 2.

||| *Gotland* here alluded to is the present *Jutland*, which king Alfred, in the Saxon translation of Bede's Church History, book iv. cap. 16, calls *Eotaland*, and the inhabitants *Geata*, book i. cap. 15.

“ Othere

“ Othere said, that the shire which he inhabited is called Halgoland, and that no
 “ one dwelt to the north of him. In the south of this land is a port called Scir-
 “ ringesheal. Thither he told nobody could sail in less than a month, although he
 “ proceeded in the night, and every day had a fair wind. And during the (said)
 “ time he should sail near the land, and have on starboard first Ireland, and then
 “ the *other* islands, which are between Ireland and his country. Then, before he
 “ arrives at Sciringesheal, and all the way on larboard is the land of Norway. To
 “ the south of Sciringesheal a great sea runs up into the country, and is so wide that
 “ nobody can see across it. Opposite (to Sciringesheal) on the other side is Goth-
 “ land, and then Sæland, which by the said sea is intersected for many miles. And
 “ from Sciringesheal he said that he sailed in five days to a harbour called the port
 “ of Hæthum, which is situated between the Wandals, the Angels, and the Saxons,
 “ but belongs to the Danes. When he sailed thither from Sciringesheal, Denmark
 “ lay on the larboard, as did a wide sea on the starboard, in the course of the three
 “ first days. But the two days before he arrived to Hæthum, he had Gothland, and
 “ Sæland, and many islands (which the English inhabited before they came to
 “ England), on his larboard.”

Ibid. *A Russian hat.* From hence, as well as from the life of Nial, cap. 31, it appears, that hats manufactured in Russia have, during the ninth and tenth century, been highly esteemed. For Harald Gormson, king of Denmark, gave along with his suit of cloaths a Russian hat to Gunnar af Hlidarenda, an Icelandic nobleman. It must also be remarked, that the Icelanders, called Russia, particularly the principality of Kiow, Gardaríke, from Gorod, or, as they have spoken it, Garad, and Gard, a word so frequent in the end of the proper names of places, viz. Novogorod, Inganagorod, Iamogorod, which signifies the same as *gardr*, an inclosure, a fast place, a burg, or castle. Vid. Notas in Gotreks sagam, p. 96.

P. 4. *Three marks of silver.* From this one might draw the conclusion, that the Norwegians had no coins, as the silver was weighed in scales; but the life of St. Olave shews that coins were not received in the market without being first examined and weighed.

P. 9. *Building materials.* The gentlemen of fortune, being fond of large and extensive dwelling houses, brought frequently building timber from Norway; and those who were satisfied with less, found materials enough in the woods of their own island, which, we are told, were in the beginning of its being discovered, and long time since, covered with extensive forests. See Landnama in many places, particularly chap. 14, p. 16, which tell us that Avangr, a Norwegian, having taken into his possession the land of Botn, near the fiord called Huals fiord, in the south of Iceland, found it abounding with great woods, which enabled him to build a vessel fit for foreign trade. He loaded her in a place called Hladhammar. Svarfdælafaga relates the fame of Svarfardal in the north.

P. 9. *The child was baptised.* The baptism frequently used by our heathen ancestors was a religious act of no small importance, being invested with all those rights and privileges which the laws of Christians still annex to that ceremony. Before the baptism, the child was left to the mercy of a despotic father, who considered his newborn babe by no means better than a brute, which he could preserve or destroy according to his fancy. But no sooner was the child baptised, and characterised with a name, than a parent, who caused his offspring to be killed, became guilty of an atrocious murder. See *Holmveria Saga*, an Icelandic history, published, Holum, 1756, pp. 77, 78. The baptism was consequently a solemn ceremony, by which a child was introduced as a new member of the human society; and having received a distinct name, shared the rights of individuals, and of a family into which he had thus been received by his father, on whose pleasure the performance of the baptism, and the name annexed thereto, entirely depended. The particulars of the baptism of the heathens are described by Ot. Sperling, in his book *de Baptismo Gentilium*, Havn. 1700, 8vo; and Joh. Lomejer *De lustratione Gentilium*, Zutphan. 1700, 4to.

Ibid. *Olafe Pheylan*, an Irish nobleman, who at an early period settled in Iceland, and left a numerous posterity, to which many of the first families in that island, still existing, owe their birth.

P. 15. *Merchandizes* of Iceland, during the course of the republic, consisted chiefly in broad cloth, which the inhabitants brought in bales into the markets of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. Great quantities of garments ready made were likewise exported and sold with a considerable advantage, particularly to the Norwegians, as we are told by Snorro Sturleson, in the life of Harald Grafeld, the king of Norway. This Prince being once informed of the arrival of an Icelandic merchant, who formerly had had the honour to be known to his majesty, went on board the vessel, and having viewed her cargo, consisting of ready-made cloths, of that kind which were called *feldr*, bought a suit of grey colour; on which occasion the king received the epithet of *grafeldr*, or the grey coat.

P. 17. *Inclosure.* At an early period of the republic of Iceland, it was enacted by law:

1. That all cultivated land be inclosed with walls and fences built of entire stone, or earth.

2. That these walls be five feet thick at the bottom, three feet at the top, and six feet high.

3. That the inclosure laid across the public road have a gate of eight feet wide, shut up with a wooden frame on iron hinges, which may be opened and closed by a man on horseback.

4. The offences against this law be popular, and be tried by nine jurymen before the court to which the offender belongs. See Graga's, the book on Tenure, chap. xv.

In consequence of this wise law, a regular trade of inclosers was established and carried on till the fourteenth century. From that period, during the course of almost five centuries, the inclosures have moulded away and been totally neglected, till the husbandry of Iceland got new patrons in a Sieman, a Reventlou, a Schimmelman, an Erichsen, and a Todahl.

P. 17. *A present of a gold ring on the appearance of the first tooth of a child.* The northern nations, well acquainted with the danger to which children are subjected during the course of teething, were extremely anxious to perpetuate the emotions of their joy on having had the gratification to see that their children have got teeth; and this they did by making them some valuable presents, which were called *tanse*, i. e. the gift of teeth. This custom, frequent among our heathen ancestors, gave birth to donations made by parents and godfathers to children, on occasion of their being baptised. As a remnant of the said custom we may consider the presents which are laid upon the cradle, and intended as a premium to the nurse for her care and tenderness.

P. 19. *Harald Grafeld*, son to Harald the Hairfair, succeeded his brother Hacon, the foster-son of Athelstan, king of England, to the kingdom of Norway, in the year of Christ 950, and died in the year 962.

Gunnild, daughter of Auzor Tota, was queen dowager of Norway, and mother of many princes, sons to Harald the Hairfair. She is particularly known by the Icelandic writers under the name of *konga moder*, or the mother of kings. She was fickle, inconstant, faithless, revengeful, malicious, restrained by no principle of duty, insatiable in her pretensions; and she was never deterred from employing the most criminal, and most dishonourable expedients. In short, her ambitious and despotic principles were as restless, as her amours were unbounded. See Snorro Sturleson, in the life of Harald Grafeld, and Olaf Tryggvason, kings of Norway. Copenhagen, 1775. Saga Olafs Tryggvasonar, Skalhote, 1689. Nialfaga, Copenh. 1772, p. 5. & seqq.

Rut, or *Hrut*, an Icelandic nobleman, of Rutstad in the county of Laxardal, was descended by males from Ragnar Lodbrok, king of Denmark. He was distinguished by many eminent gifts of nature. In his personal qualities he was courteous, affable, engaging, full of insinuation and address, active, and enterprising; and he had the masterly prudence to elude some artful schemes devised by Gunnild, the queen dowager of Norway, whose love intrigues might have been equally ruinous to himself and his native country.

P. 23. *The king and queen promised to shade him with their auspices*, i. e. to aid and assist him by their genius and royal fortune. Our ancestors, following the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato, imagined that every person had a certain number of tutelar spirits, which the Greeks called *Dæmonas*, and the Romans *Genii*; and that on these beings depended their fate and fortune. Of all these *Genii* none was more

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obliging than the *Hamingia*, or *Gifta*, a female deity, who, according to the pleasure of her master, could be transferred, lent, and given, to another, for the purpose of operating in concert with the Genii of his own. Thus a conjunction, as Cicero calls it, was effected, and the person, whose tutelar spirits had been recruited by a prince, scorned all danger, and pursued with confidence the object of an undertaking, however hazardous and difficult. On the doctrine of the Genii, or tutelar spirits, see Apuleius, Servius Grammaticus, Censorinus, Alexander ab Alexandro, Th. Bartholinus's *Antiquitates Danicæ de Causis contemptæ a Danis gentilibus mortis*. Havniæ, 1689, 4to, p. 614. Johan. Erixi *Observationes ad Antiquitates Septentrionales*. Havn. 1769, 8vo, p. 151. Johan. Erixi *Tentamen de Nominibus propriis*. Havn. 1753, 8vo, pp. 29. 34.

P. 25. *The Irish claimed the vessel under the sanction of the laws, which confiscated whatever they should find on the shore as a wreck.* The barbarous custom practised by the ancients, according to which, those who had been unhappy enough to be wrecked on a foreign coast were taken prisoners, sold as slaves, and robbed of their property, is fully described by the excellent lawyer Johan. Charl. Henr. Dreyer, LL.D. syndic of Lybec, in his *Specimen Juris Lubecensis circa inhumanum jus naufragii*. Buezow, 4to: for the treaties entered into on this subject between Lubec and the kings of Denmark, England, France, Norway, Scotland, &c. are here published from the originals, and illustrated with such notes as could be wished for from a Dreyer. Conf. David Nehrmans *de Jure fisci circa bona naufraga*, Lond. Scanor. & Ol. Walangeri *Historia Juris Warechi* Lond. Scanor. Jac. Schubachi *de Jure Littoris Commentarius*. Hamburgi, 1751, cum fig. 4to.

P. 39. *At Christmas the king presented Olaf with a suit of purple-coloured cloth.* By our best historians we are informed, that the custom which still prevails among the Turks and the Eastern nations, of presenting a cloth of honour to a person distinguished by a superior rank, or personal abilities, has been common in the North of Europe: for Eathelred, king of England, in the year 1006, rewarded Gunlaug, an Icelandic poet, with a cloak of scarlet, lined throughout with precious furs. Vide Gunlaug Ormstungu Saga, Copenhagen, 1776, 4to, p. 87. And Harald Gormson, the king of Denmark, honoured Gunnar, of Hlidarenda in the South of Iceland, with a magnificent suit of cloaths, besides a pair of gloves embroidered with gold, a pair of garters with golden buttons at the end, and a hat manufactured in Russia. See Nialtaga, Copenhag. 1772, 4to, p. 46. I must also beg leave to observe, that the feast which I have translated Christmas, was called *Iol*, or *Iul*, which signifying a sumptuous treat, is still known under this name in Denmark, Norway, Iceland, and Sweden; nay, even in the North of Britain; and from whence the month of Januarius by the Saxons was styled *giuli*, i. e. the festival. And as this feast had originally been dedicated by our heathen ancestors to the sun, their supreme deity; so the Christians, for the purpose of engaging the minds of their Ethnic brethren, ordered it should be celebrated in memory of the birth of Christ.

And thus it has been through ages a feast of joy and entertainment. We are indebted to *Procopius* for the first account of this feast. See his *History of the Goths*, book II. edit. Grotii, p. 260. Conf. *Ol. Wormii Fasti Danici*, Havn. 1643. *Genb. Schonningi* de festo post occidui solis reditum in Septentrione olim celebrato *Programma*. Soræ, 1766, 4to. *G. Schonningii Programma* de ratione anni apud veteres Septentrionales. Soræ, 1767, 4to. *Christi. Nettleblad* *Heliolatria veterum*, Gv-phisswald. *Job. Bircheroðii* *Palestra Antiquaria* s. antiquitates *Julia*. Havn. 1683, 8vo. *Ott. Sperling* de nomine & festo *Jul.* Havn. 1688, 8vo. *Andr. Dabbsom* de veterum Svegothorum hiemali festo *Jul.* Holmiæ, 1703, 8vo.

P. 43. *Egil Skallagrimson*, one of the greatest men in Iceland, is equally distinguished by his love of military glory, and great skill in poetry. He fought under king Athelstan the famous battle at Brunanburgh in the year 926, and was much loved by that monarch. See *Egil Skallagrimsonar saga*. MS. *The Northern Antiquities*. Lond. 1772. *Olai Wormii Literatura Runica*. Havn. 1652. *Specimen Lexici Runici*. Havn. 1650.

P. 55. *His sons erected a magnificent barrow to his memory, depositing therein but a small sum of money.* The custom of burying along with the dead whatever had been dear to them, as money, horses, dogs, and servants, was abolished by the Christians. This may be seen from a treaty of the year 1249, entered into between the Prussians and the Brethren of the Holy Cross of Livonia, through the medium of which the new Christians promised, that they for the future would neither burn nor inter along with their deceased friends, either horses, or men, or weapons, or cloaths, or any other thing of value, which till then had been practised among them, according to the rites and manners of the heathen. See *Leoni's History of Prussia*, p. 59. In addition to what is mentioned above, we are told by *Oddr Munk*, in the *Life of Olave Tryggvason*, and the *Annals of Flatey*, that the ancient laws of Sweden bound a widow to be interred alive along with her husband. A law more barbarous than those of the Heruli, which ordered the unhappy fair to be strangled near the grave of her mourned partner. See *Procopius' History of the Goths*, book II. p. 256.

Ibid. *The Law hill* was a rising ground, or a hilloc, boarding upon the plain called *thinguollr*, where the states of Iceland kept their general assembly. From this hilloc the law, the decrees, and sentences, rendered by the supreme court, were solemnly published.

P. 59. *Keartan*. His life is handed down to us in the *Laxdæla*, and the *History of Olave Tryggvason*, by *Oddr Munk*; and his posterity is still very numerous in Iceland.



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